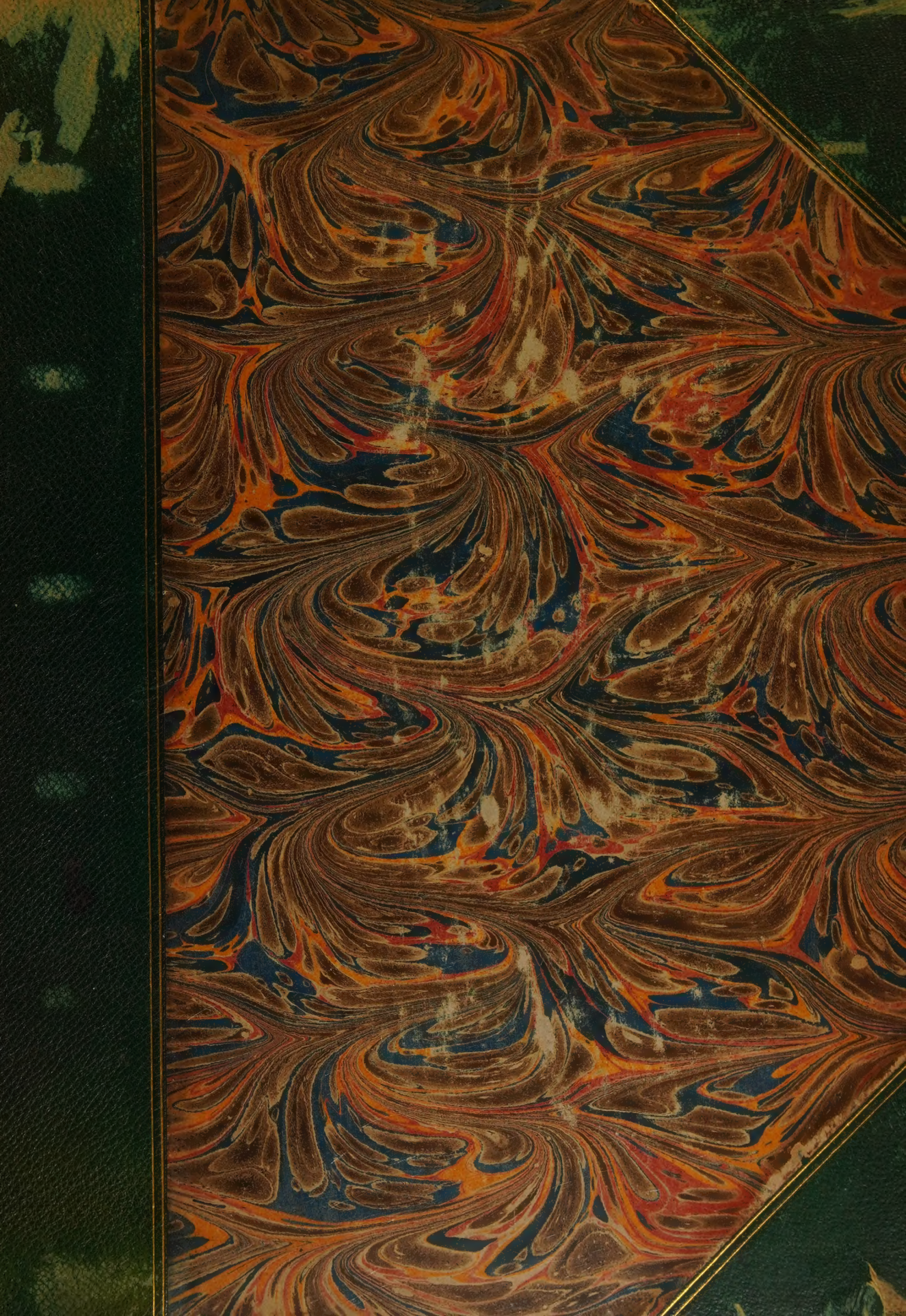

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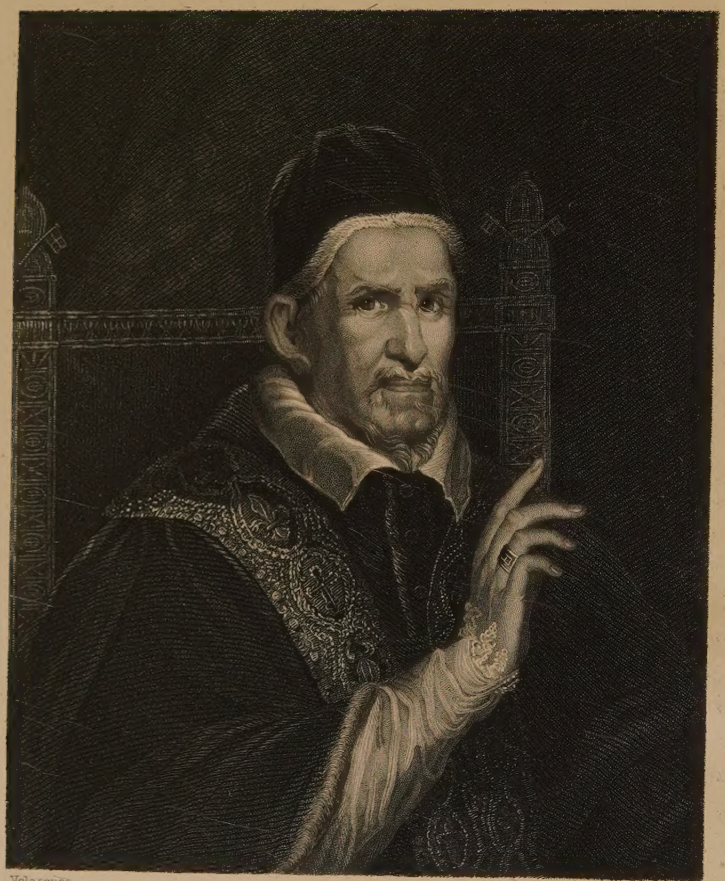

Velasquez. William Holl.

POPE INNOCENT X.

Scotichronicon:

COMPRISING

BISHOP KEITH'S

Catalogue of Scottish Bishops,

ENLARGED; WITH

REEVES' AND GOODALL'S

Treatises on the Culdees.

BY

REV. J. F. S. GORDON, D.D.,

ST. ANDREW'S, GLASGOW.

Volume ii.

GLASGOW: JOHN TWEED. MDCCCLXVII.

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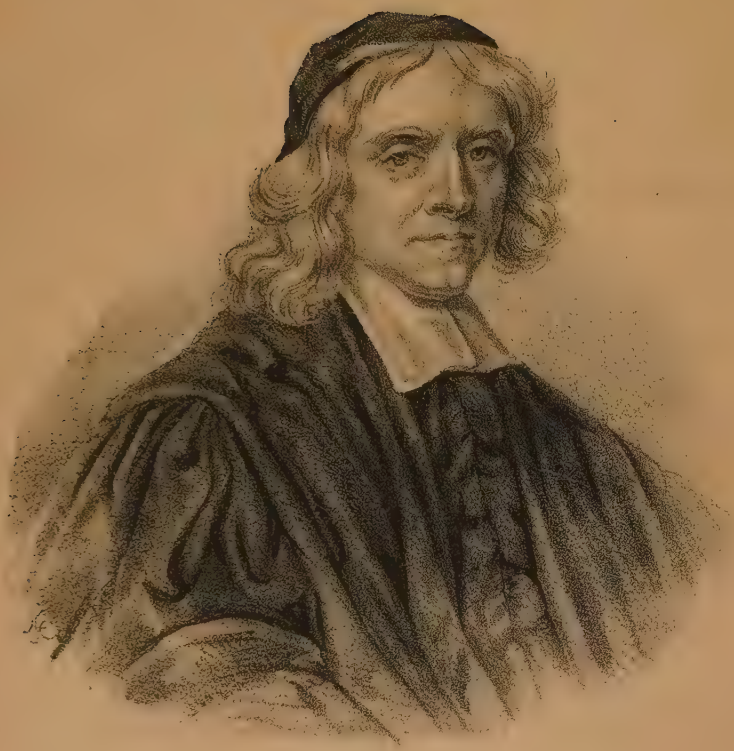

Ja: Stⁱ Andrwe Archiepᵈ.

James Sharp, A.D.1662.

SCOTICHRONICON.

ARCHBISHOPS OF THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS
(CONTINUED).

LI. James Sharp. A.D. 1661-79.

As a specimen of the prejudice, untruth, and scurrility which such Historians as Wodrow, Burnet, Crookshank, Burns, M'Crie, &c., with Encyclopediasts who have copied *their very words*, have heaped upon the memory of this Prelate, the sequel is here given. It is from a Pamphlet, ashamed to own its Author, who is said to have been one Hamilton of Kinkell, but *honoured* as one of the *Miscellanea Scotica*, purporting to be a "Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews—first Printed in 1678; to which is now added an Account of his Death by an Eye-Witness," reprinted in Glasgow, 1818, for John Wylie & Co., by R. Chapman. This Brochure opens with "The Epistle Dedicatory" to the Archbishop, beginning thus: "Mr. Sharp,—I thought I could not do any thing more pertinently, than to make this Work as well objectively as it is already subjectively yours, . . . being indeed another sort of a man than an honest man,—which I am confident none will attribute unto you, except your own wife, who, if you be her honest man, I am sure you are to all others some other thing, which I need not name." Having thus commenced, this "honoured" Composition goes on to say:

"To give life to this History, it were fit we knew the parents who gave life to this man. . . . As the name and memory of William Sharp and Isobel Lesly should have died with them, if they had not been mentioned in the Life of this their wicked son, so we think the History of his Life shall give little honour to their memory. Of whom only it can be said, that they were the means to bring into the world a man abhorred of God; and a man that when we call him perjured apostate, a traitor to Christ and His Church, and a persecutor thereof, or what else may be said of him, we do not exhaust all his wickedness; so that God only can search out his wickedness, till He find none, and punish him condignly for the same.

"But as for his father, William Sharp, we shall give this short account of him, that he was the son of a piper, who was only famous for his skill in that spring called *Ph. Ph. Ph. Ph. Cossie*. But although the grandfather had been less skilful in his calling (of which we find little use, but to induce wantonness and obscenity), and although springs [tunes] had given no price, yet we think it had been more for the advantage of the Church, at least it should have received less detriment, if the grandchild had been bound his apprentice, and had been rather a Piper than a Prelate. But we might have wanted both the one and the other. Pipers and Prelates agree well together for the service of their belly. God cannot be enough promoted without such instruments as blow up their lusts; but if the pipe and bags be yet in the Prelate's possession (which belongs to him as eldest son to his father, and so heir by progress to his grandfather), it is like he may now have use for them, to gift them to some landart Church, to save the expenses of a pair of organs; which may do well enough for our rude people, who can sing as well to the one as to the other. And if instrumental music in the Service of God be *juris Divini* (as the Prelates highly assert), it cannot be thought that any people should be so fanatick as to admit the organs in Divine Service and refuse the bagpipe, especially it being the Prelate's gift, and all the heirship goods that he had of his grandfather, which he would so freely bestow upon the Church.

"But William Sharp finding more wind than money in his

father's bags, after his Death he resolves not to seek his livelihood by so airy an employment as that which his father had followed, observing, that although he had the heart to make others merry, yet he himself was sometimes sad; and that the lightness of his purse made his heart heavy; finding the Proverb verified in him, 'That what comes by the wind goes by the water,' for what he wan by his pipes he [illegible] at the walls. . . . .

SIGILLVM · R · D · IACOBI · SANCTI · ARCHIEPISCOPI
SACRATVM ECCLESIÆ DEO REGI
AVSPICIO CAROLO SECVNDO INSTAVRATA
ANDREAE 1661

Sharp's Seal has upon it S. Andrew holding his Cross with his left hand, and a Crosier in his right. The Family Shield is below. On each side of the Apostle is a triple Scroll, on the first part of which is the Legend, *Sacratum Ecclesiæ, Deo, Regi;* on the second, *Auspicio Car. II., Ecclesia instaurata.*

Although [his mother] was in quality a gentlewoman, yet she was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and to learn the art of brewing; which qualified her to set up in Dun, which proved such a subsidiary help for maintenance of the family, as that William's pens [having become, as the Narrative says, Lord Findlater's clerk] should never have winged his sons, to have raised them out of the dust, if they had not been feathered out of Isobel's jegg purse, which by her change maintained her sons at schools, she keeping it until the day of her Death."

This "Life" of Archbishop Sharp meanders throughout in this strain, retailing the fabrication of Isobel Lindsay and her adulterous bastard, Murdered and Buried by the Bishop below

the hearth-stone; not omitting the "*Branks*," and her repeated interruptions of the Bishop while in the Pulpit. The *Branks* are a gag which was commonly used at that period, over Great Britain, for *Scolds*. The Beadle of the Parish Church of St. Andrews exhibits this Appurtenance to visitors. Very probably Bell Lindsay required to wear it, although it was not made for her express use. It is shaped like a helmet, goes over the head, is made of iron bars, with a piece for keeping down the tongue, and was padlocked behind.

When lies so patent as to the Archbishop's parentage, &c., can be handed down from one Historiographer to another, any unprejudiced Reader may reflect on the moral weight and credit which are due to such champions as those named at the outset, who wield the dagger of calumny, but who so miss their footing as to fall ingloriously on the dunghill of disdain, the fit seat of honour for all traducers.

The most recently Printed Notice of Archbishop Sharp occurs in the *North British Review*, No. XCII., Article V., June, 1867. It is worth reading, although besprinkled with unjustifiable asperities, especially at *pp.* 399, 405, 426; albeit a candid confession is made (*p.* 399, *l.* 22), "It is plain on a glance that the popular Presbyterian view of him is not correct." Alluding to the *Lauderdale Papers* in the British Museum (*p.* 405, *l.* 27), the Writer avers, "To ourselves, we confess that they incline the balance in Sharp's favour. They have left upon us the impression that, whatever his faults were, he was not a *traitor* to his friends and to his Church, in the sense in which he is represented to have been so by contemporary authorities, and by the train of Presbyterian Writers who have followed them." As to the scandalous story in the Pamphlet of 1678, of the beautiful servingwoman, Isobel Lindsay, at a public change kept by one John Allan, at whose house Sharp lodged when he first came to St. Andrews, the Writer observes (*p.* 409, 410), "He is said to have deceived her by a promise of Marriage, and then to have strangled her child, burying it 'under the hearth-stone, where probably its bones may yet be found!' The story was well conceived to touch the popular mind, and fill it with horror. It has that dash of

dark romance in it which goes right to the popular imagination. Happily it does not rest upon a particle of real evidence. All the admitted circumstances of Sharp's residence in St. Andrews are broadly against it. . . . The Covenanting caricaturist has here, as in some other cases, drawn a picture too monstrous for belief. The whole foundation of the story seems to have been certain ravings of a woman of the same name, long after Sharp became Archbishop,—a fanatical enthusiast, 'crack-brained and fanciful,' who was banished the Town, and pronounced unworthy of Christian society."

If Sharp (says the Writer of the *N. B. Review*) was "a born diplomatist;" if he was "full of dissimulation;" if it was "not in his nature to be frank and outspoken, but rather to compass his means by adroit and wary policy," it is clear that he was not always on his guard. There is a hearty vehemence in his resenting the insult of flatly being called "*a liar*" by John Sinclair, afterwards Minister of Ormiston, at the College table, while maintaining the principles of Hooker, Hailes, and Hammond, with giving him *a sharp box on the ear;* which is rather to be commended than otherwise, and even raises our conception of his Grace. This was the act not of a circumventive sneak, but the *sharp*, ready impulse of S. Peter himself, the "Prince of Apostles." If he had not, upon this occasion, *boxed Sinclair's ears*, then the various foul charges of Wodrow and Fraternity might have had some footing; but if he did what he is said to have done, he did well, and his assailants' condemnations remain unbolstered. Query: Who and where is the man who would not at once have *cuffed him* soundly who had used towards him Sinclair's *noun?* Undoubtedly here (if at all allowable) was the fit place and time for *lynch law*.

I Print here entire the following scarce little Book, which is quoted or referred to by almost every Historian who has anatomized the Life of Sharp. The Copy is *verbatim*, with the exception of the Side Notes, which are inserted for handiness to the Reader.

A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the most Reverend Father in God, Dr. James Sharp, *Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, and Privy Counsellor to his most Sacred Majesty, King Charles II. With a short but faithful Narrative of his execrable Murder, taken from Publick Records, Original Letters, and other Manuscripts. With a Preface, wherein a clear Discovery is made of the malicious falshoods contained in some late scandalous Books and Pamphlets concerning that affair. To both which is subjoined an Appendix, containing Copies of such Papers as are therein referred to.—Psal. v. 6: "Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasings; the Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man."—Printed in the year M.DCC.XXIII.*

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

Documentary evidence.

Thô this be the first appearance the following small History has made in the world, yet it received not only the first draught, but its perfect lineaments, several years ago; when the Author was either so modest as to be diffident of his own performance, or that he really then wanted two or three very material Papers, now come to hand, and which the Reader will find subjoined to the *Appendix*. And yet without any stretch it may be said, that the Papers wherewith the Author himself has favoured the Publick, are sufficient by themselves to denominate the following Narrative an impartial and well vouched Account of the Life and Death of that eminent Prelate. For here the Author needs not bespeak the faith afforded to Historians, since what is advanced by him with respect to the Primate's extraction, his education, genius in his younger years, &c., he had from the mouths of relations, and such others as knew him and his Family best, which is all can be expected in such a case; and what is here set down in reference to the more active part of his life, especially from the year 1659 to his decease, is sufficiently vouched from Original Papers, Publick Records, &c., chiefly with respect to that step of his life wherein he is so much blamed and traduced by the Fanaticks of Scotland to this day (and which, indeed, at length cost him his life). The impartial Reader, by comparing the following short Narrative, and the Papers thereto relating in the *Appendix*, will soon perceive how calumnious and unjust these men are to his memory; since thereby, and especially by the Letter from General Monk, *Numb. I.*, which our Author hath also favoured us with in his *Appendix*, 'tis more than evident how faithfully and carefully Mr. Sharp demeaned himself in the execution of his Commission wherewith he was intrusted; and how, after an impartial

and fair report of his diligence, he threw up his said Commission, and never had another from that party, nor was so much as entertaining any thought of returning to Court, till called by his Majesty, in summer, 1660; at which time he had indeed a notable opportunity of being satisfied and convinced not only of the expediency, but necessity of re-establishing the antient and Apostolical Government in this Church, by a frequent conversation with some of those eminent Divines who had returned with his Majesty. But in this journey to Court, it is not so much as alledged by his adversaries that he had any Trust or Commission from the Presbyterian Ministers here, far less in his succeeding journey thither, towards the end of that year.

Fanatical Paper titled "A True Relation."

There was, indeed, in the year 1680, a Paper sent up to London by the Scottish Fanaticks, and Printed by their brethren there, intitled "A True Relation of what is discovered concerning the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and of what appears to have been the occasion thereof." The design of which Pamphlet is plainly to blacken the reputation of him whose person they had already murdered, and as far as possible to palliate and excuse that execrable fact. But althô it hath been long since discovered that there are almost as many falshoods as paragraphs in that foolish and malicious Paper, yet here our Author hath favoured us in his *Appendix* with the Copy of a clear Discovery of the wicked falshoods therein contained; and which clear Discovery being Printed by order of his Majesty's Privy Council, is well worth the perusal of any man who, without prepossession, designs to be informed of the truth of that fact. Another Narrative whereof, also Published by Authority, our Author has subjoined in his *Appendix*, which exactly agrees with that which himself gives, from the Depositions of Witnesses, in the close of this Tract.

This, then, being the method carefully observed by our Author in the following Sheets, and which is so commendable in itself, approv'd of generally in the world, and extremely applauded by Mr. Wodrow, in the Preface to his First Volume of "The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, and which himself pretends so religiously and accurately to have observed; 'tis more than a little strange, that in all the Passages of that Book relating to the Archbishop, he hath visibly and shamelessly transgressed his own rule, as will appear to any man who will take but the pains to look into them; for there he shall find the most impudent railing accusations, heaviest imputations, and most wicked aspersions that perhaps were ever yet seen in Print; and all this without so much as once offering a voucher for most part of the facts he advances; and the few vouchers he gives, which regard the most important part of that great Prelate's life, viz., the last scene thereof, are foolish and incoherent Narratives of the Murder, written by the vile and execrable actors themselves, whose interest certainly it was, as far as they were able, to defame the Primate, especially in the circumstances of his behaviour at his Death, and thereby in some measure excuse their own villany. Whereas, had Mr. Wodrow had that ingenuity he so

Wodrow's railing accusations.

Witnesses' Depositions.

much pretends to, he had ready at hand the Depositions of the Witnesses taken not only before the Privy Council, but at Cowpar, St. Andrews, &c.; not only of the Primate's daughter and servants, who were near spectators of that bloody tragedy, but of the tenants, servants, cottars, &c., of Magask, Strickinnes, Baldinny, and other places, who may well be supposed to be much less interested than either the Archbishop's servants or the wicked actors themselves. And this sure cannot but be far more inexcusable in Mr. Wodrow than any other man, he being the person who pretends to have diligently searched the Sheriff Court Books of Fife, for Fines, &c.; and certainly in this research he could not have missed the Deposition of John Millar, Tenant in Magask, touching the Murder, as also that of Robert Black, Tenant in Baldinny, William Dingwall in Caldhame, father to one of the murderers, and many others which stand upon record in these Books.

But for making it appear that this is no false accusation, I shall once for all set down part of a Paragraph in Mr. Wodrow's Preface to his First Volume, *pag.* 10, where these are his words—"I have charged the Prelates with being the first movers of most part of the Persecutions of these times: this is a matter of fact fully known in Scotland [but we must take his own bare word for it]; and I could not have written impartially, had I not laid most part of the evils of this period at their door." It may be alledged, that this being spoken at random in a Preface, the Author is not so much bound to give vouchers for what he there says, as in the body of the Book. But then it should be considered, that when he comes to particulars in the Book itself, and there loads the Bishops with the blame of all what he calls barbarous and cruel in that period, he does not so much as offer one proof nor voucher for any matter of fact he advances, thô certainly matters of fact of that kind ought to have been better vouched than any others.

Letters garbled by Wodrow.

Thus, also, in the Introduction to that Volume, *pag.* 5, he most falsly and maliciously affirms, "That from the very words of Mr. Sharp's Letter to Mr. Robert Douglass, from London, the Reader will have most sensible proofs of Mr. Sharp's juggling, prevarication, and betraying the Church of Scotland, and his treachery to the worthy Ministers who intrusted him." Now in this I shall so far agree with him, as willingly to appeal to his Majesty's Letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in August, 1660 (inserted in the following Narrative); to the Letter from General Monk above mentioned; and lastly, to the nine Letters which our Author has here inserted in his *Appendix*, all of them written whilst Mr. Sharp had a Commission from them: and let the impartial Reader thence judge whether Mr. Sharp did distinctly and honestly inform them of all that had past at Court, touching the subject of his Commission; and as fairly forwarn them of what he saw was inevitably coming, and whether he neglected one jot of his instructions. These nine Letters here inserted, I can assure the Reader, are all taken from Copies of them written with his own hand, which he kept, as he did Copies of every thing of importance that he dispatched. But whether or

not Mr. Wodrow's Copies be genuine, is more than I can tell, not having leisure to compare them; only, upon a very cursory view, I find that Mr. Wodrow, in the Abbreviate he gives us of Mr. Sharp's Letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, Dated the 29th of May, 1660, hath, if not wilfully perverted, yet grossly mistaken the meaning of the Writer, as may be evident to any man who will take the pains to compare the Letter itself, set down by our Author in his *Appendix*, with the said Abbreviate in Mr. Wodrow's Introduction, *pag.* 26. Further, in Mr. Sharp's Letter to Mr. Douglas, Dated the 1 of June that year, you'll find, near the beginning, these words, "When I spoke of his (*i.e.*, the King's) calling a General Assembly;" but Mr. Wodrow thinks fit to leave out the word *his*, the reason whereof, I hope, needs not be told. Nor need I tell any intelligent Reader why in the same Letter, after these words, "His Majesty speaking of us and our concernments most affectionately," Mr. Wodrow omits what immediately follows, viz., "And that I needed not to inform him of the usage we have had from the Remonstrators;" nay, leaves out the most material and remarkable passages in the close. Besides these, he has not thought fit to insert Mr. Sharp's Letter immediately next to that of the 14th of June, but without Date, because therein Gilespie, the professed enemy to the Royal Family, is exposed. As also that Letter immediately following another of the 7th of July, without Date also, which exposes to purpose the Remonstrators, and gives a testimony beyond all exception of Mr. Sharp's integrity. A further evidence whereof we have in his Letter of the 14th of July, which is also most unfairly suppressed by Mr. Wodrow; together with a long and remarkable Passage of another Letter of his, Dated the 26 of July, also touching the Remonstrators. What other false Abbreviates, Interpolations, &c., Mr. Wodrow has used in this matter, I had no leisure to examine: but *ex ungue leonem*.

Wodrow's "worthy gentleman's" 30 contradictions.

But before we speak of the Primate's Murder, I shall briefly notice another Passage in Mr. Wodrow's First Volume, *pag.* 101, where he gives an Abbreviate of his Life and Death, wrote, as he says, by a sufferer, a worthy gentleman. This Narrative I have not seen, unless it be that which is now in Print, and Published in the year 1719, by an anonymous Author. If this be Mr. Wodrow's worthy gentleman (as probably he is), it must be owned that he himself is a very worthy gentleman who gives so large a character of a person in whose Work there is nothing to be found but a mixture of beastly ignorance, with deep malice and deliberate revenge; and who, beside that he does not so much as offer any voucher at all for what he says (tho he advances facts never before heard of), impudently averrs things that are plainly redargued by Publick Records and other authentick Documents. Witness his saying, *pag.* 51, that the Archbishop's brother was made Lord Justice Clerk; and *page* 53, his making the great Mr. Robert Blair to die cursing, which, in charity to the Dead, we must look upon as a falshood; his making one of the three Estates of the Scots Parliament to consist of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, *page* 138. But, which is still more diverting,

although the Treatise be but very small, yet an ingenuous gentleman of my acquaintance has taken the pains to collect upwards of 30 places wherein the Author plainly contradicts himself. This Book being an Account of the Life and Death of Mr. James Sharp, is nevertheless Dedicated to himself; and the Author fairly tells him, "That many of his actions may yet live to his perpetual infamy, except the black lines of his life be blotted out by tears of unfeigned repentance." But this is said forty years after his Death.

Sharp "taking he Tender."

Mr. Wodrow proceeds, and tells us, "That Mr. Sharp took the tender;" than which, nothing was ever more false or calumnious; nor had ever Mr. Sharp, or any other Minister, the least temptation to that wickedness.* He tells us next, "That Cromwell publickly declared Mr. Sharp to be an atheist." A noble voucher, had it been true! And without hyperbole it may be said, that it was scarce possible for Mr. Wodrow (thô no thanks to him for it) to have impressed a better character on the minds of all honest men, of Mr. Sharp, than by telling Cromwell's opinion, that he was an atheist; which was just as much as to say, he was a Royalist; for thus were the King's friends in those days clothed in wild beasts' skins, in order to be worried to Death. And that Doctor Sharp was an atheist in this sense, appears pretty well from this known Passage. In November, 1659, when General Monk had arrived at Caldstream, and fully understood the enemies' posture, he presently dispatched an express to Crail, where Mr. Sharp then was attending his Charge, intreating that with all speed he would repair to him, because he had something of the greatest consequence to impart. Hereupon Mr. Sharp takes journey in very tempestuous weather; and immediately upon his arrival at Caldstream, the General, in a secret Conference, frankly signified to him his earnest desire to restore the King, which he said he well knew Mr. Sharp was passionately inclined for; but that he was so embarassed how to bring that great work about, that he knew not what step first to take, and therefore had called him to know what he thought fit to advise in the matter: that many of his Army, beginning to suspect his intentions, had already deserted; and lastly, that Lambert, on the head of the English Republican Army, which was double his numbers, had fallen down as far as Newcastle. Mr. Sharp coldly told him, that he was extremely fatigued with his journey, and therefore, in the first place, desired a little rest; and then after two hours' sleep, he sat down and penned a Declaration in Monk's name, shewing the causes of his present posture, and designed March into England; which, without mentioning the King, was so exactly accommodated to the tempers of all the then contending parties, that it having been read next morning on the head of Monk's Army, it soon confirmed them in their duty to their General; and being quickly dispersed over all the Country, it arrived at length at Lambert's Head Quarters: the effect whereof was, that

Monk and his Army.

* The *Tender* was an Oath or Instrument by which the party signing abjured or renounced allegiance to King Charles II.

at least one half of his men deserted over to Monk, who thereupon was encouraged to proceed in his design, and to march straight towards London; and what followed thereupon, is too well known to be here set down. I am credibly informed, that a Copy of this Declaration will within a little time be Published in a greater Work, and therefore thought it not proper to insert it here. But this I know, that the above-mentioned notable Passage was often and openly owned by Monk to his Majesty and many others, after the Restoration; and I have the truth of it attested by many persons of honour and respect (some of them in Letters under their hands), who best knew Mr. Sharp's affairs: to which they add, that this was the true cause of the great man's after promotion. And if so vigorous and effectual an effort to restore the Royal Family can denominate Mr. Sharp an atheist or a betrayer of the Church, we may safely conclude that, were he alive, he would not be ashamed of the charge.

Isabel Lindsay and child a *ruse.*

As to that foolish and malicious fable which Mr. Wodrow next takes notice of, from his worthy friend's narrative, touching one Isabel Lindsay, who, he says, accused the Bishop publickly, not only of uncleanness with her self, but murdering the child: there are persons even at this distance of time yet alive at St. Andrews and elsewhere, who can attest that there was never any such thing objected to him by that woman, not one word spoken by her (thô if it had, yet could it have no impression upon any sober person) touching the murder of a child, &c. But for this, I need no more but to refer the Reader to the Narrative itself, as set down by Mr. Wodrow's worthy gentleman; and then let the world judge in what condition that woman was when this happened. The truth is, she was for many years lookt upon by all who knew her to be a fanciful and melancholy person; and yet when examined touching that abuse in the Church, she still refused either to speak or hear an ill word of the Archbishop. The whole of which passage I have from a gentleman of honour there, who has taken the pains to enquire about it at such persons in that place as are still alive, and were eye and ear witnesses to what then passed; and therefore I have inserted in the *Appendix (Numb. I.)* part of his Letter touching that affair.

But further, with respect to that foolish calumny, I shall ask Mr. Wodrow and his worthy friend these two plain questions—1. Whether they can produce any vouchers for this strange piece of History? If they can, why does not Mr. Wodrow insert them, as he pretends to do for every fact he advances, and really has done for trifles? If they have none, why does he insert the story for a truth, so contrary to his own profession in his Preface and many other places of the Work? 2. This piece of History was either known before Mr. Sharp's promotion, or not: if it was, why was it not publickly prosecuted (a thing then very easy against a private Minister), and he brought to condign punishment? The only answer I can forsee to this is, that Mr. Sharp was then esteemed one of the Godly; and as God sees no fault in such, so it was hoped he would do Him as much service

another way as would compense that peccadillo, which, I am told, was their way of speaking in those times. If it was not known before his promotion, how came such a dreadful story, that had lyen so long dormant, then to break out? May we not here be tempted, without impinging on charity, to say, that the whole was a wicked forgery, designed to expose (if not to sober and thinking men, yet to silly women, whom they use to lead captive) the reputation of this great and good man.

Scandal about the Abp.'s sister-in-law.

Reading over the Preface of Mr. Wodrow's friend's Book, I find another malicious calumny, which was never yet advanced by any other, no, not by Mr. Wodrow himself, viz., touching the Archbishop's sister-in-law, her being got with child by himself, and sent to the North to bring it forth, &c. But that the wickedness of that Satanical story may appear, I have inserted in the *Appendix (Numb. II.)* a Passage of a Letter touching that affair, which I received from a person of known honour and veracity, who had the best opportunity of any other to know the whole affairs of that family.

James Mitchell's transaction.

Another thing wherewith the Primate is charged by Mr. Wodrow in the aforecited place, is no less than the horrid crime of Perjury, whereof he accuses him as guilty in the case of Mr. James Mitchell, but without so much as giving the least ground or reason for what he so impudently and calumniously advanceth; which alone, 'tis hoped, will appear to any Christian a sufficient answer, thô no more should be said upon the head; since every man upon Oath is presumed to have declared the truth till the contrary be made appear, which in the present case is not so much as offered to be done. But further, I shall here acquaint the Reader, that in a cursory Preface to so small a Treatise (which gives us only the Life of a single man), I do not judge myself bound, nor is it pertinent in this place, to digress into a vindication of the procedure of our High Courts of Judicature in that affair; thô I am certainly informed, that even that same will very shortly be performed by an abler pen. All therefore that can be here expected, is a vindication of the Lord Primat (so far as a negative can go) from the horrid imputation of Perjury. And as to this, I hope it will, to an impartial Reader, appear sufficient to set down the words of his Lordship's Oath, as copied by Mr. Wodrow himself; for his Grace being there adduced simply as a Witness for proving the Assassination, plainly declares, "That he had a wave (*i.e.*, a transient glance) of Mitchell passing from the coach and crossing the street, which had such an impression on him, that the first sight he saw of him, after he was taken, he knew him to be the person who shot the shot." The truth of this part of the Oath, 'tis hoped, will find credit with any man who hath perused the Narrative of that Assassination, as related by Mr. Wodrow himself, with the Depositions of the Chirurgeons and other Witnesses, copied from the Books of Adjournal, by the Collector of the State Trials, *vol.* 2, *pag.* 69, *et seqq.* As to the following part of the Archbishop's Oath, he there deposeth no more than what was plainly Sworn by several other Privy Counsellors of known honour and integrity, viz., "That he heard Mitchell

own to the Privy Council his Confession made to the Committee [of which Committee, by the by, his Grace was no member], and that he heard him at the Bar renew the same; and that there was no assurance of life then or there given him, or so much as desired by him." This part of the Oath the Primate's adversaries do not at all controvert; and thô it were granted (as is indeed set down in the Narrative of an Act of Privy Council yet extant) that the Committee, or one of their number, had promised Mitchell his life upon his Confession; yet that promise, if any there was, being made in secret, as is acknowledged by all parties, it could not consist with the Primate's knowledge, nor was he interrogated thereupon, but only on what had past in the Privy Council. And as to the latter part of the Oath, touching private promises alledged to have been made by the Archbishop himself, his Deposition is very clear and distinct; and if Mitchell or any of his friends have asserted that he had any such promise from his Grace, let the world be judge whether more credit ought to be given to a man upon Oath than to the malicious assertion of a vile monster of nature and common enemy to all humane society, who (as is evident from his last speech) went to the grave with a lye in his right hand.

Wodrow's propensity to "speak evil of dignities."

But that the Reader may a little further perceive Mr. Wodrow's great proficiency in the art of speaking evil of dignities, and reviling his betters, I shall here give a hint at the charitable characters he gives of such Bishops as were first replanted in Scotland after his Majesty's Restoration; and shall leave these characters to be compared with the Account given of the same men by the late Bishop of Sarum, cited by our Author in this Treatise; premising only this, that 'tis hoped no true Presbyterian will doubt of Doctor Burnet's veracity in the matter, especially since he professes that he had not his knowledge of them by hear-say, but knew the persons he describes. But far less will Mr. Wodrow call in question the truth of what is there advanced by that great Prelate, considering the noble character himself gives of him, *vol.* 1, *pag.* 334, where he says, "That he was a person well known to the world; and after being Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, persecuted for his appearing against Popery, and for the cause of Liberty; and since the Revolution, the learned and moderate Bishop of Sarum, one of the great eye-sores of the High-flyers and Torries of England, and a very great ornament to his native Country."

His character of Bishops generally.

His character, then, of Bishop Sharp I shall scarce need to rehearse, the whole First Volume of his Work, and the beginning of the Second, being stuffed with wicked nonsense and virulent lying invectives against him; only in *page* 101 (where he liberally bestows his compliments of this kind upon them all) he says, among other things, that Mr. Sharp's great talent was dissimulation, and that he got himself into the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews as a reward for betraying the Church. That Mr. Fairfowll, Archbishop of Glasgow, was a man who was never taken to be either serious or sincere; talks of his intrigues with a lady in Berwickshire, &c. That Mr. Sydserf,

Bishop of Orkney, was Deposed in the year 1638, for the common faults of the Prelates of that time, and in particular for erroneous Doctrine. Of Mr. Mitchell, Bishop of Aberdeen, he only says, that he was Deposed by the General Assembly for Heresy. That Mr. Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, was remarkable for his cunning time-serving temper. But above all, his character of Doctor Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh (who, besides his vast learning, was deservedly owned by all sides to have been a true pattern of piety, charity, and other Christian vertues), gives us a very just estimate of Presbyterian gratitude. This learned and pious gentleman had been Governour to the great Montrose—the only crime the zealous mad men of those days could charge him with,—and had with astonishing patience endured the very utmost of phanatical cruelty and revenge, being thrust into a nasty prison in Edinburgh, where he continued till the rats and other vermine had almost devoured him, whereof he bore the marks on his face to the grave.

Rebellion at Pentlandhills.

Yet, when after the horrid Rebellion at Pentlandhills, a great company of the most active traitors were committed to the same very prison, he, being then Bishop of Edinburgh, supplied all of them out of his own pocket with every thing necessary for life during their abode there, and kindly visited them, as was ingenuously confessed and attested by some of them alive not many years ago, and by some others yet alive, from whom I had the account, and who were eye-witnesses thereto. The return of which kindness by Mr. Wodrow is a most wicked invective and false aspersion, wherein no body else, whether Whig or Tory, agrees with him, viz., that he could not refrain from prophane swearing, even upon the Street of Edinburgh; and that he was a known drunkard. This brave Historian adds, that his lascivious Poems, compared with the most luscious parts of Ovid *(De Arte Amandi)*, are modest; wherein, besides other things, he wilfully mistakes the person, it being well known to all the Nation that it was another Wishart was the Author of that Poem he seems to mean; and who, by the by, thô afterwards a Minister, was not above 20 years of age when it was composed, and not at all then designing for the Ministry. Yet all this, and much worse, the world must take upon the bare word of this foolish and virulent accuser of the Brethren, who, it seems, has nothing less in his view than Truth when he writes concerning a Bishop, as will yet further appear when we proceed to consider the Account he gives of the Primate's execrable Murder.

Mr. Wodrow, in his Second Volume, thinks fit to bestow a whole Section on this direful action, *pag.* 28 *et seqq.*, and in the entry thereto industriously declines calling it a *Murder* (as all true Presbyterians do), but names it only a *violent Death*, a *violent taking away*, &c. He says it is not a little misrepresented by the Tory Writers. This is a wilful mistake, since he knows that all the Accounts of it hitherto Published by those he calls Tories are fairly copied from that which was Published by Authority, and taken from the Depositions of Witnesses, inserted in the Privy Council Records; as appears, among others, from the Account given of it by our Author. Mr. Wodrow

adds, that he has no design to vindicate the action, actors, or circumstances of it, which he owns he does not approve; and that he, as much as any, does heartily abhor all Assassinations, with the principles which lead thereunto. And this leads me to a very obvious remark. The Jesuites' method, in cases of this kind, is pretty well known. I shall only instance that unparalleled wickedness of the Gunpowder Treason. They of that Society, perceiving that the fact cannot be denied, all the actors having gone to Death confessing, or rather avowing the design; and finding, on the other hand, that so execrable an intention could nowise be defended, they freely yield the argument, and are as ready to condemn that wicked project as any Protestant whatsoever. But then you shall find them tell you, that those Conspirators were Banditi, Enthusiasts, &c., whom they disown to be of their Communion, and therefore that 'tis most unjust to load the Roman Catholicks with such actions or principles that lead thereto. And this is the sum of what Pere D'Orleans and other Popish Writers say, by way of apology for their party in this matter; and yet at the same time you shall find the very names of these vile parricides have a place in the Roman Martyrology, nay one of them, Garnet the Jesuite, Canonized on that same account. And I mind long since to have read in Mandelslo's Travels to the East Indies, that he saw in a Religious House, belonging to the Jesuites there, the pictures of all the Gunpowder Conspirators placed in a Gallery among the pictures of such as, since the institution of their Order, had suffered Martyrdom in propagating the Gospel. Now this I say is precisely the present case. Most of the Scots Puritans whom I have had occasion to converse with do, as Mr. Wodrow does in several places of the above-cited Section, loudly condemn this fact of the Primate's Murder, and declare it unwarrantable, and therefore still cry out, that it is great injustice to charge the Presbyterians (as some malicious Tories do) with the fact, telling us withall, that the actors were Separatists from them, followers of Cargil, Cameron, &c., who had preached separation from the rest. And yet with the same breath, throughout all the said Section, we find Mr. Wodrow using so many arguments in the defence of it, and shuffling in such extenuating circumstances (all of them, by the by, false in fact), to palliate and excuse the wickedness, that one would be almost tempted to believe, that if he was not one of the Conspirators himself, he does at least approve of the deed, by his intitling it to the Providence of God, &c. Nay, speaking of their open Rebellion the following year at Airdsmoss, he thus concludes, "We want not other instances of pious persons essaying impracticable [he does not say villanous and rebellious] things, and perishing in the attempt, which flowed from zeal, and was mixed with self-resignation [mark the hypocrite]; and they have rather been esteemed heroick than mad and irregular." But beside his defending of that fact, which within a paragraph or two before he had disclaimed, all they that suffered on that account—such as Halkerston of Rathillet, Guilan, and some others, who, having been found afterwards privy to the Plot, refused at their Trial to own the Archbishop's

Gunpowder Plot.

Primate's Murder.

slaughter to have been a Murder, disowned the King's Authority, &c.—are, not only by the Author of the "Hind let Loose," but by Mr. Wodrow, reckoned among the Church of Scotland's Martyrs, and recorded as such in his Book. Now, whether our Scots Jesuites have borrowed this method from or lent it to their Roman Brethren, I shall not determine, but surely the practice has been all along very familiar to both.

In the second Paragraph of the above-cited Section, Mr. Wodrow, after having given the Archbishop the charitable epithet of "a bloody and perfidious man," has the assurance to say, "That he came to this fatal exit by no premeditated and formed design; but circumstances offering an occasion, it was very suddenly given into." And a little thereafter, "That he is well assured the people concerned had not the least view of this, or any design this way, till the accounts of his being near them were brought to them." This he pursues in the following Paragraphs, and tells us the old out-dated story, which none of the party themselves ever did or do believe, "That the design was only against Baillie Carmichael, whom having missed, they were just talking together of parting, and quitting the project, when they were informed that the Archbishop's coach was at hand." This presently he attributes to Providence, as if God so far approved of the action "That He was now pointing out the man to them [these are his words] whom He designed they should destroy, and whom He had, it seems, delivered into their hands." The design of this foolish and fabulous story (since for the truth of it we must intirely depend upon the assertions of the murderers themselves, who are Mr. Wodrow's only vouchers) is to extenuate the guilt, as if the wickedness had not only been nowise premeditated, but that the Lord had directed them to it. For it is no strange thing for that faction to make God the author of their foulest actings, and when they have no arguments *a priore*, to bring this piece of Turkish Divinity as an argument *a posteriore*, viz., the success of the action to justify their villanies. But to expose this Jesuitical fiction, it were sufficient, at least for the conviction of any sober unprejudiced person, barely to set down two Informations sent over to the Privy Council from St. Andrews, taken out of the Depositions of John Millar, Tenant in Magask, and those of his family; Robert Black, Tenant in Baldinny, his wife, children, servants, cottars, &c.; William Dingwall in Caldhame, father to one of the murderers; and several other persons whose Depositions were taken at Cowpar by the Sheriff-Depute. The Informations which are lying before me are too prolix to be here inserted, but the substance of the first of them is, "That by the Letters found about young F——y, and other Letters found in the chest of Russel in the Kettle, one of the prime actors (which Letters are there declared to be in the custody of Captain Carnegy of Finhaven, or the Sheriff-Depute), it is more than evident that the deed had been long premeditated by the actors, and many moe; that his Grace was waylaid by diverse parties (as the Witnesses depone), so that whether he had gone straight to St. Andrews, or repaired to his house

Sharp's Murder a God-send.

of Scotscraig, he could not escape them." It was also deponed, "That the nine who committed the Murder were the night before at a country place, within a mile of Craighall, called Hurleswind; and that one of them, with Andrew Turnbull, Tenant to Broomhall (who had crossed the water the same tide with his Grace), came to Kennoway about midnight, and enquired if my Lord St. Andrews was lodged at Captain Seton's; and being told that he was, he presently returned to the rest. That on the morning of the 3d of May they were seen on Tace's Muir, and intended to have attacked the coach on the Heath to the South of Ceres, where it seems they were in some confusion; for Rathillet's horse ran from him, and was taken and given back to him by the gardiner of Struthers; and John Balfour, with one more, entred so far into the Town of Ceres, in pursuit of the coach, that by mistake he rode to the Minister's gate, and quickly retired. Thereafter (as is also deponed), having still the coach in view (so grossly false is Mr. Wodrow's Account), they kept half a mile to the South thereof, till they came to Kininmonth, the coach then being about Blebo-hole; and then they quickly came down from the height, and galloped through a little valley at Ladeddie Limekilns, having the top of the coach still in view, with design to have committed the Murder at the Double Dykes of Magask." And thus the Depositions proceed to the Murder itself, &c.

In the other Information which was sent over to the Privy Council a few days thereafter, we are told from other Depositions, "That three days before the Murder, viz., the 1st of May, some of the assassines had a meeting at Millar's house in Magask, where they concerted the business; and it is deponed also, that the next night they lodged at Robert Black's house in Baldinny, whose wife, they depone, was a great instigator of the fact; and that at parting, when one of them kissed her, she prayed God might bless and prosper them; and added these words, If long Leslie (this was Mr. Alexander Leslie, Minister at Cires) be with him, lay him on the green also. To which the ruffian answered, holding up his hand, There is the hand that shall do it." Further it is deponed, "That the said Andrew Turnbull (who was one of the two that came to Kennoway the night before), at his return to the other assassines, encouraged them to the fact, by telling them that all the West was in arms already." The Murder deliberately planned.

But that this was a long and deep laid plot, not only to assassinate the Primate, but many others, and then immediately to break out into an open Rebellion, will appear to a demonstration, from two Papers (which the Author of the following Narrative had not seen when he wrote it, one whereof was dropt at the Market Cross of Cowpar, some days before the Murder, a Copy whereof the Reader will find in the *Appendix (Numb. II.)*; and this Paper I find particularly noticed by his Majesty in his Answer to the Privy Council's Letter, wherein they acquaint him with the amazing news of the Murder; which Letter of theirs our Author has insert in his *Appendix;* and the Answer, Dated May the 10th, chiefly because it was all

penned by his Majesty himself, I have also set down *(Numb. III.)* The other Paper is yet a more pregnant evidence of this truth, being an attested double of a Letter from a fanatical teacher to his dear brother, Mr. Donald Cargill, the same day the Murder was committed. The principal Letter was intercepted, and sent up with other Papers to the Duke of Lauderdale, to be communicated to the King. But by the attested Copy I have by me, it does appear, that not only the Archbishop, but several others, were designed to be murdered, and a Rebellion to be raised; which Paper, because it was never as yet in Print, is also set down in the *Appendix (Numb. IV.)*

Further yet, I am credibly informed, that the contrivers of that horrid Assassination were so full of it, that some of them could scarce keep their own secret; which one of their teachers, some while before the Murder, thus blabbed out in Rhyme—

"If Sharp do die the common death of men,
I'll burn my books and throw away my pen."

Prophecy.

This, among the poor deluded wretches their ordinary hearers, passed for the spirit of Prophecy; but herein they have, it seems, taken their copy from one of their great apostles, Mr. Baxter, who in his "Defence of the Cure of Church Divisions," *p.* 200, speaking to the Bishops and Clergy, says, "It may be your great patrons may die or fall, or forsake you, and then your hearts are broken; it may be Death may enter into your families, and make you think what blood-thirstiness doth tend to." Now what manner of Fall and Death he means, he explains, *p.* 204, "One Felton may end the great Duke of Buckingham;" *p.* 205, "Or they may meet with such executioners as Cardinal Bethune." Nor was Mr. Baxter a false prophet, thô a very bloody one, as the tragical Narrative now before us doth sadly witness.

As to Mr. Wodrow's Account of the fact itself, the Reader will be pleased to remember his vouchers, which I have already touched at, and compare them with those of the Narratives of it Published by Authority. But these three things I cannot forbear to notice. 1. That the fanaticks are very fond to make Dr. Sharp die in the same manner, and almost with the same circumstances, as Cardinal Bethune did; and were Mr. Wodrow's Narrative true, it would be indeed next to a miracle how John Balfour, the leader of those ruffians, should have so exactly repeated to the Archbishop, when he was upon the point of murdering him, almost the very words of James Melvil to the Cardinal, as if he had mandated them from Knox's History *(see vol. ii., p.* 30, *in fin.)* And which is yet stranger, he makes the Archbishop use the same expressions that Knox tells us the Cardinal had at his Assassination, viz., "Fy, fy," &c. 2. It is positively averred by Mr. Wodrow, and in the above-cited Paper, intitled "A True Relation of what is discovered," &c., "That the Archbishop was shot-proof, and that after pouring in many vollies upon his body, he was still safe and sound," insinuating that childish fancy, as if he had some spell or talisman to secure him. And Mr. Wodrow further

Sharp shot-proof.

says, "That they found in his pocket a box with some pistol balls, threeds of worsted, and some odd things in it." Nay, for this, the Authors of the foresaid "True Relation," &c., have the impudence to appeal to William Borthwick, Chirurgeon, who was one of four sent over by the Privy Council to visit and embalm the body; to him, I say, they appeal, whether he found blue or black marks only instead of wounds, wherever a ball had lighted. And yet this same Mr. Borthwick, with two other Chirurgeons and a Physician, declare under their hands, "That he had a wound, by a ball, below the right clavicle, betwixt the second and third rib." Which declaration, extant in the Records, I have Transcribed in the *Appendix (Numb. V.)* 3. As Knox makes Melvil say to the Cardinal, "That neither hatred to his person nor desire of his wealth, moved him to kill him" (and yet those self-denied gentlemen seised a great deal of treasure and rich furniture in the Castle), so here Mr. Wodrow makes Balfour to say, "Thy money perish with thee," &c., *p.* 31; and a little thereafter says, "That they took nothing but papers and arms." And yet by the Depositions upon Record, it appears, "That they robbed the Primate's daughter of all her gold, and other things she had in a little box, and carried away his Grace's night-bag, Bible, girdle, some papers of moment," &c., and also robbed his servants not only of their arms but their money.

Preservation of the Murderers miraculous.

I am loath to detain the Reader any longer from this short but true History itself; only 'tis worth our while to notice two observes upon the Primate's Death, made by Mr. Wodrow. One is an insinuation of God's approbation of the fact, by the impunity of the actors, which he tells us with several circumstances that in his Account amount to little less than miracles, such as *(p.* 32, *Pr.)*, "That their preservation was a wonder [such as that of most of the King's murderers after the Restoration]; because, when this fact was a doing in the open fields [but if he knew those fields as well as the Author of this Preface does, he would cease to wonder], at the height of the day, in this season of the year, and so many pieces discharged, they were neither interrupted nor discovered!" which last is a manifest untruth. He adds *(p.* 33*)*, "That none of the real actors were taken" (he might at least have excepted Rathillet and Guilan); and then, 2dly, repeats what he had so often before inculcated, "That it was ill reasoning and unfair to lodge this fact upon the whole party," &c. And this leads me to the last thing I proposed in this Preface, which is to show, that whoever pretends to call himself a true Presbyterian, must necessarily approve of this action, as not only lawful but heroical. We do not, indeed, in as many words, find this asserted in their *Confession of Faith, Covenant*, &c., thô from some of their positions and solemn engagements there, 'tis not uneasy to infer this by way of consequence; but 'tis hoped it will be next to that, directly to draw it from the writings of their greatest Apostles, whom our modern Presbyterians look upon to have been divinely inspired, and none of whose Books they ever yet offered to disown as unsound.

Here, then, I shall first instance the horrid Murder of Cardinal Bethune, as related by Knox, 1*st Edit.*, *p.* 143, 144, 145, where, after having introduced James Melvil, making just such another harrangue to him as Mr. Wodrow puts in the mouth of John Balfour, the murderer of Bishop Sharp, he tells us, "That after his exhorting him to repentance, yet he allowed him no more time for that great work than was spent in delivering the speech." Nevertheless, Knox there calls that speech, with what presently followed thereupon, viz., Melvil's assassinating the Cardinal, the "godly words and deed of James Melvil." But least this should be only thought a flash of heat peculiar rather to the fiery Scottish genius than to the spirit of Presbytery in general, we have the joint suffrages of two famous moderate English Presbyterian Teachers to make good the charge. Thus Goodman, in his "Tyranny and Popery," *p.* 27, tells us, "That all men are bound to see the laws of God kept, and suppress and resist idolatry by force; and that it is not enough for subjects to disobey the wicked orders of their Prince, but that it is their indispensible duty to resist them, and deliver God's children out of their enemies' hands, as a sheep is delivered from the wolf. And if the Magistrate refuses to put Mass-mongers and false Preachers [and such are all Protestant Bishops and Clergymen, in the Presbyterian Account] to death, the people, in doing it for them, do shew that zeal to God's glory which the Scripture commends in Phineas." But Gilby goes yet a little further, and plainly tells us, "That Princes derive their authority from the people, which the people, upon occasion, may take from them again, just as a man may revoke his proxy;" nay, boldly says, that 'tis warrantable to kill wicked Kings; and such, in their Account, are all anti-covenanting Kings. "The subjects (says he) killed Athalia; Jehu killed Jezabel; Elijah, thô no Magistrate, killed the Queen's Chaplains, Baal's Priests." And Leichton, in his "Zion's Plea," asserteth, "That Felton's killing the Duke of Buckingham was a heroical and laudable fact," and recommends it to posterity for imitation.

Goodman.

Further, we find that Knox, in his Debate with Secretary Lethington, as set down by himself, *Hist.*, *p.* 390, justifies the killing of tyrannical Princes, and all others in publick place, by private persons, from the example of Phineas, who, he says, was but a private person; and tells us, that he had not only a large reward for his fact, but an ample approbation of it (*Numb. xxv.* 12, 13, compared with *Psal. cvi.* 31); so that it was accounted to him for righteousness, *i.e.*, as a righteous action; and roundly tells him, "That it is to be imitated by all those who prefer the true honour of the true worship and glory of God to the affection of fleshly and wicked Princes." Nay, further adds, "That this example of Phineas, being approved by God, stands to us instead of a command; for as God in His nature is constant and immutable, so can He not condemn in the ages subsequent that which He hath approved in His servants before us."

It will be needless here to make any quotations out of their great cham-

pion Buchanan, his whole Book, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, being but one intire vindication of those execrable practices, and his lying and calumnious History nothing else but a Comment on that text, to which he exactly accommodates it. Let us hear but one passage of the former, where he sticks not to say "That the only remedy against tyrants [viz., all in authority who will not govern according to the freak of the mob, whom alone he makes judge in that case] is Ehud's dagger, to which, as the Supreme Court of Justice, Moses brought the Egyptian; Phineas, Zimri and Cosbi; Ehud, Eglon; Sampson, the Philistines; Samuel, Agag; and Jehojada, Athalia," &c. Buchanan.

Next to these I shall mention an Author who, thô later, is yet held in as great veneration by the party as any yet named, and that is the Author of "Naphtali," who, *p.* 134, exhorts "all people to acquit themselves like men, and pull the Bishops out of the Sanctuary, that the wrath of God may be averted in the righteous punishment of these wicked men." Accordingly, Mr. James Mitchel attempted to murder Dr. Sharp, and in his speech saith, "They are all blessed that shall take the proud Prelates and dash their brains against the stones." And what was first attempted by him in vain (thô, by the by, no man ever yet failed in achieving an heroical act to which he was moved by God), was eleven years thereafter successfully effected by a company of true Presbyterians, some of whom had long rode in Mr. Welsh's Guard. That same Author defends the Rebellion at Pentland-hills from the same instance of Phineas, and blasphemously ascribes it to the Holy Spirit of God; asserting "That those Rebels were no more to be condemned as traitors, than Phineas ought to have been for a murderer, seeing they were led by the same Spirit, and had as good warrant as he," *p.* 21 *et seqq.* And all these afore-cited Doctrines and their Authors are strenuously vindicated by the Author of *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, *cap.* 20, from *pag.* 409 to *pag.* 426. In short, "Naphtali" and *Jus Populi Vindicatum* were, in King Charles II. his time, the Presbyterian pocket-books; and it was then observed that the common people read them, especially the former, as much or more than the Bible. A learned English Author (Dr. Hickes) of those times tells us, "That he knew an Officer of his Majesty's Forces, who, meeting with a country fellow going to a Field Conventicle, examined and searched him, and in one pocket found 'Napthali,' and in the other a pocket pistol charged with two bullets: the Doctrine (as the gentleman ingeniously said) in one pocket, and the use or application in the other." The Author adds, "That as he was credibly informed, that pernicious Book was found in the pockets of most of those who were killed or taken at Bothwel Bridge." "Naphtali."

From these celebrated Authors, then, we have the true principles on which Presbyterians found their terrible practice of massacres and assassinations. For beside those above cited, Calvin, Beza, Melvil, &c., do all maintain, "That when the Magistrate will not put to death such as they are pleased to call enemies of Christ, the Church (*i.e.*, private persons) may do it, by the example of Phineas; nay, that they ought to do it without hesita- Severe criticisms on the "true principles" of the Presbyterians of that age.

tion, when they feel themselves moved thereto. But that if the Magistrates themselves be such, then any other person, thô not in office, may and ought to rise up to do justice upon them (the King not excepted), still after the example of Phineas." Yet, least any man should be startled at so terrible a Doctrine, which plainly unhinges all humane society, the Author of *Jus Populi Vindicatum* adds, *p.* 412, "That notwithstanding this Doctrine, all persons have sufficient security of their lives, except such as are guilty of dreadful Apostacy [with which they charge all who have renounced the Covenant, or who took it and do not keep it; in particular, the King and the Archbishop], causing the plague of God to break in upon the land," which he pursues at full length, *p.* 414, 415, where again and again he urges the example of Phineas to encourage private men to murder the Archbishop. In fine, that this is the general Presbyterian Doctrine, I appeal not only to "Naphtali" and *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, but to the "Apology," the "Apologetical Narration," the "Poor Man's Cup," the "History of the Indulgence," the "Hind let Loose," &c., who all of them sing the same note.

Mr. Wodrow pretends to answer this charge, *vol.* 2, *page* 33, as the same stands in a Book Printed in the year 1680, entitled "The Spirit of Popery speaking out of the mouths of Phanatical Protestants," &c., where some of the most pregnant of the above-cited testimonies are set down; but, then, all his answer comes to this, "That none of that Author's citations come at all up to the present case of the Archbishop's Murder." This is an easy way of answering the strongest demonstrations that ever were used to prove any thing. For thus may the Deists answer Doctor Lesly and others, that all their arguments come not up to the case of Reveal'd Religion. Since, therefore, Mr. Wodrow does not make appear any disparity betwixt the above-cited Doctrines and the practice of the Archbishop's murderers, all we can do is to leave it to the judgement of any intelligent Reader, be his principles what they will, whether the said Murder was a plain consequence or rather application of the above-cited Doctrines.

But since Mr. Wodrow pretends to disown all assassinations, I could almost appeal to himself, whether it had been more ingenuous and fair in him, since the above-named Authors do not only defend, but commend such murders as plain duty, to have fairly and frankly said, that these Authors, however otherwise burning and shining lights, were yet in this point wrong, and overborn by mistaken zeal, however good their intentions were; and that therefore he, and all modern Presbyterians, humbly differ from them as to that head. But bluntly to say, that such clear and plain expressions as are above cited come not up to the present case, is a way of reasoning peculiar to Mr. Wodrow.

Field Conventicles.

I shall only further remark two groundless and malicious calumnies of this eminent Martyrologist, in his Account of the Proclamation in April, 1679, against Field Conventicles, *vol.* 2, *pag.* 38, 39. And (to pass by his ignorant and impertinent observes upon it) in the first place, I find that he

charges Doctor Sharp as being the Author and chief promoter of that Proclamation (which indeed was his duty, had it been true), and says, "That it may be reckoned the Primate's Legacy, and an earnest of what he would have essayed had he got up to Court;" which still insinuates a further vindication of the Murder. But this is neither less nor more than a manifest falshood; nor does he pretend to give either reason or voucher for what he says. The other is a wicked untruth, viz., "That all of the Privy Council saw need, before the Proclamation was Published, to have it Signed by the King, that this might be a Warrant to them if afterwards called to account for it." The falshood of this will appear from his Majesty's Answer to the Council's Letter, wherein the Proclamation was sent up enclosed; whereby it is evident, that the Signing of it by the King was not at all moved or desired by them, but that it proceeded entirely from himself: therefore I have inserted the Answer itself in the *Appendix (Numb. VI.)*, because it seems not to have been seen by the Author of the following Sheets.

Abp. Burnet of Glasgow.

Lastly, lest any man should mistake our Author's meaning in this Narrative, where he says, "That the reverend and pious Doctor Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, Demitted his Dignity and Charge upon passing of the Act of Supremacy in the year 1669," the Reader will be pleased to be informed, that this was not a simple Demission, far less done in a pet (which would indeed have been an unpardonable fault in that great and good man), but only in obedience to his Majesty's Letter to the Privy Council, whereby he is prohibited to Officiate, only till the King's further pleasure. And who procured this disgrace to him, is pretty well known to some Presbyterians yet alive in Scotland. This one thing is certain, that he, as well as Doctor Sharp, was a strenuous opposer of the Act of Supremacy when brought in before the Parliament. In a dutiful compliance, therefore, with his Majesty's pleasure, he simply declared to his Clergy that he was not to act as their Ordinary any more, till the King should please to allow him. (This was far from the Presbyterian spirit.) Accordingly, we see Doctor Leighton, Bishop of Dumblain, was never formally Translated to the See of Glasgow, but only made Administrator during his Majesty's pleasure; who, finding at length how he had been misinformed and abused by his own ungrateful servant, to whom all this was owing, not only restored Doctor Burnet to his former Dignity and Charge, but afterwards promoted him to the See of St. Andrews.

APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE.

Numb. I.

Bell Lindsay's character and imaginations.

D. Sir,—I think it proper to let you know what sort of a person Isabel Lindsay was, before I say any thing of the story about her. She was (by those who were perfectly well acquainted with her) look'd upon as a woman crack-brain'd and very fanciful, as by what follows you'll easily perceive.

She told the person I had it from (whose veracity I can rely as much upon as if she had said it to my self), that one day when she was living at Inverdevit, she saw a man and a black horse rise out of the midst of the River of Tay, and rid North. My Author ask'd what time of the day it was. She said, In fair sunshine. And her head run so much upon Witches, that she frequently complain'd there was no course now taken with them, which was not wont to be, and actually scandalized an honest woman for being one, which she complained of to the Ministers of this place, and they were much troubled about it; for they were convinced the honest woman was innocent, and the accuser most malicious; for all the ground she had for it was, that the honest woman's husband, when melancholy, called her an old witch. And when she would have gone to her cellar and heard rats, she used to say over and over again, God keep me from witches. And I am told, that she reported she once saw Archbishop Sharp, Dr. Pittullo, and Mr. Robert Rait, Minister of Dundee, all dancing in the air; by all which you may guess what sort of a person she was. Her rising and speaking in the Church on a Sunday forenoon was this: When the Primate was Preaching, and when the 7th ver. of the 62 Psal., "In God my glory placed is," was read, she said, "Your glory, your glory, my glory, my glory's placed in God;" but she kept her seat all the time of Psalms and Prayer; but when the Sermon began, she rose and called him Judas, or some such expression; and the people that were next her clapt their hands on her mouth, that she got very little spoke, for she was instantly taken to prison; and when there, was asked if she had any thing to say to the Archbishop, and she should be carried to him, she said No, and she would not hear an ill word of him. This is the substance of what passed at that time (which is about 50 years ago), that these that were then men and women remember. As for her bringing forth a child, and it being murdered, its a most malicious, hellish, and devilish calumny; and for its being begot under promise of Marriage, he was always worth the waiting upon, and she was Married several years before him.

NUMB. II.

Katharine Moncrieff.

Dear Sir,—I return you my hearty thanks for the Book you sent me, which is the most scurrilous rhapsody of malicious calumny that ever was invented. As to that story in the Preface, of the Primate's sister-in-law being sent to the North with child, I reckon it necessary to give you the following Account of that silly, simple, senseless woman, Katharine Moncrieff. A few years after the Restoration, Mr. John Cuningham, the Earl of Glencairn's son, while a student here, took a fever; and that he might be the better taken care of, the Archbishop brought him to his own house; and during his sickness, this poor unhappy woman sometimes went to his room; and after he recover'd, and had left the place, she told some of the servants that she was with child (which she seemed very fond of) to Mr. Cuningham. This coming to her sister's ears, she presently told her husband of it, who immediately ordered a man and a horse to be got ready, and carry her to Cowpar (and never in all his life saw her again), where two of her sisters were then living; and after that, she went and lived at Crail alone with a servant, and proved not to be with child. But some time after, she fell with child to a millar, a married man in Balcomie Ground, and satisfied as an adulteress in the Church of Crail. After this they went away together,

but she returned back again before the fellow; at last he returned also, and then the friends fearing they might renew their acquaintance, sent her to the North. I am credibly informed she was not with child at that time, and thô she had been, it says nothing against the Primate, for it was five or six years after she went from his family.

NUMB. III.

Copy of a Paper dropt on the Street of Cowpar, a few days before the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

To all and sundry to whose hands these Presents shall come, but especially to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the Town of Cowpar in Fife.

Cupar-Fife Paper.

Be it known to all men, that whereas under a pretext of Law, thô most falsly, there is most abominable, illegal, and oppressive robberies and spoils committed in this Shire, by Captain Carnegie and his Souldiers, by virtue of a Precept from William Carmichael, &c., he being authorized and held on to it by that perjured apostate Prelate Sharp, who, &c. These are therefore to declare to all that shall any ways be concerned in this villainous robbery and oppression, either by assisting, recepting, levying, or any manner of way countenancing the same, that they shall be holden as guilty thereof; and however they may think themselves for the present secured, being guarded by a military force, and those that are thus robbed despiseable, yet let them take this for a warning that they shall be handled severely, answerable to their villanies, and that by a party equal to all that dare own them, and that shortly, as God shall enable and assist them, whose names may be read in these following Letters, A, B, C, &c.

NUMB. IV.

King Charles' gratulation.

CHARLES R.—Right trusty, &c., we greet you well. It was with no less abhorrence than surprisal, that in your Letter of the 4th instant (in a flying Packet) we received an Account of that cruel and barbarous Murder committed the day before, by ten fanatick ruffians, upon the person of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, within two miles of that place; an action attended with so many circumstances of inhumanity and barbarity, as that, were it not certified unto us from so good hands, we could not have believed that in any Nation civilized, much less where Christianity is professed, there could have been such a hellish design contrived, much less put in execution: a villany so abominable to us (and must certainly be so to all good men), that were it committed but upon the meanest of our subjects, in place of the Metropolitan of that our ancient Kingdom, and one of our Privy Council, we could not but resent it with the most severe effects of our displeasure and abhorrence; and therefore we cannot but highly commend (and return you our hearty thanks for) your great care and forwardness (even upon the first notice of that horrid fact) to take the most effectual course for discovering and apprehending those barbarous assasines, in order to their exemplary punishment and the terror of others of the same bloody and hellish principles from ever daring to attempt such a villany hereafter; and particularly the Proclamation you have Published upon that occasion, with which we were so well pleased, that we did immediately order it to be Printed here. We have also seen the Depositions of the Witnesses, and the Copy of that scandalous and

seditious Paper that was dropt in the Town of Cowpar; by which last we perceive that, in all appearance, the design of that horrid Murder was laid sometime before by a more considerable number of men than the assassines were; and therefore we do in a particular manner recommend to you to make all the enquiry and search that is possible, for all persons that you have reason to suspect any manner of way guilty of contriving, consulting, abbetting, or furthering that horrid villany. For we do look upon them as no less guilty thereof than the wretches that assumed the boldness and impiety to shed that innocent blood, and that to so high a degree of cruelty and barbarity as can hardly be paralleled in any Nation; which we do so much abominate, as we cannot but again earnestly desire you to take the most effectual courses, consistent with Law, for punishing to the outmost severity all such as shall be found guilty of or accessory to that horrid and execrable crime: for doing whereof, this shall be to you and all others that may be therein concerned a full Warrant. By a former Letter, we sent for some of your number to come hither, and after we have spoke with them you shall find that we are fully resolved to maintain and assert the authority exercised by you, and that we will not cease to afford you our countenance and protection in the faithful discharge of that great trust we have committed to you. And so we bid you heartily farewell.—Given at our Court at Whitehall the tenth day of May, 1679, and of our Reign the 31st year. By his Majesty's command. LAUDERDALE.

NUMB. V.

Extraordinary Puritan Document.

Dearly beloved Brother,—I am glad to hear your welfare, and that you continue in the faith, which I wish you may retain, and persevere in to the end. You shall know that our forces daily encrease, and are now surmounted to the number of 10,000, and there are daily adding to the number of those who shall be saved. I hope you have heard of the dreadful death of the old fox who was clothed with the sheep's skin and countenanced with the King's authority. The same was intended for others also, but it seems God hath not altogether forsaken them, and given them over to themselves; but it may be supposed that they are referred to a greater judgment, which God in His own appointed time will cause fall upon them, and send deliverance to His people, which shall be the daily prayers of him who greets you in the Lord. I am informed that the King is sending down 5000 English, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, to assist the Prelaticall party, and to suppress the Godly; but God knows how to deliver the just from the hand of their enemies. But I hope within a few moneths we shall see an end of thir things, and then shall the righteous flourish like a palm tree. Which shall be the evening, morning, and mid-day's Prayers of

Your beloved Brother in the Lord,

3d May, 1679. J. C.

Directed to Mr. D—— C——gil, Minister of the Gospel at Glasgow. With care deliver these.

Edin., May 10th, 1679.

Hæc est vera copia epistolæ suprascriptæ, cujus principalis est ad Ducem Lauderdaliæ transmissa.

JO. EDINBURGEN, &c.
AND. SODOREN.
ARTH. LISMOREN.

NUMB. VI.

Copy of the Declaration of the Physician and Chirurgeons who visited the Body of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Medical Certificate.

We Undersubscribers, being called to visit the Corps of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, do find that he had received a wound by a sword over the left eye, extending two inches above and one below, making a great suffusion of blood upon the cheek, and upper and lower eyelid. Next, we found many wounds upon the posterior part of his head, insomuch that the whole occipital bone was shatter'd all in pieces, and a part of the brain lost thereby upon the place, which certainly being so great, could not but occasion his present death. There were only two wounds to be seen upon the body; the first, two or three inches below the right clavicle, betwixt the second and third rib, which was given by a shot not reaching the capacity of the breast. The next was a small wound upon the region of the kidneys, given by a small sword. Likewise we found three wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved mortal thô he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand, as dangerous as the former. As witness our hands at St. Andrews, the 5th day of May, 1679.

GEORGE PITILLO, M.D.
WILLIAM BORTHWICK, Chir.
HENRY SPENCE, Chir.
JAMES PRINGLE, Chir.

NUMB. VII.

Proclamation against Field Conventicles.

CHARLES R.—Right trusty, &c., having seen and considered the Proclamation for suppression of Field Conventicles which in your Letter of the 1st inst. to the Duke of Lauderdale, you sent hither for our perusal and approbation before the publication thereof,—we are so well pleased with it, and do judge it so fit for that purpose, as that we do give you our hearty thanks for that good effect of your care and diligence to promote our service and preserve the peace of that our ancient Kingdom; and do return it to you without any delay, to the end that no time may be lost in the prosecution of so good a work. Whereof that you may have our full and solemn approbation, we have thought fit our self to Sign the Draught you sent up, and you have it here inclosed. And as we are fully resolved upon all occasions to assert and maintain our authority, and to put the Laws in execution as well against those who by private and underhand dealings endeavour to create any disturbance to our Government there, either in Church or State (when the same shall be made manifest to us), as against those who of late have assumed the boldness more openly to attempt the raising of a Rebellion there, by frequent and numerous Convocations in Arms at Field Conventicles—these nurseries of Rebellion, and many other irregular and illegal courses; so we do hereby give you our assurance, that you shall have all due countenance, encouragement, and protection from us in the discharge of your duties in our service, against all who shall traduce or asperse any of your proceedings, which have been so agreeable to law and reason, as we cannot but admire the impudence (no less than the malice) of such persons as study to create a contrary opinion of your actions. We did receive such full satisfaction from those Lords you sent up last year to inform us when there was some noise raised (indeed very unjustly) against your procedure,

as we do now think fit to desire that some of your number may repair hither with all convenient expedition, to the end we may not only receive from them a full account of the state of our affairs there, but also may have an opportunity to signify our pleasure in many things, after conference with them, which at present we cannot impart in a Letter. And because the Noblemen who are imployed in our service are either of our Privy Council or have Command of our Forces, or both, and therefore cannot well be absent at this time, we have thought fit rather to require you to send three of our Officers of State, viz., our Clerk-Register, our Advocate, and our Justice-Clerk, together with the President of our College of Justice, and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet, our Justice-General, seeing from them we can have full information, as well in matters of Law as of fact. So expecting from them a ready compliance with this our pleasure, and not doubting the continuance of your care and diligence in all things that concern our service and the peace and quiet of that our Kingdom, we bid you heartily farewell.—Given at our Court at Whitehall the sixth day of May, 1679, and of our Reign the 31st year. By his Majesty's command.

LAUDERDALE.

THE LIFE OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, DR. JAMES SHARP,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS AND PRIMATE OF ALL SCOTLAND.

Parentage and Birthplace.

Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was great-grandchild to a gentleman in Perthshire, who having given portions to his numerous children, one of his sons, named David, chose to go to live in the Town of Aberdeen, where, by his frugality and industry, he became a considerable merchant, and lived and Died in good esteem. By his wife, Magdalen Haliburton (nearly descended of the Laird of Pitcur, a honourable Family in the Shire of Angus), he had a son named William, who being educated at the Schools and University of Aberdeen, was, for his extraordinary natural parts and proficiency, taken notice of by the Marquess of Huntly, and other persons of quality in that Country; but particularly, the Earl of Findlator conceived such a great opinion of him, that he took him to his house, and committed to him the management of all his affairs. This Earl had Married a daughter of the Earl of Rothes, who took such a particular concern for Mr. William Sharp, that she made up a match betwixt him and Isabel Lesly, daughter to the Laird of Kinninvy, a gentleman of her own name and family. Not long after this, Mr. Sharp was made Sheriff-Clerk of Banffshire, and liv'd and Died in the Castle of Banff, in great esteem and reputation with all who knew him. His wife, Isabel Lesly, was an extraordinary woman, honoured by all for her wisdom and piety, and Died of a great age, after K. Charles II.'s Restoration.

These were the parents of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was Born in the Castle of Banff, on the [4th] of May, 1618. From his

very cradle he was look'd upon as a child that promised something more than ordinary, and therefore was by them cared for and watched over with the more tender concern. Being sent to school sooner than is usual with children of that age, he outdid all his fellows in the very rudiments of learning. His masterly genius, quick apprehension, and tenacious memory, were early signs and prognosticks of his future greatness. Withal, he was observed to be a diligent Reader of the Holy Scriptures, and frequent and regular in Meditation and Devotion; and he had great satisfaction to be in company with Clergymen, which made his father's neighbours call him in jest "The young Minister;" and his mother, whose darling he was, was frequently heard to say, that her son James would be a Bishop. And she had the satisfaction to hear of his promotion before her Death.

Sent to School at Banff.

These considerations mov'd his father to dedicate him to Christ and the services of his Church, who, to compleat his education, sent him to the University of Aberdeen, where he arrived to such perfection in the Philosophy then in vogue, that he was the envy of his condisciples and admiration of the Masters.

Having past his courses in the College with great applause, and being made Master of Arts, he apply'd himself to the study of Theology, in which he us'd the advice and directions of these miracles of learning, Doctor Forbes and Dr. Baron, the last of whom commonly call'd him after a familiar way, *Mi Jacobe Sharp, Sharp*, signifying the opinion he had of his conception and readiness. Under these great tutors in that sacred science, his advances were extraordinary; and there he suck'd in a set of such Orthodox and Catholick Principles, as were more agreeable to his after elevated character and the last scenes of his life, than adapted to these tragical times in which he was to make his first figure and entrance into the world.

Educated at Aberdeen.

The Doctors of Aberdeen, of whom the before-nam'd Forbes and Baron were two, eminently appearing against the Covenant (that forerunner of many woes), incensed the Balaams of those times to that degree, that not only these reverend persons, but also their friends and familiars, and those suspected to be of their principles, were preach'd down, whisper'd off, pointed at, and mobb'd, against all Laws, out of the protection of Law, their interests, and the natural priviledges of subjects. Young Mr. Sharp finding the clouds of Sedition, Schism, Faction, and Rebellion to break out upon Church and State, and being known to be no favourer of these tumultuous practices, resolved to retire for some short time to England, hoping such violent storms could not be lasting; with a purpose to return, and do all the good services to his Country that his inclinations and abilities fitted him for, when the tempest was over.

During his stay in that Kingdom, he contracted an acquaintance with several eminent and learn'd Divines, particularly with those great lights, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Taylor; and visited the famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And thô then was the critical time

Visited Oxford and Cambridge.

when Scotsmen, particularly young men of that Nation, were suspected by the Church of England, yet he stood fair for considerable Ecclesiastical Benefices, and had the honour to be taken notice of, and in favour with several persons of note, who, as we may reasonably suppose, would have preferr'd him. But then no less confusions threatning England than what had really happen'd in Scotland, made him unresolved to settle there. And being also seiz'd with a violent ague, which was like to have prov'd dangerous, both by advice and inclination he returned to his native Country, after some years' absence, thô with improved parts, yet in a bad state of health.

Stay at Haddington.

But Providence never fails to take care of its own eminent instruments, for in his journey to Edinburgh he happen'd to lodge at Haddington in the same inn with Sir James McGill of Cranston, afterwards Viscount of Oxenford, a person of a noble and generous temper, and who (in imitation of his worthy ancestors) was remarkable for learning, loyalty, and services to the publick. He, after a short conversation with Mr. Sharp, conceived such an opinion of him, that he carried him along to his house in the country, where he recovered his health, and was treated with much respect, friendship, and familiarity, of which he always retained a grateful sense through the whole course of his life.

During his stay here, he was known to several of the Nobility and Gentry, particularly to the Earl of Rothes, who patroniz'd him, not only on the account of his parts, but also on the recommendations of some gentlemen of the name of Lesly, of his Lordship's Family, and Mr. Sharp's relations; and partly by his interest, but more for his own merits, he was chosen one of the Professors of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews, which was the first step of his advancement.

Professor in St. Leonards.

In this capacity he measur'd his time with great frugality, allotting such portions of it for the instruction of his scholars as were necessary, and employing the rest for his own improvement, without neglecting to converse with the world. He kept a very good understanding with the Masters of the University, only there happened a scuffle betwixt Mr. Sinclair, a fellow-Regent with himself in St. Leonard's College, which was like to have cost him dear. This Mr. Sinclair was a ringleader and champion for the Covenant, and afterwards Preacher at Ormeston. One day after dinner, at the common table of the College, when the Students were remov'd, a Debate arose on the subject of Church Government betwixt them; in which Mr. Sharp, venting and maintaining Hooker's, Hall's, and Hammond's principles with a philosophical liberty, confounded and irritated his antagonist to that degree that he exceeded the bounds of common decency, and gave him flatly the lie, which Mr. Sharp return'd with a box on the ear. The account of this was nois'd about, and for some time gave a very bad impression of him to several Churchmen; notwithstanding which, that humour dwindled away by degrees, and his abilities rais'd his reputation, and usher'd him into the familiarity of many great men, particularly of John, Earl of Crawford-Lind-

Sinclair's box on the ear.

say, who, thô too much in the wrong faction of these times, yet inherited many of the excellent vertues of his noble race.

Minister of Crail.

By this Lord's means he quitted the post of a Master of Philosophy in the College, and embrac'd the office of a Preacher in the Town of Carail, and there in a singular manner exemplified the Evangelical precept as to the wisdom of the serpent and innocence of the dove. Here his labours were most acceptable, and gain'd on the hearts of the people by calmness, condescension, and affability. He acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the most part of his fellow-Preachers; only Mr. Blair, and some of the moroser sort, us'd to say they did not believe him sound (a word then, and since, of a weighty import), and that he spoke through a Bishop.

The two Divisions of Presbyterians.

In that remarkable division of the Presbyterians into Publick Resolutioners and Remonstrators, he joyn'd the former, as being the only men of the whole who were of the greatest moderation, Religion, loyalty, and sincerity. This untimely breach occasioned many miscarriages, intestine broils, and defeats at Dunbar and Worcester, and in the issue prov'd the overthrow of Presbytery. Notwithstanding these sad times, when the Royal Family was under the cloud, yet Mr. Sharp had the honour and courage to correspond with the King in his exile, and spared no pains to keep life in the fainting spirit of loyalty in many of the brethren, of which his Majesty was not unmindful on the Restoration.

This rupture still increasing, involved not only the Churchmen but the whole Nation in flames. Both parties hop'd for favour from Oliver, Lord Protector, and appointed their agents to repair to him.

The Publick Resolutioners unanimously chose Mr. Sharp, whom they knew to be of a strong head, quick wit, and of a very equal temper. The Remonstrators sent up Mr. Guthry, Preacher at Stirling, the very image and compend of the whole party. He represented a hot-headed incendiary and an impudent rebel, who with his slanderous tongue prophan'd the Pulpit, and at Stirling treated King Charles to his face as the Old Testament varlet Shimei did good King David at Bahurim, in the days of his distress.

Guthry of Stirling.

The Protector having appointed the day, hour, and place for hearing the two Commissioners on their differences, Mr. Guthry spoke first, and so long, that when he had ended, the Protector look'd upon his watch, and told Mr. Sharp he would hear him at another time, for his hour for other dispatches was approaching. But Mr. Sharp beg'd to be heard, promising to be very short. His request being seconded by his intimate friend the Lord Broghill, afterwards the famous Earl of Orrery, Oliver was prevail'd upon to give him an audience. And then in a few words he turn'd Mr. Guthry's arguments against himself and the cause he defended, and gave such a rational representation of his constituents and their party, that Oliver was not only satisfied they had justice on their side, but also so much taken with Mr. Sharp's genteel management and address, that he told the bystanders that that gentleman, after the Scotch way, ought to be stiled "Sharp of that Ilk."

And it is not to be thought that a man of Oliver's reach and Politicks, when he had nipt the growth of the Levellers and Fifth Monarchists, would have encouraged men of such factious spirits and distemper'd brains as the Remonstrators of Scotland were.

And good it was for the Nation that affairs were thus order'd; for if these had prevail'd, the Pulpits would have made work for the scaffold and gibbet, and Mr. Sharp most probably would have been the first sacrifice; which made him own on all occasions that he ow'd his life to Oliver Cromwell, and was seldom heard to mention him but he acknowledged his personal merit and his own obligation.

Sharp's attention to his Commission.

Mr. Sharp's character and conduct in this affair is represented to Mr. Dowglas and Mr. Dickson, &c., from Mr. Calamy and Mr. Ashe, in a Letter Dated at London, December, 1657, and expressed thus:—

> Our Reverend Brother Mr. Sharp hath with much prudence, courage, and laboriousness unweariedly attended and managed the trust committed to him; yea, as we believe, he hath secured your cause from sundry aspersions which otherwise might probably have reproach'd it, and he hath gain'd respect in the opinions of some in highest place by his wisdom and meekness in vindicating it from misrepresentations. And although the great concernment (which he hath faithfully and zealously minded) be not brought to so good a conclusion as was desir'd and pray'd for, yet we see cause to bless God for that which is done, hoping that through your prudent improvement thereof it will tend to future advantage.

It appears to me, that from this time we may state the rage of the violent party (for I do not mean to charge the moderate Presbyterians) which fell heavy on this excellent person, and never left persecuting him till he was an approv'd Confessor and crown'd a Martyr.

Return home.

Having succeeded in this important affair, he returned to Scotland to the exercise of his Station, and always kept a good understanding with Mr. David Dickson, Mr. George Hutcheson, and the most eminent for worth and learning of the gang; but these he was most inward with were Mr. James Wood, a learned, honest, and open-hearted man, and Mr. Robert Dowglas, who had abilities and experience that equally fitted him for the highest character in the Church, the State, or the Camp.

His reputation growing with his worth, rais'd a general esteem of him, and gave him access to an acquaintance with General Monk, who look'd upon him as a man of probity and reach, and always after treated him with singular familiarity, and employed him accordingly.

Cromwell's Death.

Cromwel Dying on September 3d, 1658, distractions increased, and his son Richard being turned out by the Rump Parliament (which in the month of May the next year was again restored), factions and divisions so prevailed that General Monk had thereby a plausible pretence of returning to England, which he did, marching from Caldstream upon Tweed the first day of January, in anno 1660, and entred London with his Army 3d February. The troubled

state of affairs dispos'd each party to make court to him, as they were differently affected, and not only to seek after present protection, but also for future security.

Some of the chief Presbyterian Brethren in Scotland made choise of Mr. Sharp, and commissioned him to be their Agent in the cause and affairs of the Kirk with General Monk. After his arrival at London, he address'd his Excellency, and was graciously received, as "being dear to him on many accounts, and his very good friend," as the General expresseth himself in his Letter, Dated at Drapers' Hall, London, 16th February, 1660, directed to Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. George Hutcheson, and Mr. James Wood; which he thus concludes, that they may "rest assured that none shall be more careful to preserve their profession in honour than he." Chosen representative of the Kirk.

But it was not only to the General that he made application, but to others also of the best quality, who were friends to the interest in which he was then engaged; as appears by a Letter from the Earls of Crawford and Lawderdale, and the Lord Sinclair, in answer to one from the above-mentioned Brethren, Dated 20th March, in which they represent Mr. Sharp a faithful, diligent, and useful person.

All things ripening for the wonderful Restoration, General Monk sent Mr. Sharp over to Holland, about the beginning of May, 1660, to give an account to the King of his Excellency's behaviour and proceedings, from the beginning in Scotland to the progress he had made at the time of the Parliament's owning his Majesty's Title, &c. He having arrived at the Court of Breda, had several Conferences with the King, as is evident by his own Letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, 20th May, 1660. And thô his Commission at first was but from a small number, and to General Monk only, yet he took the advantage of the time, and address'd his Majesty in name of the body of the Ministry of the Church of Scotland, which had persever'd in her integrity and loyalty in all Revolutions. This was seemingly very kindly accepted by his Majesty; who returning to England, Mr. Sharp came along, and there left no stone unturned in the faithful discharge of his trust; and by a constant Correspondence with Mr. Robert Douglas, gave him an account of all the great emergencies and resolutions of the Court, with all the steps of his own conduct. The result of which was at length (but with much importunity, difficulty, and recommendation) a Letter from the King, 10th August, which I have taken from the Original, directed thus, "To our trusty and well beloved Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister of the Gospel in our City of Edinburgh, to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh," and is as follows:— Sent to the Court of Breda.

Charles R.—Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. By the Letter you sent to us with the Bearer, Mr. James Sharp, and by the account he gave of the state of our Church there, we have received full information of your sense of our sufferings, and of your constant affection and loyalty to our person and authority. And therefore we will detain him here no longer (of Letter from the King.

whose good service we are very sensible), nor will we delay to let you know by him our gracious acceptance of your Address, and how we are satisfied with your carriages, and with the generality of the Ministers of Scotland, in this time of tryal, whilst some under specious pretences swerv'd from that duty and allegiance they ow'd to us. And because such, who by the countenance of usurpers have disturbed the peace of that our Church, may also labour to create jealousies in the minds of well meaning people, we have thought fit by this to assure you, that, by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance prophanity and all contemners and opposers of the Ordinances of the Gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the Government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by Law, without violation; and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such Ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the Authority and Acts of the General Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, the year 1651, be own'd and stand in force until we shall call another General Assembly, which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit; and we do intend to send for Mr. Robert Douglas and some other Ministers, that we may speak with them in what may further concern the affairs of that Church. And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle without your sphere, so we do expect that Church Judicatories in Scotland and Ministers there will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters Ecclesiastick, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of all such who, by Preaching and Private Conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling, by endeavouring to corrupt the people, or sow seeds of disaffection to us or our Government. This you shall make known to the several Presbyteries within that our Kingdom. And as we do give assurance of our favour and encouragement to you, and to all honest deserving Ministers there, so we earnestly recommend it to you all, that you be earnest in your Prayers, publick and private, to Almighty God, who is our Rock and our Deliverer, both for us and for our Government, that we may have fresh and constant supplies of His grace, and the right improvement of all His mercies and deliverances, to the honour of His great name, and the peace, safety, and benefit of all our Kingdoms. And so we bid you heartily farewell.—Given at our Court at Whitehall the 10th of August, 1660, and of our Reign the twelfth year.

By his Majesty's command.

LAUDERDALE.

And of the above Date also, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ashe, and Mr. Manton wrote another Letter upon the affair in hand, directed thus: "To our reverend and highly esteem'd Brethren Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. George Hutcheson, these present, Edinburgh;" in which they shew the great joy and satisfaction they had in the security of the establish'd Government of the Church of Scotland, and of their own bad circumstances in England, and of their willingness to submit to a Moderate and Synodical Episcopacy, providing they were not tied up to higher terms and conditions.

Mr. Sharp being now to leave London, the King at his parting express'd

such an opinion of his abilities, that he gave him a mark of his Royal favour, and made him his Chaplain for Scotland, with a Pension of 200 Lib. Sterling per annum, which he enjoy'd to the time of his execrable Murder. The King Pensions Sharp.

Having made a quick journey to Edinburgh, he delivered up his Commission (the ends of which he had faithfully pursued), and the full Answer to it, to his Constituents, and after this had never another from the party, or was imploy'd by them; which shews that it is a gross calumny, and loading his memory unjustly, to affirm that he betray'd them, seeing he was under no trust.

During his absence, he was chosen Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College in St. Andrews. Whether he ever exercis'd that Office, I am not certain; if he did, it must have been for a short time; for on the first day of January following, anno 1661, the Parliament sat down at Edinburgh, the Earl of Middleton being his Majesty's High Commissioner; and on February an Act was made for the Visitation of the College of Aberdeen. The Management of its Revenue was to be inquir'd into from 1638, and its present state represented. Commissioners were appointed for that effect, one of whom was Mr. Sharp, who had the honour to act in conjunction with the greatest and best of the Nation. Professor of S. Mary's.

In this Parliament, if the causes of the late troubles were not fully inquired into, yet their extravagant effects were disproved, and Laws and Acts made for preventing the like attempts and dismal calamities; and at one stroak, an Act past on the 28th March, rescinding and annulling the pretended Parliaments in the years 1640 and 1641, &c., by which the ancient prerogative of the Crown was restored, and sovereignty freed from the invasions of late times; so that by this the Government of the State, and in effect that of the Church, was put in the same legal condition that they were in before the troubles began.

This the Parliament thought their duty, and their measures were most agreeable to the body of the better sort of the Nation. Nay, the Brethren themselves became so sensible of their miscarriages, that of three parts, two of them had a tendency to Episcopacy, and many took their own ways to discover and own it, and some of these after a more open manner, particularly the Synod of Aberdeen, whose Address, I presume, may be properly enough inserted in this place.

To his Grace, his Majesty's High Commissioner, and the High Court of Parliament.

The humble Address of the Synod of Aberdeen.

The various dispensations wherewith the righteous and wise Lord of Heaven and Earth hath been exercising us these many years bygone, cries aloud to all the subjects in Scotland who have not laid aside all sense of sin and duty, to reflect seriously upon the publick transactions of this Church and Nation, especially upon the deportment thereof to the King and the Address of the Synod of Aberdeen.

Royal Authority. And while the Lord is pleased to fix such thoughts upon our spirits, we cannot, unless we would blindfold our own consciences, stop the mouth thereof, hide our sin in our bosom with Adam, and keep fast deceit under our tongue, but give glory to God in an humble and ingenuous confession, as of the national guiltiness of Scotland, so of our own iniquity, in so far as we have been any way accessory to these sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs which have been put upon Royal Authority, whether during the Reign of our late most gracious Soveraign, that blessed Martyr, Charles I., or since his horrid Murder, to our gracious King, who now, in the Lord's most wonderful and gracious Providence, Reigns over us. And particularly we acknowledge these sad and grievous sins to be lying on the land, and upon us, according to the several degrees and measures of our accession, whether driven thereto by force and violence of a prevailing party, through humane weakness in that hour of temptation, or by sinful silence, and want of courage to have pleaded against such courses, viz., the rising in arms against the King, the preaching up the lawfulness of defensive arms by subjects against the Supreme Magistrate, which is contrary to Scripture, to all sound Antiquity, to the constant practice of the ancient Primitive Church, to the judgement of all sound Orthodox Divines, contrary to our National Confession of Faith and to the Oath of Allegiance: Popular Reformation without, much more against, the King's special consent and authority: The assisting the King's enemies by joyning our Forces with them, while as they were in Rebellion against their Soveraign Lord and Master: The preaching down the King's cause and interest, and preaching up the interest of his enemies: The giving out a Paper called "A Seasonable Warning for delivering up the King at Newcastle;" and that without any assurances, either by writ or pledges, for his Majesty's security, safety, honour, and freedom; althô there was no sufficient hostage in that land to have been given for his sacred person: The preaching against the intended relief of his Majesty, of precious memory, when he was a suffering prisoner in the Isle of Wight, anno 1648, where he was detained till at last these usurpers brought him to that fatal block: The putting unjust limitations and restrictions upon our gracious King, who now Reigns over us by God's blessing (in despight of all open and vailed enemies, who of late have put on the Robe of Loyalty), before he was admitted to the exercise of his Royal power: The indignities which were put upon his sacred Majesty by a factious and treacherous party, in that infamous and treasonable remonstrance: The opposing of the publick Resolutions, both of King, Church, and State, by that party, for the just and necessary defence of King, Religion, Honour, and all which was dear to men or Christians, the land being invaded, and one half thereof being possess'd by an Army of Sectaries, who by force and fraud had inslaved their own native Country, that ancient and famous Kingdom of England. And althô these sins of the remonstrance, opposing of, and protesting against the public Resolutions, be not a national guiltiness, both the one and the other being testified against and condemned by the generality of the State, Church, and Country; yet these being the guiltiness of a party in the Nation, we could not admit them, as matters of just provocation against God Almighty: The excluding of the King's interest out of the state of the quarrel betwixt his Majesty's own Army and that usurper and tyrant Oliver Cromwel, by that infamous Act of the West Kirk: The forcing of the King's Majesty, being then in their power, rather as a noble

prisoner than a free King, sore against his Royal will, to Subscribe Declarations against himself and his Royal Family: The little sympathy with his Majesty in his sufferings abroad: The sinful neglect of duty, for fear of men, in not Praying for him in publick; sinful silence in not preaching absolutely against the usurpers; too much at least passive complyance with them, sitting down like Issachar under the burden, and being like Ephraim, a silly dove without a heart. For these, and sins of the like nature, done against the Royal Authority, God in His justice and wisdom brought and kept us under a sad captivity and bondage. And have not all the land, and we, according unto the measure of our accession, more nor reason to confess guiltiness before God, men, and angels, and to intreat earnestly for mercy, therefore, at the Throne of Grace? And now, since it hath pleased the Eternal God, by Whom Kings Reign, to bring back our native King, and to settle him upon his Royal Ancestors' Throne, for which we shall desire to bless the Lord while we live; we conceive that, upon this signal mercy, God calls us to engage, likeas hereby we do in the strength of God engage, ourselves never to be accessory to any disloyal principle or practice, but declare our utter abhorrence thereof, and of every thing that may have any tendency that way; obliging not only ourselves to subjection, obedience, and submission to the Royal Authority and Commands, but also to Preach loyalty, subjection, obedience, and submission, and to press the same from the Word of God, and, according thereto, upon all his Majesty's subjects under our Ministry; and that it is sinful and ungodly for subjects to resist the King's Authority; but that in case of dissatisfaction in any command by his Majesty, it is their duty to suffer. And because it hath pleased the King's Majesty and his High Court of Parliament, for the over-reaching of many Ministers in Scotland, their outstretching of Presbyterial Government, by making it run in an excentick line, in medling with Civil concernments, and topping with the Supreme Authority, and upon other grave considerations, known themselves, which becomes us not to search into; to take away and rescind the Laws and Acts of Parliament whereby the Government of this Church had any Civil Authority: that it would please the King's Commissioner's Grace and the High Court of Parliament to joyn with us in this our earnest Petition, and to transmit the same to his sacred Majesty, that he will allow us to be still under his Majesty's protection, and that he may be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to settle the Government of this rent Church according to the Word of God, the practice of the ancient Primitive Church, in such a way as may be most consistent with Royal Authority, may conduce most for godliness, for unity, peace, and order; for a learned, godly, peaceable, and loyal Ministry, and most apt to preserve the peace of the three Nations. For doing whereof, we shall be earnest to supplicate God in his Majesty's behalf, for wisdom, counsel, and direction. We have conceived this emission to be a duty lying upon us, in reference to God, to the King, to this Church and Land, and for the exoneration of our own consciences before the world. And althô this has been our principal motive, yet it hath been no small encouragement to this Synod, that we have been put in remembrance by that noble and worthy Lord, the Earl Marshal, in his Letter to the Assembly, to this effect; and for which the Synod renders his Lordship hearty thanks, considering that he, having so great influence in this corner of the land, may be very instrumental for advancing Religion, justice, and loyalty here. And this Paper we have ordained to be Registred

in our Synod Books, *ad futuram rei memoriam*. And in testimony of our unanimity herein, we have all Subscribed it with our hands, at the King's College at Aberdeen, the 18th of April, 1661 years.

Mr. Alex. Ross, Minister of Monimusk, and Moderator.
Mr. John Paterson, Minister at Aberdeen.
Mr. John Meinzies, Professor of Divinity, and Minister at Aberdeen.
Mr. George Meldrum, Minister at Aberdeen.
Mr. William Douglas, Professor of Divinity in the King's College of old Aberdeen.
Mr. Andrew Strachan, Minister at Kintore.
Mr. William Cheyne, Minister at Dyce.
Mr. George Melvil, Minister at Upper Macher.
Mr. William Chalmers, Minister at Skeen.
Mr. David Lyel, Min. at Banchorie-Devnie.
Mr. David Lindsay, Minister at Drummaag.
Mr. Alex. Garioch, Minister at Peter-Coulter.
Mr. John Seton, Minister at Foveran.
Mr. John Paterson, Minister at Ellon.
Mr. Gilbert Anderson, Minister at Cruden.
Mr. William Mushatt, Minister at Slaines.
Mr. William Seton, Minister at Logie-Buchan.
Mr. Robert Ogilvie, Minister at Methlick.
Mr. William Keith, Minister at Udny.
Mr. John Ross, Minister at Birss.
Mr. George Burnet, Minister at Kincardin.
Mr. William Seton, Minister at Lumphanan.
Mr. Thomas Ross, Minister at Aboyne.
Mr. Lodovick Dunlop, Minister at Tarlan.
Mr. Arthur Ross, Minister at Kinarnie.
Mr. Andrew Skeen, Minister at Cluny.
Mr. James Ferguson, Minister at Glenmuik.
Mr. Robert Forbes, Minister at Coldstone.
Mr. William Douglas, Minister at Mid-Marr.
Mr. Adam Barclay, Minister at Towie.
Mr. William Duncan, Minister at Kildrimmie.
Mr. James Gordon, Minister at Touch.
Mr. William Glass, Minister at Cushnie.
Mr. George Gordon, Minister at Clatt.
Mr. Thomas Thores, Minister at Daviot.
Mr. William Forbes, Minister at Monwheeter.
Mr. John Gellie, Minister at Kinkell.
Mr. Alexander Middleton, Minister at Rain.
Mr. James Willocks, Minister at Kemnay.
Mr. George Milne, Minister at Premnay, and Clerk to the Assembly.
Mr. Arthur Ore, Minister at Colsalmond.
Mr. William Burnet, Minister at Inch.
Mr. John Strang, Minister at Oyne.
Mr. William Chalmers, Minister at Boyndie.
Mr. James Chalmers, Minister at Cullan.
Mr. William Stevenson, Minister at Fordyce.
Mr. John Watson, Minister at Ordewhill.
Mr. Andrew Simson, Minister at Deskford.
Mr. William Jaffray, Minister at King Edward.
Mr. Alexander Garden, Minister at Forgue.
Mr. William Gray, Minister at Auchterless.
Mr. George More, Minister at Rathen.
Mr. John Robertson, Minister at Saint Fergus.

April 24th, the Parliament wrote a most dutiful Letter to the King; and the Earl of Glencairn, Chancellor, and the Earl of Rothes, President of the Privy Council, were sent up with it to give a full account of the proceedings and state of affairs in Scotland. About which time Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. Sharp were called to Court; but the former excused himself by reason of age and present indisposition, and the latter went in company with these noble Lords. Sharp at Court.

The King having by singular acts of goodness restored Scotland to her rights and laws, consulted only Scots men on Scottish affairs; and not only motioned, but was positive, that as the Government of the State was Monarchy, so that of the Church should be Prelacy; and in a Council held at Whitehal, Nominated Mr. Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews. This was agreed to by all present there, except the Earl of Lauderdale, who openly entred his dissent; and coming out, met Mr. Sharp walking with the Earl of Stirling, to whom, with an austere voice and threatning gesture, he express'd these words: "Mr. Sharp, Bishops you are to have in Scotland; you are to be Archbishop of St. Andrews; but who ever shall be the man, by God, I will smite him and his Order below the fifth rib." And his Lordship was indeed as good as his word in many subsequent instances. Nominated Archbishop.

Toward the latter end of August, Mr. Sharp came to Edinburgh, and had instructions and offers from the King to some of the most loyal and leading of the Preachers, particularly Mr. Robert Douglas; who indeed declined to comply with Episcopacy, but with no less modesty than charity said to Mr. Sharp, "Brother, I render his Majesty a thousand thanks; but I have dipt so far in Oaths, and the concerns of the late troubles, and particularly in my Sermon before the King at his Coronation; and now being turn'd aged and infirm, I want strength to sustain the weight of the Office, and the difficulties I would be obliged to encounter. But if you can comply, who are young, and ly not under the same engagements, I neither can nor will blame you." And really this wise man's temper was so moderate and Christian, that he was a constant hearer of the Episcopall Ministers, and received the Sacrament from their hands, till an Indulgence ensued, which he thought absolved him from that necessity. Douglas' Reply about the Episcopate.

Mr. Sharp was again call'd to Court, as also were Mr. Fairfowl, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Leighton, who were Nominated by the King to the Sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Dumblain; two of whom, according to my best information, for want of Episcopal Orders, were first reordained Deacons and Priests, and then all the four were together Consecrated at Westminster. But since I wrote this, I find both Mr. Collier and Mr. Echard, and some other Writers who have copied from them, expressly say, that they were all four then Ordained, as wanting lawful Ordination. What authority these gentlemen have for so writing, I know not. It is true, indeed, that Dr. Sharp and Mr. Leighton had no Ordination till then; but for the other two, 'tis more than probable that they were in Holy Orders Four Sees filled.

before the year 1637, and consequently Ordained by a Bishop. But the Controversy is of no great consequence, and only depends on this question in fact, Whether these were before Ordained or not? If they were, then certainly only the other two were at that time put in Orders; if not, then it was necessary they should all four be re-ordained.

The other Eight Sees filled.

But these were not the only men of the Presbyterian Brethren who were then reconcil'd to the Mitre, for no less than six others of them were preferr'd to Episcopal Sees, viz., Mr. Haliburton to Dunkeld, Mr. M'Kenzie to Murray, Mr. Strachan to Brechin, Mr. Paterson to Ross, Mr. Fletcher to Argyle, and Mr. Wallace to the Isles; so that ten of them were advanced to Prelatical dignities, thô by this I do not mean that all these had Presbyterian Ordination. About this time, also, the Sees of Edinburgh and Aberdeen were filled with Dr. Wisehart and Mr. Mitchel, who had been Confessors for Episcopacy from the year 1638; and Mr. Forbes, the noble Earl of Teviot's Chaplain at Dunkirk, was advanced Bishop of Caithness; and old Dr. Sydserf (who of all his Order only lived to see it restored) was Translated from Galloway to Orkney, and his Successor in his former See was Bishop Hamilton, as we have already told.

Episcopacy restored.

In the [year] 1662, the Ancient Government of the Church being fully restored, and these mentioned Bishops being wise and leading men, their example and influence drew the far greater and better part of their old Brethren into their interest; so that Episcopal Government was soon strengthn'd by their care, and carefully submitted to by the body of the people. The learned Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Sarum), in his Preface to the Life of Bishop Bedel, informs us what kind of men the Bishops of Scotland about this time were. "I shall not (says he) add much of the Bishops that have been in that Church since the last re-establishing of the Order, but that I have observed among the few of them to whom I have the honour to be known particularly, as great and as exemplary things as ever I met with in all Ecclesiastical History: not only the practice of the strictest of all the ancient Canons, but a pitch of vertue and piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most angelical rank of men; and saw things in them that would look liker fair ideas than what men cloathed with flesh and blood could grow up to. But of this will I say no more, since those that are concerned are yet alive, and their character is too singular not to make them to be as easily known, if I enlarged upon it, as if I named them."

Bp. Burnet's compliments.

And no doubt this great man understood very well what he wrote, and knew to be a truth, for they studied harmony and love among themselves, and omitted no means of being serviceable to the Church in their respective Dioceses.

Archbishop Sharp's methods were Christian and prudent, and attended with very great success. He entertain'd his Clergy with much brotherly love and respect, and was a great judge and encourager of learning, wisdom,

and piety, and laboured to have all the Churches within his jurisdiction planted with such, particularly these in the Shire of Fife; and brought that Country to such a Conformity, that from being Presbyterian and Covenanting Fife, it became quite otherwise affected and principled, and so continues to this time; which shews the blessing and lasting strength of good conduct.

Hatred of the Presbyterian party.

The hatred the Presbyterians bore to the Order of Bishops, made them even enemies to their persons. The more rigid and violent of the gang traduc'd and malign'd the whole, particularly Archbishop Sharp, with the falsest, most improbable, and bitter invectives and lybels that could be invented by restless, malicious, and calumniating spirits. And no small part of the quarrel was because many of them, they thought, had been once in their cause, but had separated from them, and were joyn'd to what they believed was more consonant to the Primitive Institution of Ecclesiastical Communion and ends of society.

"Turkish Spy."

Some of the Furiosos of the party were incensed to what is next to rage and madness against Archbishop Sharp; nay, their revenge and malice brought them the length of enthusiasm, and pretences of Prophecy that his Death would be violent; which puts me in mind of an ingenious reflexion of the witty Author of the "Turkish Spy," who *(vol.* 8, *lib.* 3, *let.* 10), writing of his barbarous Murder, and the unparallel'd rage of his bloody and sacrilegious enemies, adds, "That it was easy to presage that he should die a violent Death, which they were resolv'd to execute themselves."

Preachers not molested.

The Archbishop and his Brethren did bear these unchristian dealings with a patience which became their holy profession; and considering their cause, and the seditious party who were their enemies, they esteem'd their afflictions light, and were no way discouraged for doing that which they were perswaded was their duty, expedient, lawful, and necessary, yet always keeping themselves within the bounds of moderation and charity. For although no Acts could be better contriv'd than these were which established Episcopacy and laid limitations on Presbyterian Preachers, yet these Laws were so far from being extended or rigidly executed, that scarce was there any Diocese where Presbytery had any tolerable share of the affections of the people, in which there were not some of these in the exercise of their Ministry, by the connivance and favour of their respective Bishops; and particularly in the Shire of Fife, there were severals of them allowed to enjoy their Office and Benefice during their whole lives, without being molested by the Archbishop. And even when one of these, who was his old acquaintance, had indecently from the Pulpit railed against the whole Order, and against himself in particular, all the use he made of it was, that he said to a noble Lord who was his ordinary hearer, "My Lord, tell my old friend, your Minister, to live easy with me, as I do with him; otherwise, he will be the loser, and have himself to blame." But there were some whom he never thought it a kindness done to moderation to favour, particularly Mr. Gillespie, a pragmatick and factious man; for when the Lord Sinclair desired of the

Archbishop to have him settled Preacher at Dysert, he answer'd his request, "My good Lord Sinclair, Mr. Gillespie hath Lorded it over his Brethren more than all the Bishops that I know ever did: one Metropolitan is enough for Scotland, and surely two for the Province of Fife would be too many."

Bishop Honeyman.

I believe it was much about this time that Mr. Honyman, Archdean of St. Andrews, Published "The Seasonable Case," &c., making the terms of Communion so very easy with respect to Episcopacy, that Mr. Calamy (one of the best and greatest Presbyterians at the time) said, when he read it, "What would our Brethren in Scotland be at, what would they have? Would to God we had these offers."

Covenant and Rebellion.

But those who adher'd rigidly to the Covenant, as affairs then stood, were no less enemies to the State than to the Church, and thought that the former's protecting the latter dissolv'd their allegiance and obedience to authority; so that Acts of Parliament were contraveen'd, illegal Meetings and Conventicles held and resorted to, the Covenant preach'd up and renew'd, barbarous indignities offered to the persons of Ministers and others, and the Government baffled and insulted. These growing evils called for a cure, and the methods in order to it were so far from being effectual, that the discontented party became thereby more violent and outragious; for now they broke forth into open Rebellion, took up arms in great numbers, gave a defiance to the Government, renewed their Covenant afresh, and going on furiously in their blind career, us'd all hostilities and cruelties against the King's good subjects, as it had been in a lawful war. But a check was speedily given to their unaccountable extravagancies, for they were encountred by the King's Forces and routed at Pentland Hills, in anno 1666.

Judges blamed for executing the Law.

Thô the courses then taken, all circumstances being considered, were such as no Society or Government could avoid that had any regard to its own security and preservation, yet such was the malice and unreasonableness of the party, that all the measures and proceedings of the State (how necessary soever) were branded with the hardest names that a misled zeal and violent principles could vomit up; and the Bishops were loaded with the reproach of all, as if the Offices of State, Council Board, and Supreme Courts of Justice had been only filled with them; or as if they, had their inclinations so disposed them, could have influenced so many wise and learned Judges. Thô we must not dissemble that two great men, who had the chief management, did overact in some things, on purpose to bring an odium upon the Clergy, which gave great encouragement to their enemies.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews was most particularly aimed at, thô his share was no more than that of others of the Privy Council, and very frequently less, as appeared plainly from his conduct in many cases and dyets, as his attendance at the Council only on necessary occasions, his declining to move questions to several criminals, his patience under their open reproaches and indecencies, and his absenting himself in time of torture, &c. But neither his innocence nor character could screen him from the inhumane

design of sons of Belial, who thought if they could once destroy him, his Order would also follow. The first attempt to put this hellish project in execution was made 11th of July, 1668, being Saturday; for as he came down in the evening from his brother's lodgings, which were over against the Blackfrier Wynd, and being placed in his coach, was distributing charity to the poor, and blessing them, and receiving their returns, he, with Dr. Honyman, Bishop of Orkney (who was entering the coach) were assaulted by a wicked ruffian (Mr. James Mitchel by name, whose son and heir is present Preacher at Dunoter), who shot at them with a pistol charg'd with three balls, which broke the Bishop of Orkney's left arm a little above the wrest. In the confusion occasion'd by so unexpected an event, the bloody assassine made his escape; but being afterwards apprehended, he own'd the fact, and maintain'd such principles as are destructive to society and hatefull to all sober men, for which, in or about the year 1676, he suffered the punishment due to such execrable crimes.

Mitchel shoots at Sharp and Honeyman.

To quiet the minds, if possible, of these restless people, the King, by his Letter Dated at Whitehall, 7th of June, 1669, granted an Indulgence (upon easy conditions as ever were), which many of the best and moderate of the Presbyterian Preachers did embrace, and were actually planted in Churches. Thô this was a dispensing with the Laws that had settled Episcopacy, and weakned its constitution and unity, yet it evidently shews that the Government could not be charged with anything that deserv'd the name of severity or persecution; which was the senseless cant and language of an incorrigible party, who, notwithstanding this lenity, still pursued their rebellious courses, renounced their allegiance, &c. Nay, they were so enrag'd against the sober part of themselves who accepted the Royal favour, that they branded the Indulged Brethren with as ill names as they did the Orthodox Clergy, calling them the King's Curates, the Council's Curates, &c.

Indulgence to the Preachers.

It may be reasonably enough supposed, that the Indulgence was not very agreeable to the Establish'd Church, and that these Statesmen who had advis'd the King to grant it might some time or other be call'd to an account for that and their other proceedings. But the Duke of Lauderdale (then Earl, who had the greatest hand in it) coming down his Majestie's High Commissioner to the Parliament that sat anno 1669, overawed the house, and acted after a most arbitrary manner; and in November 16th, caused an Act be brought in, asserting his Majestie's Supremacy over all causes and persons Ecclesiastical, which he got past, but not without much struggle. By this Act the intrinsick power and natural constitution of a Christian Church was too nearly struck at, and left to the mercy of the Regal. The Bishops therefore made all the opposition they could against it, and particularly Archbishop Sharp, who, arguing zealously upon the point, was interrupted and answered by his Grace from the Throne, after his Magisterial way of speaking, "That my Lord St. Andrews would not

allow the King's Supremacy in the terms of the Act, because he suppos'd he design'd that for himself."

Act of King's Supremacy.

Various are the accounts who gave first rise to this Act, but I find it agreed to by many that it was contriv'd by Mr. Robert Douglas, and several of his Brethren, in concert with some of the chief Ministry, in order to secure and justify the Indulgence, and make it as good as legal. Besides, some of the Statesmen had this in their view, that their actions in this and other affairs would be less censured while two parties were contending; and that, by encouraging them to be jealous of, and bandying them against one another, they might serve their own turns of either or both. Thô it be almost demonstratively certain that the principal design of this Act was to do a kindness to the Presbyterian party, and to justify all the tolerations or favours these of their faction could procure from his Majesty in their behalf, and consequently, that it was at first devised by themselves, yet so unreasonable are some men, that there is not one topick of slander and reproach insisted so much upon by these same men against the then Bishops and Clergy and their Successors, as this, namely, that by this Act they tamely gave up all their priviledges and rights, unchurch'd themselves, and what not. Thô they very well know that the Bishops and Churchmen could propose no advantage to themselves by it, unless it were to have their rivals and irreconcileable enemies encourag'd and their interests promoted, to the eminent danger or ruine of their own, to which this did not a little contribute. And therefore, thô there were no Documents of it yet extant, nor living Witnesses to inform us, yet we may rationally infer, that the regular Clergy, if they were in their right wits, could not fail to oppose it. And so they did, as much as they were able, and as much as their calumniators could have done, had they been in their place; who in their turns have more than once truckl'd under the State, and been made tools to designing Courtiers, and have as little to boast of their intrinsick power as other people. But it is a Jesuitical fetch, a serpentine wisdom divested of the innocence of the dove, to dun the world with reproaching the Episcopal Clergy for suffering that which they could not help, and of which they themselves were the principal contrivers, and who only reap'd benefit by it.

The answer to this perhaps will be (for I do not see what other they can make), that the Bishops and other Churchmen, rather than suffer such an Act to pass, should have Dimitted their Dignities and Charges (as, by the by, the pious Dr. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, actually did), that is, they should have modestly given place to their inveterate enemies, and not only have abandon'd their Offices and Livings, but brought on themselves anew all the miseries and calamities they had suffered in the glorious dayes of the Covenant.

Feud between Sharp and Lauderdale.

But to return to our Archbishop: It was much about this time that a misunderstanding began, or rather was widen'd, betwixt him and the Duke of Lauderdale, who now took a contrary course to obtain the same end, and

to make good what he had threatn'd upon the Restoration of Episcopacy. For he with his creatures and followers, and a set of men of his principles, screw'd up the Laws against Dissenters to a higher pitch than before, but with a far greater design to load the Church with the scandal of severity, than to rectify the disorders of the times and the unaccountable methods of a giddy headed people. Thus the Ecclesiastical Establishment had to grapple not only with the sober as well as wild Presbyterians, and Missionaries from Rome, and other despicable fellows in their shapes, but also with bosom enemies, and some who ow'd most to the Royal bounty, and their underlings.

While these confusions continu'd and were fomented in Scotland, the Church and Parliament of England became mightily incens'd against the Duke of Lauderdale, who, finding himself in danger, laid aside his ordinary haughtiness, and low'd his sails, and in anno 1674 reconcil'd himself to Archbishop Sharp, who was then at London; by whose means not only Archbishop Burnet returned to his See, but the Duke was readmitted to the favour of old Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterburry, he giving all the signs of a sincere and humble penitent, after which he never gave ground to be suspected by the Clergy.

Archbishop Sharp having done all the service he could for the Church, took leave of the King and the Court; and this was the last time he had the honour to kiss his Majestie's hands; and returning to Scotland in August, 1675, he studied to bring affairs to unity and accommodation, and faithfully discharged the functions of his sacred Office.

Having proceeded thus far, before I come to the melancholy scene and barbarous Murder of this excellent person, it will not be improper to take a short view of the temper of these people who were the causes and instruments of it.

Sad state of Sedition.

Such was the state of affairs in Scotland from the Restoration, that never any Nation or People had a more merciful and mild King, who loved nothing more than the ease and happiness of all mankind, but more particularly of his own subjects. But on the contrary, let us look over all History, yea Romance and Fable too, there is not to be found such a mutinous and factious Race, and addicted to such tumultuary and seditious practices against all Society and Government, as some of the subjects were during that Reign. All the Acts of grace, favour, and indulgence had no effect on them, or could make them capable of the protection of Laws, such poisonable principles and practices were rooted in them.

No Law owned by the Covenanters.

Now and then Law took place against some of the most notorious offenders among them, but where one suffered a hundred were winked at. But this, instead of curbing and restraining, heightned and encreas'd the malice and rage of the rest, particularly from 1675 to 1679, insomuch, that the Furiosos of the party laid aside all respect to the Laws of God, Nature, and of these of the land; so that murdering of common souldiers, barbarous invasions upon the persons and families of the Ministers of God, and affront-

ing everything that was in the least subservient to Authority, were familiar to them, and become their common practice.

It was only want of opportunity and power that preserved the sacred persons of the Bishops, nay, and of the King himself too (whom they had Excommunicated, and design'd the Devil's Vicegerent), from being assassinated by their bloody hands. Of all these Fathers of the Church, their prejudice and rage was mainly levell'd against Archbishop Sharp. They knew him to be an Atlas for his Order, and no less useful in the State. They thought if they could once destroy him, they would shake the very fabrick and unity of the Government itself. These fears and threatnings little troubled that great and good man, and the rest of his Order, while they were conscious to themselves they were acting nothing without their sphere; and if these threatnings had any effects upon them, it was to strengthen and confirm them in the practice of their Christian vertues and habits, which prepared them for all events.

The Paper dropt in Cupar.

Towards the end of April, 1679, a Paper was dropt in the Burgh of Cowper, full of opprobrious language, and insinuations of a design upon Archbishop Sharp's person, who then was at Edinburgh, and had resolved to go to London to give a fair representation to his Majesty of the state of affairs, and what was to be done for remedying these evils. It is believ'd, that if the Archbishop had gone straight to Court, his enemies had fail'd in their design, and also, that his wise counsels would have prevented much blood and ensuing confusions. That more than the wild people in Scotland were then framing deep and treasonable designs, I suppose is not to be doubted. Nay, in the Court itself, there were then an Absalom and Achitophel too, who were stealing away the hearts of the people; and they did not want many abettors, some of whom perhaps were the King's own servants. And 'twas against those, and other Statesmen too, who winked at the times, that Archbishop Sharp was to have made the complaint. But how far this, among other things, might have contributed to his fall, I am not to conclude. This much is certain, that upon Friday, May 2d, he determined to take journey to St. Andrews, with a design to return upon Monday to Edinburgh, and thence to begin his journey for Court. On Friday's evening he reach'd Kennoway, where he lodg'd that night; in which and next morning he was observ'd to have eaten or drunk very little, but was known to have been very fervent, and longer than ordinary in his Devotions; as if God, out of His great mercy, had thereby prepared him for what he was to meet with from the worst of men. His Religious behaviour was so much taken notice that morning by the pious and learned Dr. Monro (who had come to wait on him), that he said he believ'd he was Inspir'd. So on Saturday, May 3d, he entred his coach with his daughter Isabel, and went on in his journey. All the way he entertain'd her with many Religious discourses, particularly of the Vanity of Life, the Certainty of Death and Judgement, of the necessity of Faith, Good Works, and Repentance, and daily growth in Grace. As he

pass'd by the Struthers, he sent his servant with an excuse to the Earl of Crawford, that he could not wait upon him at that occasion. And as he was going on, the coachman perceiving some armed men making hard after them, who look'd not like friends, calls to the postilion to drive on. The Archbishop finding the coach run so hard, look't out to see what the matter was; and perceiving armed men pursuing him, he turned to his daughter, and said, "Lord, have mercy upon me, my poor child, for I am gone." In the meantime the coachman put faster on, and outrun the most part of these ruffians, while at last one of the best mounted of them got before the postilion, and, by wounding him in the face, shooting the horse which he led, in the back, and cutting him in the hams, turned the coach out of the way, and gave time to the rest to come up, who immediately stopt the coach, by cutting the harnessing with their swords. But now my blood trembles to relate what follows. One wounded him with the shot of a pistol, another with a small sword. Thereafter they called to him to come out, upon which he composedly open'd the coach door, and stept forth; and while his daughter was crying, and all in tears, he besought them to spare his life, and obtested them not to bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But all in vain. Then he intreated them, through the bowels and mercies of Christ, that they would at least suffer him to die patiently, and have some time to recommend his soul unto God. Which being denied him (but would have been granted by the most barbarous of all Heathens), he fell upon his knees; and while he was holding up his eyes and hands to Heaven, and powring out his soul before God, and, after the example of his blessed Lord, Praying for his murtherers, he was first deeply wounded in the wrests and backs of these uplifted hands, which they did beat down, and then by these bloody canibals massacred upon the place, having received in his head and other parts of his body twenty-two great wounds. The Murder.

The inhumane monsters whom the Accounts and Records point out as authors of this unparallel'd Murther, were John Balfour, of Kinloch; David Haxton, of Rathillet; George Balfour, in Gilston; James Russel, in Kettle; Robert Dingwal, a tenant's son in Cadam; Andrew Guillan, webster in Balmerinoch; Alexander and Andrew Hendersons, sons to John Henderson in Kilbrachmont; and George Fleeming, son to George Fleeming in Balboothie. Murderers' names.

With what amazement and horror the account of this sacrilegious villany was received by all good men, may be easily guessed at by those who have any remaining sparks of humanity or goodness. Yet the violent of the party, and these were no small number, approved and extoll'd the deed, and justified it by the examples of Moses, Phinehas, and Ehud, as may be seen at length in the "Hind let Loose," &c. But the Justice of God and the Laws of the Land so overtook that misled people, that they were soon made sensible that Archbishop Sharp was not the man they took him to be; for if while he was alive some of them were brought to condign punishment,

which in no sense was to be imputed to him, yet he being now dead, they wanted their best friend, as to their sufferings; and the Government did not think fit to make half of the ceremony as to their punishments they did before, as is clear from the Records of the Justiciary and other authentick Registers.

Thus fell this great and good man, by the impious hands of nine fanatick ruffians; and in him the Church was deprived of a worthy Prelate, the King of a faithful Counsellor, his Country of an excellent Patriot, and all good men of a sure friend and a rare example of vertue and piety.

Sharp's personal appearance.

But to give a more particular character of him. In stature, he was of a middle size; he had broad shoulders, a large breast, strong limbs and arms, well furnished, but no wayes dispos'd to fatness. So that he had all the signs of strength and a vigorous constitution; and this was so apparent, that after his barbarous Murder, when his body was inspected by Physicians, they declar'd there was no unsound symptom or natural decay in his noble parts. He had a comely forehead, but his eyes appeared to be somewhat sunk, yet full of life. His countenance was cheerful, yet grave; and he had a presence which created a mixture of an agreeable respect and awe; and was an absolute master of the art of address, with respect to the quality and condition of the persons he had to do with.

His virtues.

For sobriety, he was next to a miracle; so that his greatest enemies, and Calumny itself, could never charge him with the least breach of temperance.

Neither was his charity less, in all its excellent branches. His common speech of those who had always treated him with the greatest spite and malice, and to whose outragious and inhumane fury he at last fell a sacrifice, was, "Woe I am for those unhappy people, for they might live at ease, and have the protection of Laws, and differ as much from us as they will. But alas! their crimes against the State are such that no set of Hereticks, much less Orthodox Christians, have attempted in any age of the Church. Their punishments are the natural issues of Treason, and their blood lies on their own heads. God help the misled people who follow such Teachers."

In deeds of alms, and supplying the wants of the poor, his conduct prov'd he had more of real goodness and charity than any affectation to be thought so; so that in the practice of this vertue, simplicity, prudence, and self-denial were his rule, and not ostentation and vanity. His soul was so capacious, and fill'd with such universal love, that it was not confined to those of his own principles, but extended itself to the most necessitous objects; and if at any time he made distinction, it was to those of the better rank, upon whom poverty lies heaviest, because they are asham'd to discover their necessities, or to beg supplies from others; and that without any respect to party. I have it from a wise, reverend, and aged Presbyter, who had the advantage of knowing him very well, that, to his certain knowledge, he hath caused distribute by his Trustees fifty Crowns in a morning to the orphans

and widows of the Presbyterian Brethren, without their being acquainted from what hand it came. And it is now very well known, that a certain Presbyterian lady (whose father was the third and most eminent, except one, that suffered after the Restoration) was entrusted by him in dispensing no small sums of secret charity to the most needful of that party which differed so much from him. And his conduct in his family, and on other occasions, to the poor, was suitable to discretion and the true laws of charity.

His Clerical conduct.

He was no friend to Pluralities in the Church, and he thought residence one of the indispensable duties of a Bishop, and was never absent from St. Andrews except when the affairs of the Church and the Publick call'd him. Frequently he Preach'd every Lord's Day, but at least once in the fourteen days; and when he was necessarily at Edinburgh, he Preached on all Anniversary days, Festivals, and Solemn occasions. And for that part of the Evangelical function he was happily qualified, for his Sermons were methodical, grave, and perswasive, altogether free from enthusiastick flights and bitter invectives, which were then the admirable talents of those denominated "a Gospel-gifted Ministry." That which made all Ecclesiastical performances easy to the Archbishop, was the great progress he had made from the days of his youth in the study of the Greek and Latine Fathers, the ancient Liturgies, Councils, and Canons of the Church; neither was he a stranger to the Learning of the Schoolmen.

In his Private and Family Religion, he was regular and devout. His closet was his first and last retreat in the morning and at night, where he always spent a considerable portion of his time in Spiritual Exercises.

His orderly household.

His house, when he was at home, was as it were a College of the Clergy; and he always kept at least one Chaplain to Officiate in his family in times of his indisposition or necessary absence. Reading of the Holy Scriptures and Publick Prayers were alwayes perform'd before dinner and supper; and by way of preparative and conclusion, he never faill'd to bring into conversation some excellent, usefull, and agreeable remarks, either upon or relative to the subject. And when supper was over, and all company remov'd, he entertain'd his lady and children after a very taking and familiar way upon some points of Morality and Religion.

He was very far from being an enemy to the decent and excellent Liturgy of the Church of England, but did not think it seasonable that it should be introduc'd before affairs should arrive to a greater ripeness and disposition.

In the most tender sense, he was a true Father of the Church, and her great support. His great wisdom, back'd with great resolution, made him dear to the Clergy and dreadful to their enemies.

He was a firm friend, a great encourager of Learning and learned men, a sure patron of Societies, particularly of the City and University of St. Andrews. He was a kind and affectionate husband, and happy in a vertuous wife; a tender and indulgent father, and blessed with dutiful and obedient

His wife and children.

children. His wife was Mrs. Helen Moncrief, daughter to William Moncrief, Laird of Randerston, descended of the ancient Family of the Moncriefs. His children by her were one son and two daughters, viz.:—

1. Sir William Sharp, who was provided by his father to a competent estate, and Married Mrs. Margaret Erskine, daughter to Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo, Baronet, Lyon King at Arms, by whom he hath a numerous and hopeful issue.

2. Mrs. Isabel, who was in the coach with her father at the time of his barbarous Murder, and was afterwards Married to John Cunningham of Barns, a gentleman of good note and antiquity in the Shire of Fife.

3. Mrs. Margaret, who was Married to the Right Honourable William, Lord Salton. Both these also have issue.

Our excellent Archbishop being thus inhumanely massacred, to the extreme loss and grief of the King, the Church, and the State, all things were made ready for his Funerals, which were performed after a most sumptuous and magnificent manner, on the 17th of the same month, as may be seen at length by the curious, in the Records of the Lyon-Herauld Office. And this was one of the ways that his nearest concerns did take to testify the respect due to the memory of a man who, by his eminent vertues and accomplishments, did adorn and add lustre to his high character and dignity.

Funeral Sermon.

Doctor Paterson, then Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, Preached his Funeral Sermon; and it must be owned, that the latter part of it must have been a very mortifying theme.

He was Buried in the south end of the High Church of St. Andrews, where, at great charges, his son erected a most magnificent and stately Tomb over him, and has Mortified a certain sum to be paid yearly to the Town for preserving the fabrick, and what's over to be given to the poor of the place. There is an Inscription on it, done by his familiar and intimate friend, Dr. Andrew Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld, and thereafter of Orkney, which is as follows:—

Epitaph on his Tomb.

D. O. M.
Sacratissimi antistitis, prudentissimi senatoris, sanctissimi
martyris,
cineres pretiosissimos,
Sublime hoc tegit mausoleum,
Hic namque jacet
Quod sub sole reliquum est reverendissimi in Christo patris,
D. D. Jacobi Sharp, Sti Andreae archiepiscopi, totius
Scotiae primatis, &c.;
QUEM
Philosophiae et theologiae professorem, academia;
Presbyterum, doctorem, praesulem, ecclesia;
Tum ecclesiastici, tum civilis status ministrum primarium,
Scotia;
Serenissimi Caroli Secundi monarchicique imperii
restitutionis suasorem,
Britannia;

Episcopalis ordinis in Scotia instauratorem, Christianus
orbis;
Pietatis exemplum; pacis angelum; sapientiae oraculum;
gravitatis imaginem; boni et fideles subditi;
Impietatis, perduellionis et schismatis hostem acerrimum,
Dei, regis, et gregis inimici viderunt, agnoverunt,
admirabantur.
QUEMQ.
Talis et tantus cum esset, novem conjurati parricidae, fanatico,
furore perciti in metropoliticae suae civitatis vicinio, lucente
meridiano sole, charissima filia primogenita et
domesticis famulis vulneratis, lacrymantibus,
reclamantibus, in genua, ut pro ipsis etiam
oraret, prolapsum, quam plurimis
vulneribus confossum sclopetis,
gladiis, pugionibus, horren-
dum in modum truci-
darunt, 3 die Maii,
1679, aetatis
suae 61.

Mr. George Martin of Cleremont, sometime Commissary Clerk of St. Andrews, the Archbishop's own servant, in his "Historical Account, &c., of the Bishops and Archbishops of St. Andrews," gives the following character of him:—

His Secretary's character of him.

The King being restored to his Crown and Rights, and the people to their wonted Religion and Loyalty, his Majesty, for recovering the Church from the anarchy, confusion, and tyranny under which (through the furious zeal of some enthusiastick Ministers and corrupt Laicks) it had long groan'd, by a most remarkable step and direction of Divine Providence, hit upon and imployed that great and eminent person, James Sharp.

James Sharp, a man of profound wisdom, great courage, wonderful zeal for God and His Church; prudent in conduct, and indefatigably laborious in their service; he, by an unusual sagacity, piety, sense of duty, foresight, and Providence, revived and cherished the small remainder of Loyalty that remained amongst the Ministry of this Church; and for seven years maintained the same in life and being, against all the invidious insinuations and secret and open practices of the undermining party, till the happy change. And then he piously and dexterously contributed his effectual endeavours, most successfully, to the resettling of the Church of Scotland in its ancient and primitive Officers and Government; maugre all the opposition that he met with from diverse parties and persuasions; and by God's blessing, and the King's favour in his labours, he effectuate that great work as if he had been born thereto, which, 'tis thought, hardly any other could have done. A learned Author, the "Turkish Spy," gives him this character: "A man of an acute and extraordinary spirit, of a refined genius in sciences, to which he brought no small reputation and honour, through the vastness of his abilities, his profound judgment, and dextrous sagacity in all things he undertook." He got the high and greatest Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Kingdom from King Charles II., after his Restoration to the Throne, as a

debt to his great abilities, and as a reward to his merits and services in labouring might and main to effect and compass the King's Restoration. And he no sooner acquired this honour but the enemies of Kings and Bishops in Scotland persecuted him with slanders and invectives, and the streets swarmed with libels against him, and all because of his endeavours to set up Episcopacy in Scotland, which was subverted by the Solemn League and the usurper Oliver Cromwel. This fabrick, as it was of his own raising, so while he lived he was the sole Atlas thereof, upholding the same by his extraordinary prudence, watchfulness, courage, prayers, and tears, against all its enemies, secret and avowed, in the State and in the Church; disappointing their designs and defeating their projects; and supported by his own innocency and duty, with the reverence, constancy, and magnanimity proper to himself and his character (undervaluing all perils and dangers). He encouraged some, and aw'd many to a complyance. Which eminent services to God, the King, and the Church, wrought and brought him to a Crown of Martyrdom; for these procured him the inveterate, irreconcileable envy of the fanatick turbulent party,

"Turba gravis paci placedæque inimica quieti,"

Whose mad fury caused his fall, by an inhumane and barbarous Murder and Parricide, committed upon him the 3d of May, 1679, in Magask Moor, about three miles from his own house, by nine Religious Ruffians and Hellish Assassins, thereby sacrilegiously robbing God and His Church of a worthy Prelate, the King of a faithful Counsellor and Servant, his Country of an excellent Patriot, the Governments Spiritual and Temporal of a sure Pillar, all good Subjects of a worthy Friend and Example, and myself of a dear and munificent Patron.

The same Author has written a Latin Elogy of him, done also to good advantage, which therefore we thought would not be disagreeable to the Reader.

IN MERITISSIMUM STI ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUM.

3 Maii, Trucidatum.
17 1679, Tumulatum.

ELOGIUM ET ELEGIA.

Potius quam nesciant posteri,
Quis aut qualis vir hic situs sit,
Lapis e muro exclamabit,
Eique succinet lacunar.

Hic inhumatur

Eximius et perillustris D.D. Jacobus Sharpius,
Septentrionalis Scotiæ alumnus;
Apud D. Leonardum Philosophiæ Professor;
Ecclesiæ Caraliensis Pastor,
S. S. Theologiæ in Lyceo D. Mariæ Professor,
Academiæ Rector, et Cancellarius,
Sancti Andreæ Archipræsul et Protomysta,
Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ et Ecclesiasticorum

Metroplita, Primas, ac longe primus,
Priscorum Pontificum, et avitorum Antistitum nulli secundus,
Forsitan et multis anteferendus.

Quippe qui

Consilio, nixu, et ausis felicibus,
Regem exulem populo, et populum Regi restituit,
Utrique restituto fidelem operam navavit,
Ruinas nostras reparavit,
Rempublicam labefactatam redintegravit,
Vulnera Democratiæ per Monarchiam,
Presbyteranismi per Episcopatum, unicus sanavit,
Religionem prope obsoletam reformavit,
Ecclesiam fœdatam purgavit,
Purgatam instauravit,
Instauratam rexit, protexit;
Orthodoxos Ministros fovendo,
Regimen Ecclesiasticum propugnando,
Vineæ sepem integram conservando,
Hipocrysi, fuco, et dolo obviam eundo,
Novationes, et novaturientes Fanaticismos debellando.
Veræ igitur Ecclesiæ, religionis primævæ, rectæque fidei
Propugnaculum, Assertor, Vindex ad extremum spiritum.

Idcirco,

Inter operarios Divinos Deo perquam gratus,
Atque magnum ipsius erga Ecclesiam curæ exemplum:
Inter Consiliarios, Regi in primis intimus, certus et fidus.
Gloriam quamvis nactus, neutiquam tamen captans:
Ecclesiæ, Patriæ, propter indefessos labores carus,
Omnibus, præterquam a fœdis sacrilegis,
Et scelestis sicariis, desideratus,
A quibus passus est parricidium, Martyrium.

Quorum

Livorem, immanitatem, rabiem,
Feritatem, ictus, et vulnera,
Patientia, caritate, præcibus,
Pietate, æqanimitate,
(Deo, Regi, et Ecclesiæ sacratus)
Tulit, sprevit, fregit, et superavit.

At plagis confossus, perfidorum, perditorum, manibus occubuit.
A sole, cœlo, quatriduo deploratus, omnibus sanctis in secula deflendus.
Hinc migrans tiaram linquens, aureolam adeptus est.

Ita parentat pristinus cliens,
Cujus nunc jubilum in gemitum,
Et gaudium in planctum versum est.

The ingenious, and such as had any skill in Poetry, both of the Clergy and others, wrote so many Characters, Epitaphs, and Funeral Elegies upon him, with Satyrs on the horridness of the crime, that I am perswaded, were

they collected together, they would make up a Volume by themselves; but that I might not grate the Reader's ears by dwelling too long upon the melancholy theme, I have contented myself with the two former Inscriptions.

What I have advanc'd in these Memoirs, is from the authority of his nearest friends and relations, and other persons of undoubted credit and veracity, who had the advantage of knowing himself, and several particulars relating to him. My other vouchers are the Records of Parliament and Council, with other publick and private Papers of those times, and especially the Letters I have mention'd above. But for the greater satisfaction of the curious, I have thought fit to subjoyn the most material of them in the following *Appendix*.

APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS,

RELATING TO ARCHBISHOP SHARP'S LIFE AND BARBAROUS MURDER.

I.—*A Letter from General Monck to the Ministers at Edinburgh.*

Reverend Friends,—I received yours by Mr. Sharp, who is dear to me upon many accounts, as my very good friend; but coming with your recommendation upon so good and worthy an errand, I cannot but receive him as the Minister of Christ and the Messenger of his Church; and you may be assured that I shall improve my utmost interest for the preservation of the rights of your Church, and shall do what I can for that afflicted Country, which I have great reason to love and be tender of, having experienced so much kindness from you. I doubt not but you will have a further account from Mr. Sharp of my great affection to serve you, and that it shall be my care to endeavour that the Gospel Ordinances and priviledges of God's people may be established both here and there with you. I do desire your Prayers to God for His blessing upon our counsels and undertakings; and intreat you that you would be pleased to promote the peace and settlement of these Nations; and in what you may quiet and compose men's spirits, that we may, waiting with patience, reap the fruits of our hopes and fears. I have no further, but to beg of God the increase of Divine blessings upon your labours, and that you may be kept by His power, as glorious instruments in His work; and desire you to be assured, that none shall be more careful to preserve your Profession in that honour they so much deserve, than he who is Your assured friend and servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

Draper's Hall, 16 Febr., 1659.

II.—*A Letter from some Ministers in London to the Ministers at Edinburgh.*

Reverend and beloved Brethren,—We had sooner returned our thanks to you for your brotherly salutation and remembrance of us, but that we expected the conveniency of Mr. Sharp's return, hoping by that time things would grow to such a consistency that we might be able to give you a satisfactory account of the state of Religion among us. We do with you heartily rejoice in the return of our Soveraign to the exercise of Government over

these his Kingdoms; and as we cannot but own much of God in the way of bringing it about, so we look upon the thing itself as the fruit of Prayers, and a mercy not to be forgotten. Hitherto our God hath helped us in breaking the formidable power of sectaries, causing them to fall by the violence of their own attempts, and in restoring to us our ancient Government, after so many shakings (the only proper basis to support the happiness and just liberties of these Nations), and freeing us from the many snares and dangers to which we were exposed by the former confusions and usurpations. Therefore we will yet wait upon the Lord, Who hath in part heard us, untill all those things concerning which we have humbly sought to Him be accomplisht and brought about. We heartily thank you for your kind and brotherly encouragements, and shall in our places endeavour the advancing of the Covenanted Reformation, according to the bonds yet remaining upon our consciences, and our renewed professions before God and man; and though we cannot but forsee potent oppositions and sad discouragements in the work, yet we hope our God will carry us through all difficulties and hazards, and at length cause the foundations now laid to encrease unto a perfect building, that the top-stone may be brought forth with shoutings, and His people cry, Grace, grace unto it.

We bless God, in your behalf, that your warfare is in a great measure accomplished, and the Church of Christ, and the interests thereof, so far owned in Scotland, as to be secured, not only by the uniform submission of the people, but also by Laws, and those confirmed by the Royal assent; a complication of blessings which yet the Kingdom of England hath not obtained, and (though we promise ourselves much from the wisdom, piety, and clemency of his Royal Majesty) through our manifold distractions, distances, and prejudices, not like suddenly to obtain. Therefore we earnestly beg the continuance of your Prayers for us, in this day of our conflict, fears, and temptations; as also your advice and counsel, that on the one side we may neither by any frowardness and rigid counsels of our own, hazard the peace and safety of a late sadly distempered and not yet healed Nation; and on the other side, by undue compliances, destroy the hopes of a begun Reformation. We have to do with men of different humours and principles. The general stream and current is for the old Prelacy, in all its pompe and height; and therefore it cannot be hoped for that the Presbyterial Government should be owned as the publick Establishment of this Nation, while the tide runneth so strongly that way; and the bare toleration of it will certainly produce a mischief, whilst Papists and Sectaries of all sorts will wind in themselves under the covert of such a favour. Therefore no course seemeth likely to us to secure Religion, and the interests of Christ Jesus our Lord, but by making Presbytery a part of the publick Establishment, which will not be effected but by moderating and reducing Episcopacy to the form of Synodical Government, and a mutual condescendence of both parties in some lesser things, which fully come within the latitude of allowable differences in the Church. This is all we can for the present hope for, and if we could obtain it, should account it a mercy, and the best expedient to ease his Majesty in his great difficulties about the matter of Religion; and we hope none that fear God and seek the peace of Sion, considering the perplexed posture of our affairs, will interpret this to be any tergiversation from our Principles or apostacy from the Covenant. But if we cannot obtain this, we must be content with Prayers and tears to commend our cause to God,

and by meek and humble sufferings to wait upon Him until He be pleased to prepare the hearts of the people for His beautiful work, and to bring His ways (at which they are now so much scandaliz'd) into request with them.

Thus we have with all plainness and simplicity of heart lay'd forth our straits before you. We again beg your advice and Prayers, and heartily recommend you to the Lord's grace, in Whom we are

Your loving Brethren and fellow-labourers
in the work of the Gospel,

Edm. Calamy.
Simeon Ashe.
Tho. Manton.

London, August 10th, 1660.

Directed thus: To our reverend and highly esteemed Brethren, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. George Hutchinson, Edinr.

III.—*Letters from Mr. Sharp to Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Edinburgh.*

1.

Reverend Sir,—Yours, that May 22d, and of the 8th, with other Letters, I received. By the last Saturday's Post, I could only give you notice of my safe return to London. General Monck gave the occasion for my journey to Holland; and I did observe a Providence in it, that his motion did tryst with your desire, which gave me encouragement to follow the Lord's pointing at my going thither, which for any thing doth yet appear hath been ordered for good. General Monck's intent for my going was, that I might give his Majesty an account of all the passages of his undertaking, from the beginning of it in Scotland to the progression he had made at the time of the Parliament's owning his Majestie's Title; and that I might acquaint the King how necessary it was to follow the counsels of moderation in the future management of his affairs; and 3ly, that I might move his Majesty for writing a Letter to some of the eminent City Ministers, to be by them communicated to the Presbyterian Ministers throughout the Kingdom, intimating his Majestie's resolution to bear down profanity, and to countenance Religion in the power of it. My own special motive for going was, to give a timous information of the condition of poor Scotland, as to the several particulars which yours of May 8th doth bear. My thoughts at my going over did run upon diverse of these which digestedly and fully that Letter doth mention, and it hath much satisfied me that upon the perusal of yours at my return, I remembred I hit upon some of those you touched. I came very seasonably in the beginning of the growth of the Court, and was the first Minister of the Kingdoms who made an Address avowedly to the King since his exile; which I did with the more confidence, that having your Warrand before my going, made it in name of the body of the Ministry of the Church of Scotland, who had persever'd in their integrity and loyalty in all Revolutions. I cannot express what welcome I had, and with how kindly an acceptance my application was entertained by his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to put such a respective usage upon me all the time I was there, as it was noticed by all at Court. I do not mention this out of a tickling vanity, but as an evidence amongst others of our Prince's affection to our Countrey and Kirk, of which I am aboundantly satisfied; though

before my going over, he was falsely represented, even to some of the Presbyterian judgment, as an enemy and hater of both. He did at Breda, at his table upon occasion, give his publick testimony to the fidelity and loyalty of his Kingdom of Scotland, and to me in private more than once or twice; and I am perswaded a sweeter and more affectionate Prince never a people had. The first time he allowed me to speak to him in private, which was for the space of one hour and half, I took it up in giving a full account of General Monck's proceedings, and of the activity of those of our Nation to improve that opportunity for his Majestie's service. The next time he called me to him in the garden, where he caused me walk with him, almost 200 gentlemen being at his back. Almost two hours was imployed in his moving questions and my answering, about the affairs of the Parliament; and in the close, somewhat in reference to Scotland, and asking kindly how it was with the Ministers who had been in the Tower, and with Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Wood, Mr. Bayly, of which I gave you some touch in my Letter from Breda. The 3d time he spoke to me (doing it upon every occasion he saw me) was in the Princess Royal's Room, where I was amazed to hear him express such knowledge and remembrance, both as to persons and things relating to Scotland, while he was there, as if the passages had been recently acted. He mentioned Ministers South and North, and other persons, not forgetting John Boswel of Kinghorn, and another in Crail, where, he said, himself was Provost, asking how it was with them. There was opportunity of speaking of those with whom we have had so much vexation, and of the condition of our Kirk, and the carriage of honest men in it; and had he not been taken up by the interposing of a Lord come straight from England, I think I had said all was then upon my heart in reference to that matter. After this the Court thronging by multitudes from England, and the croud of his affairs growing upon him, it was unbecoming for me to press for private conference, but when he did call to me, which he was pleased to do twice more before his coming from Breda; and both those times he asked me only about some of his concernments with General Monck, bidding me at the last time meet him at his first coming to the Hague, which was upon May 15th, wait upon to receive my dispatch immediately to England, both as to General Monck and the Letter to the City Ministers. When I offered to speak a word in reference to Scotland, he told me he would reserve a full communing about that till his coming to England. And indeed it had been unseasonable and impertinent for me to have urged further, finding the necessity of his affairs in England so urgent; but this I can say, that by all these opportunities I had, in every of which I did not omit the moving about Scotland, I found his Majesty resolved to restore the Kingdom to its former Civic liberties, and to preserve the settled Government of our Church; in both which I was bold expressly to move, and had a very gracious satisfying answer. Upon the apprehension that I might be sent into England presently upon his Majestie's arrival at the Hague, I hastned from Breda by the way of Dort, Amsterdam, Harlem, and Leyden, to take a transient view of those goodly Towns, and came the next day after the King to the Hague, about the very time of the Reception of the Commissioners from the two Houses and the City, to which I was an eye-witness. Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Spoistre, Mr. Case, Mr. Manton, were received privately in his Bed-Chamber. They delivered a Letter Signed by above 80 Ministers, met at Sion Colledge. I am promised a Copy thereof, which I shall send unto you (and had done it before this,

could they have given me one, because they had left it in the City). They expressed much satisfaction with his Majestie's carriage towards them, speaking him to be a Prince of a deep knowledge of his own affairs, of singular sweetness and moderation, and great respectiveness towards them; but they were much more satisfied as to these after they had spoke with him two by two, in private, three days after, in so far as they speak highly to his commendation to all their friends, as a most excellent Prince, restored for a publick blessing to these Nations; and do profess it to be their duty to promote his interest amongst their people. They have often since said to me, they have no reserve nor hope but in his Majesty's good disposition and clemency. At my coming to the Hague, when I had gone to the Lord Chancellor, who by the King's order was to give me my Dispatches, he desired me to stay so long as the London Ministers stay'd, telling me he would send by another the King's pleasure to General Monck. I was ready to lay hold upon this motion, knowing that the King was speedily to go for England, and so kept in company with those Ministers, and thereby had occasion to know what may give me ground of a probable conjecture of the tendency of matters as to the ordering of Religion in England. I have much to say of this purpose, which I cannot communicate in this way. At present I shall only say this, that for me to press uniformity for Discipline and Government upon the King and others, I find, would be a most disgustful imployment, and successless. For though the King could be induced to be for it, it were not in his power to effectuate it, the two Houses of Parliament and the body of this Nation being against it. And if I may speak what I know, and could demonstrate to you, it is already past remedying. I know very few or none who desire it, much less appear for it; and whoever do report to you, or believe, that there is a considerable party in England who have a mind for a Covenant-Uniformity, they are mistaken; and as you judge, by what you write in that of May 8th, if they themselves will not press it, we are free. I see no obligation by Covenant to impose that upon them which they care not for. If you knew at a distance what I have occasion to know since my coming hither, of this matter, I am confident you would not be very urgent in that point. For my part, I shall have no accession to what may cross that uniformity; but I have no freedom to an imployment which can have no other effect but the heightning of an odium upon our Church, which is obnoxious already to many upon such an account, though I know causelessly. I have heard of your Letter to Mrs. Calamy, Ashe, and Manton; which Mr. Ashe only hath seen, Calamy and Manton not being in Town; and the rumor goes up and down the City (I know not if occasion be taken by that Letter), that the Ministers of Scotland have declared their dissatisfaction that the King is brought in but upon the terms of the Covenant. I am afraid that such rumors are at this juncture studiously raised, and I see more and more the need we have of using caution with those here. We have had large experience of Anglorum, &c., and I have cause to think that we shall have a discovery of it as much now as ever.

I shall present your Letter to his Majesty at the first opportunity, which I think I cannot have till some dayes pass over, because of the great press upon him at his first entry into Whitehall. God hath done great things for him; I pray He may do great things by him. It hath been observed, that never any Prince did enter upon his Government with such a general repute and applause. The satisfaction expressed by the Dutch could not be more if he had been their Soveraign; and for England, the expressions of extatick

joy and universal exultation are admirable. This day, from morning till 7 a clock, I have been a spectator of what the magnificence and gallantry of England could bring forth in testimony of the greatest reception was, they say, ever given to their King; the manner whereof you will have by the Diurnal; and it hath taken up so much time to me, that, the Post calling, I have confusedly writ this, and must break off till the next, with commending you to the Lord's grace, who am Yours, &c.,

London, May 29th. JA. SHARP.

2.

Reverend Sir,—I have received none from you by this Post. This day the King called for me, and heard me speak of our Church matters, which I perceive he does thorowly understand, and remembred all the passages of the publick Resolutions. He was pleased again to profess that he was resolved to preserve to us the Discipline and Government of our Church, as it is settled amongst us. When I spoke of his calling a General Assembly, he said he would call one how soon he could; but he thought the Parliament would be called and sit first. I found the end of his Majesty's calling for me, was to give me notice that he thought it not convenient to send for Ministers from Scotland at present: when his affairs were here brought to some settlement, he would then have time and freedom to speak with them, and to send for them to come to him. He thought it was fit for me to go down and give you notice of this, and the state of his affairs here, and said that he would write by me to you, and called to one of his Bed-Chamber to seek for your Letter, which I delivered, saying it would be found in one of his pockets, and a return should be sent, and my Dispatch prepared this next week. I find his Majesty speaking of us and our concernments most affectionately, and that I needed not to inform him of the usage we have had from the Remonstrators. There hath been since some talk in the City of a Petition from the Ministers about Religion, but some leading men not thinking it expedient, it is waved. Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Manton were Sworn yesterday Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty, by the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain. Some say Mr. Baxter is to be admitted one also. They have this indulged to them, that when it is their course, they shall not be tyed to Officiate at the Liturgy; but others having performed that Service, they shall be only tyed to Preach, till they be clear to do it. The King hath ordered a Letter to Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy, intimating that they may Nominate ten to themselves of their judgment, to meet in a Conference about the settling of the Church, with twelve of the Episcopal party, whom he would Nominate himself. In the meanwhile the Episcopal men increase and get ground. One of the King's Chaplains was made Dean of Westminster the other day, and Dr. Cousins Dean of Durham. They talk as if there were diverse Nominated to be Bishops in Ireland. I find that it is intended that the Field Forces be withdrawn from us how soon can be, but that the Garrisons be kept still, till the King's affairs take settling. Some stumble at this exceedingly, others are satisfied after they have spoke with the King and known his mind. The Lord Broghill is come to Town, and does remember you all very kindly. The Earl of Cassils and Lowdon came to Town last night: I purpose to-morrow to visit them, having notice of their lodgings. I recommend you to the Lord's grace, who am

Yours, JA. SHARP.

London, June 14th, 1660.

3.

Sir,—I cannot see how it is possible for me or any else to manage the business commited to me by your Letters of the other week, with any shadow of advantage; but a certain prejudice will follow upon our further moving in these particulars, which were so disgustful here. I am baited upon all occasions with the Act of the West Kirk and the Declaration at Dumfermling. It cannot be believed what advantages are thereby taken, both by our professed adversaries and those who formerly carried as friends. As to the Protesters' Meeting, it is well you have not mingled with them: sure they must have a strange daring confidence, that they offer to send up one hither. I cannot say they will have welcome; and though I have been sparing to speak of them, finding that the King and others sufficiently know and hate their way, yet the next time I speak with the King, I will give them one broadside. Their doom is dight, unless it be that some upon design of heightning our division, to break our Government, do give them any countenance; which I am not apt to believe will be done, thô I hear it is whispered by some Noblemen here that it were fit this were done. I had it from a sure hand, that the other week Gillespie's wife came to the Lord Sinclair, and having wept, and told him that the stream against her husband she saw to be so great, as he would be ruined, desired if she might use freedom with his Lordship. When he had bid her speak what was in her heart, she shew'd him a Letter from Mr. Patrick to her, bearing that she might deal with the Lord Sinclair, that he would move the King on his behalf, and know what length his Majesty would have him to go as to the bringing in Episcopacy into Scotland, and give all assurance that he would do the King service to his utmost; and nothing could be enjoyn'd to him for promoting thereof, which he would not most faithfully and vigorously obey and perfect. This Sinclair hath undertaken to move (as seeing no other way for securing of Patrick), and was prompted to it by the person to whom he communicated it, who yet resolves to break the design upon that account by another way; for I find our Noblemen have no will of Gillespie's coming into play, knowing his domineering humor. For anything doth yet appear to me, I find it is well that you have not come up at this time, upon several respects. I see no good will follow upon this accommodation they are upon with the Episcopal party; for those who profess the Presbyterian way, resolve to admit of moderate Episcopacy, and the managing of the business by Papers will undo them. The Episcopal men will catch at any advantage they get by their concessions, and after all resolve to carry on their own way. These motions about their putting in writing what they would desire in point of accommodation, are but to gain time, and prevent Petitionings, and smooth over matters till the Episcopal men be more strengthened. I find that there is a conjecture, and I suspect not without ground, that Midleton shall be Commissioner to the Parliament. It is resolved the Garrisons will not be taken off before the next summer. The Committee of Estates will sit down and make work for the Parliament, which will be called soon after. The King hath declared his resolution not to meddle with our Church Government, which hath quieted the clamourings of some ranting men here, as if it were easy to set up Episcopacy amongst us.

I saw this day a Letter from an intelligent person in Paris, bearing that some learned men of the Protestants in France, and of the Professors of Leyden, were writing for the lawfulness of Episcopacy; and if the King

would write to the Provincial Assembly at Charenton in July next, there would be no doubt of their approving his purpose to settle Episcopacy in England. I find our Noblemen fast enough against Episcopacy amongst us, but I suspect some of them are so upon a State interest rather than conscience; and all incline to bring our Church Government to a subordination to the Civil Power. I have read your last, about the Protesters' Meeting, to Crawfurd and Lauderdale. It is not probable that that party shall have any countenance; sure the Committee of Estates and Parliament will exercise severity towards them. I would gladly come off, but I fear I cannot get away these 10 dayes. I must take leave of the King, and have some time to speak with him, and some of the Grandees, which in this throng cannot be easily done. I will be forced to draw a Bill from this upon my brother. These 10 dayes I fear I shall not be in readiness to come away, and therefore you may write till you hear from me.

J. Sharp.

4.

Reverend Sir,—Yours of the 28th of June I have received. I did write by that Saturday Post which you mention did not come to hand; every week I write twice at least. My return is still delayed, though I press it from day to day, because the King's Letter, which he is to send by me, is not in readiness. I have spoke yesterday with the Secretary of State, and this day with the Marquis of Ormond, who have both engaged for an opportunity for me to speak with the King. I could any day go to his Majesty and get a word of him; but to have that time and privacy which is fitting for my speaking what I would before parting, is difficult in this throng of applications to him. The next week I am hopeful to have the occasion, and therefore I must have patience under this disappointment as to the speedy return I expected. Since my last by the Tuesday's Post, the Ministers have had several Meetings at Sion's Colledge, about the drawing of a Paper to be presented to the King, bearing three concessions in the matters of Church Government and Worship. They have many Debates, and though all who meet are not of one mind, yet they have agreed to Episcopacy moderated according to Bishop Usher's reducement, to Set Forms of Prayer, to the former Liturgy, if amended by such Divines as shall be Nominated for that purpose. They desire liberty from Ceremonies. The Paper, it is said, will be in readiness this night. The most of the Episcopalians proceed to impose their way: some pretend to a Moderation. The House of Commons, having appointed a Committee for Religion, do now and then start some motions about the Reports of that Committee. Some yesterday spoke in the House for Episcopacy; Mr. Bamfield offering to speak against it, was hissed down by the clamours of others, which suits not with the Orders of the House. Some Lawyers are giving Papers to the Court, proving that the Bishops of England have not been outed by Law of any point of their Jurisdiction, save of the High Commission Courts. The cloud upon publick affairs, upon this and several other accounts, is become more dark than was apprehended. The Lord Reigns, and knows how to be seen in His glory, and to appear for His own interests. To His grace you are commended by

London, July 7th. Yours, Ja. Sharp.

Postscript.—Sir John Clatwatby told me that he expected this night three Ministers from Ireland, Mr. Hart, Richardson, and Kaies. Their coming is very ill relished by the Commissioners from the Convention who

are here, who have Petitioned that Episcopacy be settled there, and accordingly the most are Nominated by the King; Bramhal, Primate of Armagh; Dr. Taylor, Bishop of Down, &c.

5.

Sir,—I am exceedingly impatient of the delay of my Dispatch. Those who should draw the King's Letter are so taken up with English business, that I cannot get them to set about this. However, I have a toilsom life of it. The Lord's anger seems not yet to be turned away from these Kingdoms. Affairs here begin to be much involved; many forseeing men apprehend a breach; we know not upon what foundation to stand. The Presbyterians are like to be grownd betwixt two mill-stones: the Papists and Phanaticks are busy at work. I cannot write what I would, but he is now returned who said, God make all well. This is a strange people. I wish our countrymen were at home. Argyle this day, I hear, hath come to Town, and some believe he will not find kindly welcome. The King is baited with contrary applications from our Countrymen, as if they were two Factions driving on the old divisive work. We must look on, and wait what the Lord will do. It is promised, that in the beginning of the next week both Scotland and Ireland shall have their Answer from the King. The Parliament have done nothing as to the publick settlement and to the paying of the Army as yet.

July 7th.

6.

Sir,—You mention not the receipt of mine of the 14th. I thought his Majesty's gracious Answer would be acceptable to you; and albeit it be ready, and the King hath approven it *in terminis*, yet I am advised not to take it till it be Signetted, which is only delayed till the King declare the Secretary, of which we are every day in expectation; and then I hope I shall have no longer stop. It was told here 3 dayes ago by the Earl of Tweddale, that Mr. Stirling had disclaimed lately the Remonstrance, and owned the publick Resolutions: it seems he begins to be affraid of sklenting of bolts. For me, I can say it, I have not been accessory to anything done, or to be done, against the Protesters, further than to the justifying of our cause, and endeavouring they might not have any countenance put upon them, which I am free to profess; and when I heard of a process to secure some Ministers among them, I did interpose that it might not be executed at present. Their folly is so manifest to all now, that their wonted impudence will not cloak it. I shall mention to you some passages of my discourse with the King at Breda. He asking me what should be done with those Remonstrators, in my answer I closed with this, Though it be not fit your Majesty give them countenance, or put power into their hands, yet I think we will be all suiters to your Majesty that pity and pardon may be their measure. The King with a smile reply'd unto me, Were they in your case, they would not allow you such a measure. We have sufficiently found evidences of their malice against us; I pray it may not be charged upon them. Our Noblemen yesterday paid their thanks to his Majesty for his gracious condescensions to their humble desires, and in the beginning of the next week such as may get off will be droping away. The Countess of Crawford, with the Earl of Haddingtoun, and Ardross, think of taking journey upon Monday; my Lord Crawford will speedily follow after, if he do not come along. It is a great trouble to me thus to be detained, could I tell how to help it.

Yours, J. S.

7.

Reverend Sir,—I received yours of the 5th. I have communicated your thoughts upon the matter of accommodation to some of the Brethren here. They have some sense of the inconveniences you have mentioned, but they excuse themselves from the present necessity, and the duty they owe to the peace of the Church. They gave in their Paper upon Wednesday last to the King, which he ordered not to be communicated till his further pleasure be made known. This hath put a stop to my obtaining a Copy of those Concessions, which yet within a day or two I am hopeful to procure, and shall send it to you. His Majesty, after hearing them read that Paper, did commend it, as favouring of learning and moderation, and hoped it might give a beginning to a good settlement of the Church. He said he would hear what the Episcopal men would offer, and before he proceeded to a determination, he would acquaint them. They told me they were intertained with fair smooth expressions from his Majesty and the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of St. Albans being present. When I had an account of the contents of that Paper, I asked if they thought it consistent with their Covenant engagements. They told me they judged so, for they had only yielded to a constant Presidency and a reformed Liturgy. I am at the writing hereof now straitned, that by this I cannot give you a larger account of those passages; but for any thing I can conjecture, I fear they have thereby given a knife to cut their own throats, and do find that the Episcopalians prosecute their own way. This morning, his Majesty was pleased to call me into his closet alone, where I had the opportunity to give a full information as to all these particulars you by your former Letter did desire; and I must say, we have cause to bless the Lord on the behalf of so gracious a King. He hath ordered a Letter to be written within a day or two, which, I hope, will be refreshing to all honest men. After this he will call for me once more, and then order my return, which I do passionately long for, were it the Lord's good pleasure to take me off this toyl. The Parliament have Voted the King's Lands to be restored into his possession. It is thought ere long the Bishop and Dean and Chapter's Lands will be also restored. There are several complaints of the ejection of many good Ministers throughout the Land, and the re-admission of many not well qualified, because they have a Legal Title to their Livings, which the other have not. A messenger from the Sound this night gives certain intelligence of a Peace concluded amongst the Protestant Princes, the Swede, Dane, and the Brandeburger. They speak of an Address to the Prince of Conde to be King of Polland, and that there is a Rebellion in Rome raised against the Pope. This afternoon the King commanded my Lord Lauderdale to go to the Tower, and examine Lambert about the Conferences at the Lady Hume's house in the 48th, about his Correspondencies with Scotsmen during the time of the Wars, and his Intelligences at the time of his being in Newcastle this winter; in all which, Lauderdale received no account of any moment. His Lordship would have me to go along with him (but I was not present at their Conference), and paying some visits in the City hath kept me so late, that I must break off.

I am yours, JA. SHARP.

London, July 14th, 1660.

P.S.—We hear our last Letters were stopt.

8.

Reverend Sir,—Yours of the 19th I received; by the two preceeding Posts I had none from you. That my Letters to you came not sooner to your hand, is my trouble, and I know not where to lay the blame, but I am sure to send them betimes to the Post-house. I sent you the last week some account of the heads of that Letter which his Majesty did approve, and order to be written for his Signing. I did acquaint my Lord Crawford and Cassils with it, and I know not if by them our Countrymen here had notice of it; but I fear many of them are not satisfied with his Majesty's declaring his gracious resolution to preserve the Government of our Church as settled by Law. I wait for the Sealing of my Dispatch with the Signet, which the King hath not yet put into the hands of my Lord Lauderdale, but will within few days, and then I see nothing to hinder my return but waiting upon my Lady Balcarras her coming to London, according to your desire; after which I hope I shall not be detained above a day or two. Upon her Lord's account, that Lady deserves this testimony of our respect towards her. I have shown your Letter to some of her friends here, who take it kindly at your hands. Though I have cause to be very impatient to have my return thus delayed, yet some of our friends advise that I put off two or three dayes, that I may take care, that by the Instructions to the Committee of Estates, the King's assurance given by his Letter with me may be made good. Those Instructions will probably this next week be perfected, so that I begin to apprehend I cannot now come from this before the beginning of the week following. The King's condescension, that the Acts and Authority of the General Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee be owned, doth take in the Acts of the Commission preceeding it. Upon my motion of it to his Majesty, he was satisfied with the reasons I gave from his own concernments and ours, which I do (the more I think of it) the more judge to be much importanced by it. I am very hopeful that, after the Parliament, the General Assembly will be Indicted. When his Majesty hath declared who shall be Secretary of State, I shall acquaint him with the Proclamation you sent me, which I have shown to some of our friends, who think it may do well; but not having opportunity to table it as I would, I cannot yet give you an account of it. Upon Saturday the 24th, I gave you an account (of which you do not mention the receipt) of the large opportunity I had with his Majesty of clearing you from mistakes and aspersions, according to all the particulars of the information you sent me. I may say it, that his Majesty and others are convinced that the exorbitancies chargeable upon the Administrations of the Church of Scotland, came from the overbearing sway of those men, whose way hath been pernicious to our Church and State. And shall they still presume to keep Meetings, and persist to follow what is good in their own eyes, as if there were no King in Israel? They had best bethink themselves, that Cromwel, Lambert, and the Valingford House men are out of fashion; the sun and shine they have looked big under, is set. We have heard here of an indicted Meeting of theirs. I believe they have cause to suspect their encouragement from Court; and if they take no warning in time, they will draw a check upon themselves which will not be pleasing. I cannot imagine how they can expect you will join with them.

I believe, ere this come to your hand, you have notice of his Majesty's Answer to the Paper presented by our Lords; by which, after insinuation of his great regard to Scotland, he tells them of withdrawing the Field Forces

presently, and of the Garrisons as soon as with conveniency may be; of withdrawing the English Forces from the Castle of Edinburgh, how soon a Scottish Garrison can be raised. The Committee of Estates is to sit down the 23d of August, and not to meddle with persons or Estates. They are to fill up their number with those who have not by remonstrance or any publick acting disclaimed the King's Authority. The Parliament is to sit the 23d of October following. Our Countrymen are desired to repair home at their conveniency, which many of them intend to do this next week. The Proclamation for the Committee of Estates is a preparing. I can write little in reference to Church matters here, but that I see the proceedings towards settling Episcopacy in England and Ireland do go on apace. The Presbyterians and their favourers neither do nor can take any effectual way to oppose them. I find they will speedily Nominate the Bishops of England, as they have already Nominated the most of Ireland. All Deanries, and Prebendaries, and Collegiate Churches are filled. The Brethren from Ireland are at a great stand what to do: the General, Manchester, or any person of interest, refuse to introduce them to the King, if they present their Address. They have write to the Brethren who sent them how they find matters stated. By what I can learn, I find the most they can expect will be a forbearance for a time in the exercise of their Ministry; but it will not be permitted to them to meet in Presbyteries or a Synod. I give them all the assistance I can, though they get nothing of it from the City Ministers. I recommend you to the Lord's grace, who am

Yours, Ja. Sharp.

London, July 26th.

9.

Reverend Sir,—Yours of the 2d I received. I have shewn the former part of it to my Lady Balcarras, Lord Lauderdale, and Sir Robert Murray, who take it very kindly; and I confess I see a conveniency for testifying our respect to that noble and vertuous lady, which I have, since her coming to this place, endeavoured to evidence amongst my acquaintance here, of which she is sensible. I have not of late written frequently to you, because my Negotiation here is at a close, and I have been in daily expectation of a Dimission from his Majesty. I did not imagine some 6 weeks ago my stay would have been so long continued, and yet I cannot say it hath been altogether in vain; for the apprehensions of our Countrymen here are much altered within this month from what they were, concerning our Church affairs. After his Majesty was pleased to yield to what I humbly offered, by his condescensions in that Letter, I thought it was not amiss to acquaint some here with it, though I did not intend a divulging of it, because the signification of his Majesty's pleasure might silence the clamours of some, and bring them to be more moderate in their expressions about the Government of our Church; which I find hath been the consequent of it, and thereupon am the less troubled that the contents of the King's Letter are noticed by so many. The Letter was this day by Lauderdale's hand written *in mundo*, and Subscrib'd by his Lordship as Secretary, and offered to be Superscrib'd this night by the King, which he hath done, and ordered it to be Signeted upon Munday. The Letter contains the heads I formerly told you, and the strain of it, I doubt not, will give abundant satisfaction to satisfiable men, as you write; for others, I believe they must resolve upon more pliableness than heretofore. I have nothing now to hinder my return, which

I desire may be as soon as can be wished for. I know there be reasons for my hastning. I am to take leave of the King upon Munday or Tuesday, and shall, as I did the last Munday, acquaint his Majesty with what you had written by the former Post, so to take occasion to hint at what you have writ by this, which I am confident will be acceptable. He expressed satisfaction with what you had writ then. I have engaged with company to enter on our journey upon Thursday next, by the Lord's help. We hear the way is dangerous, and the weather so excessively hot that I dare not venture to Post, and therefore must wait for company, and make as speedy a journey as we can. The Letter of the Ministers of London, in return to yours, is now, after much belabouring, Signed by them, and to be delivered to me to-morrow. The Episcopal party are still increasing in number and confidence; some think they fly so high, as they will undoe their own interest. The King hath, by a Letter to the House of Commons, expressed his resolution to have a better provision of maintenance for Vicarages in England, but expresly did insinuate the owning of the Church Government of England by Bishops and Archbishops. The Letter is now Printed. The Bill for securing of Ordained Ministers in their Livings is now ready to be Ingrossed in the House of Commons. The Bill for Indemnity hath past the House of Lords, and this day was sent down to the House of Commons; but it is thought the two Houses shall not agree about it, which will prolong the compleating of it for some longer time. I did, according to your desire, wait upon the Lady of Argyle. Many of our Countreymen take journey this next week. I shall by the Tuesday's Post write once more. I recommend you to the Lord's grace, who am

Sir, yours, JA. SHARP.

London, August 11th, 1660.

IV.—*A clear discovery of the malicious Falshoods contained in a Paper, Printed at London, intituled "A True Relation of what is discovered concerning the Murther of the Archbp. of St. Andrews, and of what appears to have been the occasion thereof." As also a faithful but brief Narrative of the said execrable Murther. By Order of his Majestie's Privy Council.*

A most calumnious and scandalous Paper having lately been Printed, intituled "A True Relation of what is discovered concerning the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and of what appears to have been the occasion thereof," of the falshood whereof both Printer and Author appear to have been sufficiently convinced, neither of them daring to own it by prefixing their names unto it,—it is just and necessary, for vindicating of the truth, and for doing right to the Martyr's memory, to satisfie the world, by a clear discovery of the malicious calumnies and falshoods contained therein, and by a faithful and brief Narrative of the occasion and manner of that horrid and execrable Murther. In order to which, that Paper shall be Reviewed in its several Paragraphs, and the truth manifested by the most clear and authentick evidences, and most satisfying proofs.

Paragraph 1.—"One Lovel of Cunuchie, being Vassal to the Bishoprick of St. Andrews, the late Archbishop, upon the account of some Few-duties resting to him, did gift to his own behoof the Escheat of Lovel of Cunuchie, in prejudice of his numerous family and many creditors. One Haxtoun of Rathillet being one of these creditors, and at that time a favourite of the

Archbishop's, prevails with him, upon his giving Bond to the Bishop for 1000*l.* Scots, or thereby, to assign the gift in his favours. Thereafter the Archbishop conceiving prejudice against him, Registrates Haxtoun's Bond, surprises him at St. Andrews; having called for him, takes him with caption, and keeps him prisoner in St. Andrews for several months, until one Mr. Falconer, a Conform Minister, obtains his liberty. But Haxtoun having stronger resentments of his imprisonment than of the liberty to which he was restored, at his liberation, in presence of witnesses, Vowed and Swore God-damn-him if ever he went to Church as long as there was a Bishop in Scotland; and that, if he lived, he should be revenged on the Bishop's person. This Haxtoun was a vile person, had nothing of good in him, and was scarce admitted to the society of sober men. He was not only once a favourite, but servant of the Bishop, having collected part of his Rents."

The falshood thereof appears manifestly malicious, in so far as Haxstoun of Rathillet was so far from having been either servant or favourite to my Lord Archbishop, that he was a man altogether unknown to his Grace, in so much as he had never spoken with him in all his life before the time he, out of pure charity to Lovel of Cunuchie's children (whose Tutor this Haxstoun was left by the father, in regard of his near relation), made a Transaction and Agreement with him in favours of the said children, which Agreement is Dated February, 1677. And so favourable and charitable was my Lord Primate to the poor children, that not only did he authorize Haxstoun, their cousin, to manage and uplift the Rents of Cunuchie (which by a Decreet and Sentence of the Judges were due to his Grace), that thereby he might have opportunity to be helpful to them, but gave them a yearly allowance for their subsistence and maintenance. When Haxstoun had uplifted a year's Rent thereof, and disposed on it, he was so far from being rigid to him, that he condescended to take his Bond, to pay at the expiring of three-quarters of a year what was presently due. The time of payment being come, Haxstoun still delays to fulfil his obligation, though frequently minded of it by my Lord's Factor, who, finding nothing but delays and shifts, did Registrate the Bond on the ninth of January, 1678. And on the twelfth of March thereafter, while the Archbishop was in Edinburgh, and without his Grace's knowledge, Haxstoun was, by a Messenger-at-Arms, apprehended in the Town of St. Andrews; and after his positive declining to give any manner of satisfaction, was committed to Prison by order of Law: of which, when the Archbishop had notice, he would not have given way to it, had he not been credibly informed and assured, that the money arising by the sale of the corns had been disposed of by Rathillet to Kinloch, and made use of by him, for buying horses and arms, for his keeping of rebellious Field Conventicles. Rathillet's Agreement, his Intromission and stated Accompt, are still extant under his own hand, to satisfie any who desire to see them. Haxstoun having continued some time in Prison, Dr. Falconer, being his cousin-german, mediated his liberation, and having ingaged for the sum due to the Archbishop, obtained it; and the Doctor declareth, that being present at his enlargement, he heard him express none of these desperate words above mentioned, either as to his deserting the Church, nor utter any terrible imprecations to be avenged on the Lord Archbishop's person. This now clearly discovers the villany and malice of the Author of this infamous libel, so far as relates to the business of Haxstoun of Rathillet, and the falshood of these malicious insinuations suggested by him, as if the Lord

Archbishop had been an oppressor of orphans, and that by the rigorous usage of the former he had provok'd him to a revenge so sacrilegious and execrable.

Parag. 2.—"However, now the Archbishop, who was enemy to any thing that had interest in Haxstoun, commands Captain Carstairs, Garret, and one Scarlet, a tinker, to apprehend John Balfour, of Kinloch, brother-in-law to the said Haxstoun (no Presbyterian, though an enemy to the Bishop, upon the injury done to Haxtoun, his brother-in-law), who resisted the said Carstairs, and wounded some of them; and thereupon was cited before the Council (though Carstairs had no Warrand to apprehend him, only to gratify the Bishop), where, not daring to appear, he is denounced and intercommuned, and made a stranger to his own house for two years."

The malice and falshood hereof is plain and manifest, in regard that this John Balfour of Kinloch, brother-in-law to the said Haxstoun of Rathillet, hath for these last seven years deserted the Church, and been a noted ringleader of Field Conventicles, and ordinary resetter and entertainer of vagrant incendiaries, of fugitive and intercommuned persons, Preachers and others, for which he was denounced rebel, and intercommuned long before the Archbishop had any knowledge of or dealing with Haxstoun, his brother-in-law; and for which Captain Carstairs had received orders from the Privy Council to apprehend him, as he had to seize several other turbulent schismaticks and intercommuned persons. In pursuance whereof, Captain Carstairs, with one Mr. Garret, and several of his servants, came to the house of this Balfour, to seize and apprehend him, and such other turbulent and outlaw'd persons as he should find therein. Balfour having intelligence of the design, did remove his wife and children out of the house; and when Garret and two others comes and enters the outer gate of Kinloch, they are saluted with eleven shot from within, and, presently retiring, were hotly pursued by thirteen or fourteen men on horseback, with naked swords hanging on their wrests, and cockt pistols; who, having given eleven cruel wounds to Mr. Garret, leaving him for dead, they follow hard after Captain Carstairs, calling to him that he would yield, and render himself in the name of God and of the Covenant, wounding him in the face, and firing many pistols at him and his servants, till by flight they made their escape from their fury. And here, out of the Depositions taken upon Oath, before his Majestie's Privy Council, and yet extant in the Records thereof, are set down the names of those bloody zealots, who thus resisted the King's Authority, and deforced and wounded those who were empowered by the Privy Council for executing the Laws, viz., John Balfour, of Kinloch; Hamilton, of Kinkell; Andrew Henderson, son to John Henderson in Kilbrachmount; James Russel, in Kings Kettle; Patrick Miller, in Nether-Urquhart; John Henderson, servant to the said Hamilton of Kinkell; John Balfour, tenant in the Lands of Lundie; James Reid, in Kettle; John Airthie, Thomas Fairn, James Skinner, all these three in Stramiglo; James Thomson, in Easter Collessie; Turnbul, tenant to Broomhall; Alexander Walker and Alexander Cowper, shoemakers in Leslie; severals whereof are now found to be actors and parricides in committing the nefarious Murther upon the Archbishop. And this attempt made by Captain Carstairs, and rebellious deforcement made by John Balfour of Kinloch, happened on the sixth day of November, 1677, of which the Archbishop knew nothing, until Captain Carstairs sent one to give him account of what he had met with in

the executing of the Council's Orders in Fife, and what had so contingently fallen out, meerly upon an information the Captain had, as he went in quest of other rebellious and intercommuned persons, without any design in the Captain at that time to have seized John Balfour, and therefore without any intention in the Archbishop, much less command to apprehend him. From all which it is easie to observe how many impudent Forgeries are heaped together in this particular, relating to John Balfour of Kinloch, by this malicious Author: 1. That the Archbishop should have enmity against Balfour of Kinloch, because of his interest in Haxstoun, and from that motive should have commanded Captain Carstairs to apprehend him; whereas the Order to seize Balfour was from the Privy Council, and not from the Lord Primate. And this design and attempt to apprehend him, being made in the sixth of November, 1677, did fall out four months before Haxstoun was imprisoned, he being apprehended with caption on the 12 of March, 1678; and so before it can be supposed that the Archbishop could have any malice or enmity against Balfour of Kinloch, upon the account of his relation to Haxstoun of Rathillet. 2. That this Balfour should be no Presbyterian; whereas he is one of the zealots of that party, and greatest leaders of Field Conventicles, and at this present a chief Officer or Commander among the Rebels who have proclaimed the Covenant at Rutherglen. 3. That one Scarlet, a tinker, should have been with Captain Carstairs at the encounter with Balfour; whereas it is nottour that this fellow was one of Welch's Guard, and would neither have undertaken nor have been trusted in any such enterprise; and is now in Prison, and to be arraigned for this treasonable crime of guarding and assisting a declared traitor. 4. That Carstairs had no Warrand to apprehend this Balfour; it being apparent that he had an express Order for that effect from the Privy Council. 5. That this Balfour was denounced and intercommuned for the deforcement of Carstairs; whereas he was declared fugitive, and intercommuned several years before that violence was committed.

Parag. 3.—"Wherewith, and with the robbing and spoiling committed by Bailiff Carmichael, the Secret Council's Sheriff-Depute in Fife, the said Haxstoun and Balfour, being inrag'd and inflamm'd with the desire of revenge upon the Archbishop, they did upon the third of May instant, with eight or nine other ruffians (three of them called, as they say, Balfours), wait his return from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, and there near a house called Magus, in an open muir, and within two miles or thereby of St. Andrews, they pursue him; the coachman and postilion perceiving, advertise him, and drive with all their might to escape, so that for near three quarters of a mile they could not overtake them. At last Balfour and Haxstoun, being better mounted than the rest, Balfour comes up with the postilion, commands to stop, and he refusing, strikes him over the face with his sword, dismounts him, and disorders the coach horses. Haxstoun comes to the coach and fires several pistols at the Bishop; but none of them, although they hit his body, did pierce him; they peirced through his cloaths, but left only blunt marks upon his body, somewhat like to burning.

"Whereupon Haxstoun drags him out of his coach, strikes him over the left eye with a deep wound, who thereupon fell; and gave him several other mortal stroaks upon his head, and cuts in his arms, rifles his pockets and his daughter's (who was with him in the coach) of their gold watches and papers, disarms his servants without hurting any, except the postilion,

who was wounded at first; and that his daughter received a wound on her thumb, grasping to save her father—and then flee all together.

"This is the Account both of the persons, the occasion of their wicked act, and the circumstances of the act itself, which is discovered and made known by the examination of the Bishop's own servants upon Oath, and a servant of the house near the place where the fact was done, where Haxstoun and Balfour left their coats before they attacked the Bishop, and after it was done came and brought them away.

"The Bishop's servants depone, that a man mounted on a bay horse struck the postilion and turned the coach; and that he mounted on the white, dragged the Bishop out of the coach, and killed him with his sword.

"And the servant in the house depones, that it was John Balfour of Kinloch was mounted on the bay horse, and Haxstoun was mounted on the white. That these two persons had a personal spite and hatred at the Bishop for the causes before, all know, and the Records witness. That the bullets did not pierce his body was seen by the Chyrurgeon, William Borthwick, who was sent by the Council to view his body."

As for the robbing and spoiling pretended to be committed by Bailiff Carmichael, the Secret Council's Sheriff-Deput, &c., it is sad to see what shifts malice will contrive, to justifie even the most sacrilegious and bloody crimes, it being a strange inference, suppose it were true, that Bailiff Carmichael had done ill things in Fife, that therefore their rage against him should have provoked them to so horrid and barbarous a Murther of any other person. 2. Bailiff Carmichael, being deputed by the Sheriff-Principal of Fife to execute the Laws against Field Conventicles and other disorderly person in Fife, did neither rob nor spoil, but proceeded in a legal and moderate manner, in sentencing and fining according to Law, such as were cited before the Sheriff-Court, according to very considerate and legal Instructions he had received from the Privy Council for that effect. Nor doth it appear that any of the bloody murderers of the Lord Archbishop were ever so much as cited before the said Depute, much less fined by him; so that this pretence for so bloody a villany is altogether vain, groundless, and frivolous.

As to what is said of his body being hit with several shots but not pierced thereby, and that they left only blunt marks somewhat like unto burning; whereby the Author in a most hellish manner insinuates that the body of this Consecrated person was hard and proof of shot, and whereby he commits a more villanous murder upon the fame and character of the Martyr, than the bloody assassines did upon his person; the falshood of this is apparent from the subscribed testimony of a Doctor of Medicine and of three Chyrurgeons, produced before the Privy Council, and still extant in the hands of the Clerks thereof (whereof William Borthwick is one, and the principal), whereby it is attested and declared, that among his many other wounds, that he received one, two or three inches below the right clavicle, in betwixt the second and third rib, by a shot.

It shall be unnecessary to say any more of the other manifest and barefaced lies contained in the foresaid Paper, such as that the murderers hurt none of his servants except the postilion; whereas the best armed of his servants was wounded in the head by a sword, and his daughter, besides the wound of her thumb, had another in her thigh; and that they dragg'd him out of his coach, whereas indeed he very compos'dly opened the door of the coach

himself, and with meekness and resolution stept out, and went forward to the murderers, who were, with so grave and reverend a presence and resolution, so much stunn'd and amazed that they looked upon one another, and stood a little while like men confounded, and unresolved what to do;—since enough is said to discover this infamous libel to be a congestion of lies and malicious untruths heaped together, upon design to vindicate the fanatick party and keepers of Field Conventicles from the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood, as if nothing but private picque or revenge had provoked the barbarous assassines to this nefarious Murder; whereas the actors thereof are all known to have been Presbyterian zealots, bigot fanaticks, and constant frequenters of Field Conventicles, and are now in arms, and some of them prime Officers and Leaders in the present Rebellion against the King and the Government; which insurrection is made upon design to overthrow the Monarchy and the present Government of this Church, and to model both according to the Covenant.

But for the clear and full satisfaction of the world, concerning the Lord Primate's fair and equitable transactions with Haxstoun of Rathillet, and his charitable goodness to the children of Lovel of Cunuchie, together with the falshood of what that Author alledgeth concerning the motives of Balfour of Kinloch, provoking him to commit this execrable Assassination, I shall here subjoyn a Missive Letter from Mr. David Falconer, Doctor of Divinity, and Professor thereof in the University of St. Andrews, directed to Sir William Sharp, of Stonie-hill, concerning this affair; to which the more credit must be allowed, in regard he is the person who transacted with the Lord Archbishop for the money due to him by Haxstoun, and is cousin-german both to him and Balfour aforesaid.

Sir,—The Paper you sent me, under the Title of "A true Relation of what is discovered concerning the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and of what appears to have been the occasion thereof," contains so many gross and notorious lies, Published upon the most malicious design, that 'tis no wonder you are greatly troubled thereat. My relation to Lovel of Cunuchie and Haxstoun of Rathillet being the nearest save that of a brother, as it moved my Lord Archbishop to make me privy to his transactions with both, so it gives you a just ground to expect from me a faithful and true account thereof, which I do impartially give you, upon certain knowledge, in the following Narrative.

At the time of Lovel of Cunuchie his Decease, a considerable sum, viz., betwixt 4 and 5000 merks, was owing by him to my Lord Archbishop, for the Few-duty of his Lands, that for many years had not been paid (my Lord forbearing him in his life time out of pity, because of his incumbred estate, and out of a personal kindness to himself), my Lord Archbishop being by Law preferred to all other creditors, was to have the Rent of the Lands ay and while he should be paid, and thereof gave order to Cunuchie's own servants to labour and sow the land that year he Died as formerly; after which he gave a gift of his Escheat, comprehending the corns that were left after the seed, with the cattel and whole furniture of the house (which might have been claimed by my Lord, though he had been no creditor, as Superiour of the Lands), to a confident person, who was to have made money of them for the behoof of the children. This donatar of the Escheat was, by my Lord's order, to assign his gift to the said Haxstoun of Rathillet (a man altogether unknown to my Lord, and, so far from being a favourite or

servant, that he had never spoke with him in his life before that time), he obliging himself, that, after payment of that creditor, at whose instance Lovel of Cunuchie was denounced Rebel, he should imploy the remainder of what money he could make thereof for the relief of the children. The truth of this can be made appear, to any that will desire to be satisfied therein, by a Paper extant, Signed by Rathillet's own hand; and that Rathillet did actually dispose of these goods, and uplift the money and prices of them, can also be made appear by a stated Accompt of his intromission, sign'd also by his own hand, to be shown to any that has a mind by my Lord's Factor. The reasons why this Trust was given to Rathillet were, his nearest relation to the children, his being nominated their Tutor by their father, his many protestations to be faithful in it, and importunity upon these grounds to have it. The first year's cropt, that should have been uplifted for my Lord's payment, was sold to Haxstoun, at the easiest rate of the Countrey, on purpose that he, taking the opportunity of selling the corns at the best avail, might have something, after the price that was to be payed to my Lord, to bestow upon the children. However, all that my Lord received for that year's Rent, was Rathillet's Bond for between eleven and twelve hundred pounds Scots, to be paid three-quarters of a year after the Term at which the Rent was payable. The time of payment being come, before which Rathillet had sold all the corns, he nevertheless fulfilled not his obligation, and, giving nothing but fair excuses for what was past, and peremptory promises of speedy payment at dyets, which he always deserted, he eluded execution of the Law for near four months, while at last he was apprehended by a messenger in St. Andrews, by order from one of my Lord's servants, my Lord himself knowing nothing thereof, as being then at Edinburgh. All that day he was kept in a private house, and offer was made to him, if he would pay presently any considerable part of the sum, which, as my Lord's Factor averred, he faithfully promised he should have brought with him the day before, or give a Precept for so much upon any honest, responsible men, who had bought the victual, it should be accepted in part payment, and discharged accordingly, he himself be set at liberty, and a further time granted him for the payment of the rest. Both which he shifted and declined; whereupon at night he was committed to the public Prison, where he lay for some time, until I became debitor to my Lord for the sum, and so procured his inlargement; at which time, neither I, nor any person that was with him at his coming out of Prison, heard any thing of the desperate resolution, either to desert the Church or be avenged on the Archbishop's person, alledged (by the Author of the Paper) to have been expressed by him, with a terrible imprecation, before witnesses. After this, my Lord hearing of the straitned condition of the children, ordered, by his Precept, the tenant of Cunuchie to deliver for the children's use twenty bolls of victual, and thereafter Signed a Paper with the other creditors, some of whom he moved to condescend thereto, and to all whom he gave the example, being the first subscriber for a yearly allowance to them.

By what hath been said, the falshood of that Paper, and the malice of its Author, is clearly discovered, as to that part of it which relates to Haxstoun, and how groundless the insinuations are of the Archbishop's uncharitable oppression of Cunuchie's family, or creditors, his rigorous usage of Haxstoun, and provoking of him thereby to so execrable a revenge by that horrid Murder.

As to what is reported in the Paper of John Balfour of Kinloch, brother-

in-law to the said Haxstoun of Rathillet, that he is no Presbyterian, though an enemy to the Bishop upon the injury done to Haxstoun, Balfour himself, and all that have conversed with him these seven years, will disprove it, he having deserted the Church and followed after Field Conventicles all that time, and glorying to be reputed one of the most furious zealots and stoutest champions of the phanatick party in Fife; for which he was denounced and intercommuned long before my Lord had any knowledge of or intermeddling with Haxstoun, his brother-in-law; and for which, Captain Carstairs had received orders from the Privy Council to apprehend the said Balfour. In pursuance whereof, Captain Carstairs, with his servants, and one Garret, an Englishman (for Scarlet, the tinker, known since to be one of Welch's Guard, as he would never have assisted Captain Carstairs in any attempt against any of that gang, so was he never reported or suspected by any of this Countrey to have been one of their number), coming one day near by his house, resolved to make search for him there, it being known he was no stranger to it, as is alledged. He was found with a company of armed men feasting in his house, and upon Garret's alighting, fired his pistol upon him, and thereafter breaking out of the house, overtook him before he could reach his horse, knockt him down with their swords, and left him not, while by many fearful deadly wounds they thought they had murthered him, and then pursued Captain Carstairs most furiously, while being desperate of getting the like done with him, though they fired frequently at him, they retired. It is to be observed of this scuffle, that it happened some four months before Rathillet's imprisonment, and consequently before it can be supposed Balfour should have suffered any thing from the Archbishop on the account of his brother-in-law Haxstoun. And farther, that besides Balfour of Kinloch, there were others said to be present there, who are found to have been with him also at the Archbishop's Murder.

For what is further said to have been the occasion of the execrable Murder, viz., "the robbing and spoiling committed by Baillie Carmichael," I leave it to all sober men to consider, whether the executing the Laws of the Land by a person cloathed with Commission from his Majestie's Privy Council, and the Principal Sheriff of the Shire, conform to their instructions, and a Warrand under his Majestie's own hand, deserves these epithets. Only this I must say, that it can be proved that my Lord Archbishop had, out of his own mouth, ordered the Sheriff-Deputes to suspend the execution of their sentence in poinding or distreining of goods, six dayes before his Murder.

As for what concerns the Murder itself, and the inhumane and barbarous manner thereof, I hope you are sufficiently inabled to expose the defects and falshoods of this pretended true Relation, by the full information you have thereof from my Lord's own daughter and his principal servants, who, to their inexpressible grief, were forced to be eye-witnesses thereof. This Account I cheerfully give you, for your satisfaction, or whatever use you please, providing it be accepted as a part of the duty that is and ever will be owing to the blessed memory of my dear Lord, by

Your most humble servant, D. Falconer.

As for the manner of this horrid and execrable Murder, the following Account, attested before famous Witnesses (by my Lord's own daughter and his servants, who had the misfortune to be helpless but sorrowful spectators

and eye-witnesses of this barbarous cruelty), will, I hope, prove very acceptable and satisfactory to the world, and a sufficient refutation of all false Relations and Narratives concerning it that have already been spread abroad, or may hereafter appear in Writing or Print.

V.—*A Narrative of the execrable Murther of the late Lord Archbp. of St. Andrews.*

On the third of May, a day remarkable in the Church Calendar for the invention of the Holy Cross, this excellent Prelate found his, and I hope obtained his Crown; in which month, also, Henry the Fourth of France, and Cardinal Beaton, one of his Predecessors, were assassinated. About nine of the clock in the morning, he took his coach in Kennoway, a Village ten miles distant from St. Andrews, where he lay the night before, accompanied only with four of his own servants, and his eldest daughter in the coach with him. About half an hour before he was attack't (his great soul, it seems, presaging what came to pass), he fell on a most serious and pious discourse to his daughter, giving her such pious instructions and directions as he would have done if upon his death-bed; whereunto she gave such becoming and satisfactory answers, that he imbraced and formally blessed her. Afterward, coming near to a farmer's house, called Magus, he said, There lives an ill-natured man; God preserve us, my child. Within a very little time after, the coachman perceiving some horsemen on the spur after them, calls to the postilion to drive on, for those men had no good in their minds. My Lord finding the coach run so hard, look't out to see what the matter was, and then perceiving armed men pursuing, he, turning to his daughter, said, Lord have mercy upon me, my poor child, for I am gone; upon which presently three or four of the ruffians fired at the coach, but touched neither of them in the coach. The coachman put the faster on, and outrun the most part of the rogues (my Lord's own servants, of which the best armed was wounded in the head by a sword, being mounted on weak hackney horses, had fallen behind before this, and were disarmed at the first coming up); while at last one of the best mounted over-hyed the postilion, and by wounding him on the face, shooting the coach-horse which he led in the back, and cutting him in the hams, turned the coach out of the way, and gave the rest the advantage to come up. Then they fired again; one of them had his pistol so near my Lord, that the burning calfing was left on his gown, and was rubbed off by his daughter, which wounded him two or three inches below the right clavicle, in betwixt the second and third rib; and then another of them, on the other side of the coach, run him upon the region of the kidneys with a small sword. Thereafter they called, Come out, cruel, bloody traitor; but not any offered to lay hands upon or drag him out of his coach, as is falsly reported in the relation, the assassines being all yet on horseback; whereupon most composedly he opened the door of the coach himself and stept out, and then said, Gentlemen, you will spare my life, and whatever else you please to do, ye shall never be questioned for it. They told him there was no mercy for a Judas, an enemy and traitor to the cause of Christ. Well then, said he, I shall expect none from you, but promise to me to spare my poor child—directing his speech to one whom it is suspected, by his looking him broad in the face, he knew, and reaching forth his hand to him, the bloody villain starts back from my Lord, and by a mighty blow cut him

more than half through the wrest. Then said my Lord, I hope ye will give me some time to pour out my soul to God, and I shall pray for you; and presently falling on his knees, he said, Lord forgive them, for I do: Lord receive my spirit. While thus praying on his knees (one of the traitors standing some paces off called to the rest, Spare those gray hairs), and his hands lifted up, they struck furiously at them, and wounded him therein in three places, which nevertheless he kept up bleeding to Heaven; while one of them cut him to the very bone, a little above the left eye. Whereupon my Lord said, Now you have done the turn; then falling forward, he stretched himself out, and laid his head on his arm, as if he had been to compose himself for sleep, when some of the villains from their horses, and others afoot (having alighted), gave him about fifteen or sixteen wounds in the head; and in effect, the whole occipitial part was but one wound. After which, they riffled his pockets and took some Papers out of them; and so mad was their spite and rage, that even after he was dead, and the murderers gone some way from the body, one of the furious and bloody assassines returned, and thrust twice or thrice at him with a sword. They robbed his daughter of some gold and other things she had in a little box—(they had wounded her thrusting at her father, betwixt whom and them she had interposed herself, by a stab in her thigh, and one of her thumbs)—then they took away my Lord's night-bag, Bible, girdle, and some Papers of moment. They also robbed his servants, and took their arms from them, and then went away as they came; and encountered one of my Lord's gentlemen, he had sent off some time before to salute the Earl of Crawford in his name, having passed near to his house. One of them called to kill him, for he was one of Judas' servants; others came and took his Papers in his fore-pockets, and arms, and bid him be gone, for his master was gone home before him. The place where this horrid Murder was committed is called Magus Moor, within two miles and in sight of the Town of St. Andrews.

Thus fell that excellent Prelate (whose character and worthy acts deserve, and no doubt will find some excellent pen), by the hands of nine fanatick ruffians. That they were so is not to be doubted, their names being all now known, and all of them denounced or intercommuned for frequenting Field Conventicles, and the known champions of that party in the Shire of Fife; besides, their holy sanctified discourse at the time of their bloody actings shews what temper and spirit they were of. I have done with my relation (attested to me before famous Witnesses, by my Lord's daughter, and those of his servants that were so unfortunate as to be spectators of this execrable villany), when I have observed how ridiculous the Author of the pretended true one is, where he indeavours to discover the occasion of the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; for what need was there of any thing more to provoke them, than his being an Archbishop, and the Primate of Scotland; and the most active as well as the most Reverend Father of this Church? Was it not for this reason that he was, on the streets of Edinburgh, shot at by Mr. James Mitchell, while in his own coach? Was not this the reason that these fanatick Books from Holland, both sometime ago and of late, marked out his *Sacrum Caput*, as they termed it, and devoted him to a cruel death, and gave out predictions that he should die so? Which they easily might, being so active in stimulating and prompting instruments to fulfil their own prophecies.—"O Lord, how unsearchable are thy judgments, and thy ways past finding out."

VI.—*A Letter from the Privy Council to his Majesty, concerning the Archbishop's Murder.*

May it please your Grace,—The Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of this your Majesty's ancient Kingdom, one of your Majesty's Privy Council, having been yesterday assassinated upon your Majesty's highway at noontide, by ten or eleven fanatick ruffians, bare and open faced, by so many wounds as left one of many instances of their unparalell'd cruelty, most of his wounds having been given after he was visibly dead,—we could not but acquaint your Sacred Majesty by this Express, by which your Majesty may easily consider whether we have been needlessly jealous of the cruelty of that Sect, that is by our enemies said to be so unnecessarily persecuted by us; and by which, and the many late murders committed upon your Souldiers and others for doing you service, your Majesty and we may certainly conclude these of that profession will be unsatiable, till by crimes and cruelties they do all that in them lies to force your Majesty from your Royal Government. This being the natural product not of their humors but of their principles, out of which these flames will undoubtedly at last arise, that will consume even those who accuse the necessary zeal of your servants, as illegal oppressing of tender consciences, albeit we never straitned the liberty of any Religion, save that which dissolved the principles of humane society and unhinged your Majesty's Royal Government; nor can we omit upon this occasion to inform your Majesty that this assassination has been revived by a Paper lately spread here, whereby the just Execution of Mr. James Mitchel, who Died for attempting formerly the same crime, is charged upon your Ministers and Judges as also illegal murder as that which he designed to commit, though he Died inveighing to the greatest height of bitterness against your Majesty in his last speech. And therefore we humbly beg that your Majesty would enquire into the authors, spreaders, and abettors of that villanous and treacherous Paper, and would send them (if of this Kingdom) hither, to be judged here; or (if subjects of your Majesty's other Kingdoms) that your Majesty may, for the security of your own Crown, and the just vindication of your Judicatures, and the incouragement of others to serve you, require your respective Judges to bring them to condign punishment, as we would do to such as defame their Judicatures amongst us. The Proclamation herewith sent will inform your Majesty of the outmost endeavours that we could use upon this dreadful occasion; and we hope that your Majesty, who takes such effectual means to punish the murder of one of the meanest servants of your Laws in England, will use all endeavours to punish the murderers of one of your Majesty's chief Ministers here, whose affection to your Royal interest has occasioned his being brought to this fatal period.

We are,

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Subjects and Servants. *Subscribitur ut sederunt.* Chancellor, Glasgow, Douglass, Montrose, Mar, Glencairn, Murray, Wigtoun, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Elphinstoun, President of Session, Edinburgh, Depute, Register, Advocate, Collingtoun, General Dalzell, Abbots-hall, Rossie; Mr. Maitland, Lundy, Tarbet.

Edinb., 4th May, 1679.

VII.—*A Letter to the Duke of Lauderdale, concerning the said Murder.*

May it please your Grace,—Upon notice of the horrid assassination committed yesterday, upon the person of the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Council being frequently met this day, have by a Letter acquainted his Majesty therewith, and sent a Copy of the Proclamation past on this occasion to your Grace, with a Copy of the Depositions of the Lord Archbishop's servants, taken by the Council, to be offered to his Majesty. In time of the sitting of Council, now at seven hours at night, the Justice-General and Laird of Lundy having returned from Fyfe, gave us a new account of that bloody tragedy, and that some of the Forces have overtaken two suspect persons; and having resisted, one of them was shot in the back and taken prisoner, who is found to be young Inchdearny, and it is thought will die in his wounds. And another, Henry Schaw, in Kirkcaldy, an intercommuned person, was also then taken. The Council has appointed their next meeting to-morrow, in the forenoon. The inclosed Copy of a Declaration was dropt in Cowper some few days before the Murder.

Your Grace's most humble servant.

Edinb., 4th May, 1679.

A Proclamation for Discovery of the horrid and sacrilegious Murder of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our Lyon King-at-Arms, and his brethren Heraulds, Macers, or Messengers-at-Arms, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. We being fully and by legal proofs assured of the late horrid and bloody Murder committed upon Saturday last, being the third day of May instant, by ten or eleven fanatick assassinates upon the person of the most Reverend Father in God, James, late Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, which barbarous and inhumane Assassination and Parricide will, we doubt not, spread horrour and amazment in all the hearts of such as believe that there is a God or a Christian Religion: a cruelty exceeding the barbarity of Pagans and Heathens, amongst whom the Officers and Ministers of Religion are reputed to be Sacred, and are, by the respect born to the Deity, which they adore, secured against all such bloody and execrable attempts: a cruelty exceeding the belief of all true Protestants, whose Churches have justly stigmatized with the marks of impiety all such as defile with blood those hands which they ought to hold up to Heaven: and a cruelty equal to any with which we can reproach the enemies of this true and Reformed Church. By which also not only the principles of humane society, but our Authority and Government (the said Archbishop being one of our Privy Council) is highly violated, and example and encouragement given for murdering all such as serve us faithfully, according to the prescript of our Laws and Royal commands: daily instances whereof we are to expect whilst Field Conventicles, those rendevouzes of Rebellion and forges of all bloody and Jesuitical principles, are so frequented and followed, to the scandal of all Government and the contempt of our Laws. And which Murder is, as far as is possible, rendred yet more detestable by the unmask'd boldness of such as durst openly with bare faces, in the midst of our Kingdom, at mid-day, assemble themselves together to

kill in our highway the Primate of our Kingdom, and one of our Privy Council, by so many stroaks and shots as left his body as it were but one wound, and many of which being given after they knew he was dead, were remarkable proofs they were acted by a spirit of hellish and insatiable cruelty. We have therefore, with advice of our Privy Council, thought fit hereby to command and charge all Sheriffs, Stewarts, Baillies of Regalities, and Bailliaries, and their Deputes, Magistrates of Burghs, and Officers of our Standing Forces, to search, seek, take, and apprehend the persons guilty of the said horrid Murder, or any suspect by them, and to imprison them until they be brought to justice; and all our good and faithful subjects to concur in the taking and securing, as far as is in their power, these assassinates. And in respect there is a company of vagrant and sculking ruffians, who, to the great contempt of all Government, do ride thorow this Kingdom, killing our Souldiers, deforcing such as put our Laws in execution, and committing such horrible murders, who might be easily discovered, if all such amongst whom they converse did, according to their duty, endeavour to apprehend them, or give notice whereof they haunt or resort. We have therefore thought fit, conform to the 144 Act, Par. 12, K. James 6th, to command and charge all our subjects, that whensoever any unknown men or vagabonds shall repair amongst them, that they with all possible speed certify any of our Privy Council, Officers of our Forces, or any having trust under us thereof; with certification to them, that if they omit the same they shall be punished with all rigour, conform to the said Act. And since several of the said assassinates are known to have been tenants in the Shire of Fife, whose faces will be known to such of the witnesses as were present, we hereby require and command all the Heretors and Masters of the said Shire of Fife and Kinross to bring their tenants, cotters, and servants, and others dwelling in their Lands, to the respective Towns at the dyets aftermentioned, viz., those within the Presbytery of St. Andrews, to the Town of St. Andrews, upon the 13th day of May instant; those within the Presbytery of Cowper, to the Town of Cowper, upon the 16th day of the said month; those within the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, to the Town of Kirkcaldy, upon the 10th day of the said month; and those within the Presbytery of Dunfermling, to the Town of Dunfermling, upon the 23d day of the said month, at Ten a Clock in the forenoon, upon each one of the saids dayes, there to continue and abide till they be examined by the Sheriff-Deputes of the said Shire, who are hereby Commissionate to that effect, and to be seen by the saids witnesses; with certification to such of the saids tenants, cotters, servants, and others aforesaid, as shall be absent, they shall be reputed as accessory to the said crime; and the Masters, if they produce them not, or if hereafter they harbour any that shall not compear, they shall be reputed favourers of the said Assassination. And whereas there are some persons under caption or intercommuning in the said Shire for several causes, and lest persons who are innocent of that horrid crime may be thereby debarred from appearing and vindicating themselves, we have thought fit hereby to sist and supersede all execution upon any Letters of caption or intercommuning, or any other Warrant for securing of any persons for any cause, for the space of fourty-eight hours, before and after the saids dyets of appearance, that they may safely come and go without any trouble or impediment whatsoever. And to the end the said cruel Murder may be the more easily discovered, we do hereby offer, and give full assurance of our indemnity, to

any one of the saids assassinates who shall discover his complices, and such as hounded them out, and of present payment the sum of ten thousand merks, to any who shall inform who were the saids assassinates, if upon his information they or either of them can be apprehended, that they may be brought to condign punishment. And ordains these Presents to be Printed and Published at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and at the Mercat Crosses of all the Royal Burghs in the Shires of Fife and Kinross, and to be read at all the Paroch Kirks of the said Shires, and Jurisdictions within the same, upon Sunday next, being the eleventh of this instant, immediately after the ordinary time of Divine Service in the forenoon, that the same may come to the knowledge of all persons concerned.—Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, the fourth day of May, 1679, and of our Reign the thirty-one year.

ALEXANDER GIBSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii.*

VIII.—*Another Letter from the Privy Council to his Majesty, concerning the Murtherers of the Archbishop.*

May it please your most Sacred Majesty,—By a flying Packet this day we had the honour of your Majesty's Commands, in order to our procedure against the execrable murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, to which we shall pay most careful and exact obedience, and are now preparing the best expedients for that effect.

We have already ordered the Lords of Justiciary to proceed against some of the ringleaders in the late Rebellion, who have accordingly sentenced two of the incendiary Preachers therein, viz., Mr. King and Mr. Kidd, to be Executed as traitors, on the fourteenth of August next, at the Cross of Edinburgh; and we shall be careful to require them to go on to the tryals of the other Heretors, Preachers, or ringleaders who were ingaged in the late Rebellion, and are already in custody, and such others in their circumstances as shall be apprehended hereafter. For this purpose we have appointed a Committee to prepare the best methods to be offered to us for giving the more exact and speedy obedience to your Royal Commands hereanent, and we shall in every thing endeavour with our utmost ambition to approve ourselves,

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithful Subjects and Servants. Rothes, Chancellor; Dowglas, Montrose, Marshall, Marr, Murray, Airlie, Aboyne, Dundonald, Kintore, Edinburgh, Elphingstoun, James Foulis, Abbotshal, Mery, Mr. Maitland, Lundy.

Edinb., last July, 1679.

IX.—*A Letter from the Privy Council to the Duke of Lauderdale concerning the same.*

May it please your Grace,—Having perused his Majesty's Letter of the 26th instant, and your Grace's sent therewith, we thought fit immediately to make the inclosed Return to his Majesty, of which we have sent a Copy. By your Grace's Letter we have an account that a great many of the Rebels are taken in several places in Ireland, and that his Majesty has ordered them to be sent prisoners to this Kingdom, with direction that timeous notice may

be sent to us for sending a sufficient guard to receive them at their landing, to be brought to secure Prisons. And having considered of the fittest place for landing such prisoners from Ireland, we conceive they may be most securely landed at Greenock, or Newport-Glasgow, in the mouth of Clyde. And we desire Advertisement to be given thereof to such as have the custody of these prisoners in Ireland, that they may be landed there, where they shall be received by a sufficient guard, and secured until his Majesty declare his pleasure anent them.—Signed in Name and by Warrant of his Majesty's Privy Council, by

Your Grace's most humble servant,

Edinb., last July, 1679. ROTHES, Chancellor, F, P, D.

X.—*A Proclamation against the Murtherers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, and appointing Magistrates and Councils of Burghs Royal to Sign the Declaration at Michaelmas next.*

Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our Lovits, Heraulds, Macers, Pursevants, or Messengers-at-Arms, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting: We, taking to our consideration how much the Protestant Religion and the honour of this our ancient Kingdom are stained by that barbarous and horrid Assassination and Murder of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews—whereof we have by several Proclamations expressed our abhorrency, and prohibited the reset of these murderers, whom we have exempted from our late gracious Pardon and Indemnity; and albeit it was the duty, not only of those in authority under us, but of all our subjects, to use their endeavours for discovering and bringing to justice these execrable persons, enemies to all humane society;—yet we understand that these murtherers, and likewise diverse Heretors and Ministers, who were ingaged in the late Rebellion, and are excepted from our Indemnity, have been harboured and reset in some places of this Kingdom, to the great reproach of the Nation and contempt of our Authority and Laws. Therefore, we, with advice of our Privy Council, do command and charge all Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillies of Regalities, and Bailliaries, and their Deputes, Magistrates of Burghs, and others in authority under us, to search for, seek, take, and apprehend the persons after named, viz., John Balfour, of Kinloch; David Haxstoun, of Rathillet; George Balfour, in Gilstoun; James Russell, in Kettle; Robert Dingwal, a tenent's son, in Caddam; Andrew Guillane, webster in Balmerinoch; Alexander and Andrew Hendersons, sons to John Henderson, in Kilbrachmont; and *George Fleeming, son to George Fleeming, in Balbuthy—who did perpetrate and commit the said horrid Murder; and also any Heretors and Ministers who were in the late Rebellion, and any persons who have reset and harboured these Murderers and Rebels, wherever they can be found, within the bounds of their respective Jurisdictions, and put them in sure Ward and Firmance until they be brought to justice. And in case these persons fly out of the Shire, that they give notice thereof to the Sheriff, or other Magistrate of the next Shire or Jurisdiction, that they may in like manner search for, apprehend, and secure them until

* This George Fleeming was a few years ago living at London, and professing physick, and may be still alive there.

they be brought to justice, with power to the Sheriffs and other Magistrates aforesaid, if they shall find cause, to call to their assistance our subjects within their Jurisdiction, or such a number of them as they shall think fit, who are hereby required to concur with, and assist them, under all highest pain and charge. And we expect that the Sheriffs and other Magistrates aforesaid, will use exact diligence in the Premisses, as they will be answerable on their highest peril. And seeing, by the Fifth Act of the Second Session, and the Second Act of the Third Session of our First Parliament, the Magistrates and Councils of Burghs are ordained, at and before their admissions to the exercise of their Offices, to Sign the Declaration appointed to be Signed by all persons in publick trust, under the Certifications therein exprest. Therefore, we, with advice aforesaid, do command and require the Magistrates and Council of the respective Burghs of this Kingdom, who shall be chosen at the next ensuing Elections, to Sign the foresaid Declaration, as is prescribed in the saids Acts, and to return the Declarations so Signed by them to the Clerks of our Privy Council, betwixt and the third Thursday of November next, certifying such as shall not give obedience, that they shall be proceeded against and censured, conform to the said Acts of Parliament. Our will is herefore, and we charge you strictly and command, that incontinent these our Letters seen, ye pass to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and remanent Mercat Crosses of the head Burghs of the several Shires of this Kingdom, and other places needful, and there, by open Proclamation, make Publication of the Premisses, that none may pretend ignorance of the same. And we ordain these Presents to be Printed.—Given under our Signet at Edinburgh the twentieth day of September, 1679, and of our Reign the thirty-one year.

William Paterson, *Cl. Sti. Concilii.*

The Registers of the Privy Council being in some disorder, the other Papers relating to Archbishop Sharp's Murther could not be got.

FINIS.

At one time it was my purpose to incorporate herewith—

1. The Letters which passed between Principal Baillie (Born in the Saltmarket of Glasgow) and the Archbishop, Edited by Dr. David Laing, who sways with Wodrow.

2. The Lauderdale Papers, collated by my kind Correspondent, George Vere Irving, Esq., 5 St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park Road, London.

3. The Letters between the Archbishop and Robert Douglas, the Originals of which were in Wodrow's possession, and which are Printed in the Introduction to his History, Burns' Edition. Transcripts of these are in the Library of Glasgow College, B Y. 6. 3., pp. 214, thin 4to.

Excepting the mutilations, noticed in the "True and Impartial Account," &c., as also by Lyon and Stephen in their Histories, it must be owned that the Letters No. 3 are, upon the whole, "true Copies." Hence, it is unnecessary to reprint what have been so largely circulated in what Wodrow terms his "History of the Suffering Church of Scotland." Wodrow's bent of mind towards "Prelacy," and all connected therewith, is unmistakeable, and the purpose for which he brings out his treasures is undisguised; but those who have unprejudicedly weighed the Writs of our Prelate, are now inclined not to take for granted what Scotch Presbyterians have for centuries handed down, but to turn the balance the other way, opining that the Letters which have been preserved are not "full of cunning and diplomacy," but honest, open, and manly. They evidence that the Minister of Crail laboured hard to prop up a hopeless cause, and that he only parted with it when it became untenable.

I.—Contents of Papers in the Episcopal Chest of Drawers at Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire.

The "Episcopal Chest" is a tall box or bureau (not very pretty), some eight feet high, opening by a door the whole length in front. The Contents are arranged in fifteen open shelves, which draw out. All are in excellent dry condition, and pretty complete. They have been at one time arranged chronologically, so that there is the common difficulty of a double notation. The Chest contains a great many Official Documents and Correspondence, and was last in rotation in the custody of the late Primus William Skinner, from whose care it passed to its present place of rest. It contains Records of all the Nonjuror Consecrations, with the Episcopal Seals appended. Of a later Date are two interesting Deeds, viz., the Original Agreement with Bishop Seabury, Nov. 17, 1784, and the Signatures agreed to at Laurence-kirk, Oct. 14, 1804, beginning with the name of John Skinner, Primus, and continued by later Signatures on the same Parchment, the last three names being David Wilson (the present Dean of Aberdeen), Arthur Ranken (the present Synod Clerk), and John Taylor, Deacon. The latter became somewhat notorious. He was for many years Incumbent of Cumineston, Aberdeenshire. A Correspondence between Bishop Skinner and him was got out of his hands by Sir William Dunbar, of S. Paul's, Aberdeen, who gave it to Messrs. Charles Popham Miles, M.D., of S. Jude's, Glasgow, and David Thomas Kerr Drummond, of S. Thomas', Edinburgh, who Published it, animadverting on Bishop Skinner for the style of "Dear John," "Dear

Taylor," "Yours as you merit," "Yours as you demean yourself," in connection with "your mulish obstinacy" in refusing to read the Baronet's Sentence of Excommunication. Ere this, Taylor had imbibed the Rationalism of a Rev. Alex. Allan, Episcopal Minister at Monymusk, who Preached a Sermon full of "German Neology" in the Chapel of Inverurie. Taylor was tried before a Diocesan Synod, and Suspended.

From boyhood he was eccentric, and went under the soubriquet of "Pheasant." There was a famous apple tree in his father's garden, upon which youths of the Town were wont in season to make furtive attacks; and, to make the path to "Pheasant's" fruit more convenient, he placed an old harrow against the tree, as a step-ladder to ascend, at the top of which was nailed the poetic warning, in Banffshire Doric—

"Steal an apple, steal a pin,
Steal a cow, ere a' be deen."

John was often the butt of burlesque while at King's College, Aberdeen. His fellow-students tied him into an arm chair, while they lathered and tonsured him *a la mode*, and then set him at large. During the College vacation he occasionally taught the School kept by the Rev. Mr. Murdoch, Keith, where he had to endure all sorts of tricky annoyances from the disciples. As a penance to defaulters, they were made to stand in couples in the large fire-place, with their heads up the sooty vent.

Latterly he resided in his native Town of Keith, in great poverty. While on a visit to Huntly, he Died suddenly of indigestion, and was Buried beside his relatives, at the west side of the old Belfry-gable of the Church of Ruthven, where a Head-stone sets forth his natural endowments. He was meek, peculiar, and insufficient. The poor creature had a hobby about Missionary and Bible Societies, and made a Will, leaving of his penury some few shillings, as a mark of respect.

The Matrices of the *Episcopal Seals*, formerly kept in the Chest, are now deposited in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, Cuts and Descriptions of which are to be found at their proper places in this Book.

The Papers are copied from a Folio Catalogue in the hand-writing of the Rev. Robert Forbes, of Date 1758, pp. 64, and are "taken out from among those of Archbishop Sharp by some of his Grace's friends, and delivered to the Right Rev. Bishop Keith." They are as follow:—

Number 1*st*.

1. (Original) Lauderdaill to Mr. James Sharp, Min^{r} of the Gospell at Craill, Decr. 2d, 1660, whereby it appears that Mr. Sharp was then a man of consequence.

2. (Original) Lauderdaill, Janry. 24th, 1661. For my Revd. and worthie friend, Mr. James Sharp, his Majestie's Chaplain in his Kingdom of Scotland, thanking him for his Sermon before the Parliament, and desires a Printed Copy of it for the King, and one at least for himself.

3. (Original) Lauderdaill, August 26th, 1661. For the Right Revd. Dr.

James Sharp, Rector of the Universitie of St. Andrews, wherein Lauderdaill, so farr from having Corresponded with Ireton, as calumniated, that he had never seen Ireton till he saw him hanging on the gallowes at Tyburn.

4. (Original) Archbishop Sharp, Novr. 20th, 1665, to the Earl of Kincardine, in answer to two from his Lordship about his countenancing, thô a Privy Counsellor, disorderly and schmismatical Meetings, &c. Herein is asserted the Divine Right of Episcopacy, which was believed (says the Archbishop) by King Charles the 2nd, and his fayr and grandfather. [Very long; Printed in full in Stephen's Life and Times of Sharp, p. 319.]

5. (Original) Lauderdaill, Janry. 30th, 1666. For my Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, his Grace, in which a promise no Bishop to be offered by Lauderdaill to any Vaccancy but whom Archbishop Sharp shall first recommend.

6. (Original) Lauderdaill, Octor. 1, 1667. For his Grace my Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland; herein it is plain, Bps. of Scotland mett without Presbyters, to deliberate about and order Church matters.

7. (Original) Lauderdaill, July 18, 1668, to Archbishop Sharp, congratulatory upon the shot missing his Grace on ye street of Edinburgh, and condoleing upon its wounding the Bp. of Orkney, and giving an Account y^{t} a villain had wounded my Lord General's porter; and on being taken, he said he intended to have murdered the King and ye Duke of Albemarle.

8. (Original) Lauderdaill, Augt. 29, 1671, to Archbishop Sharp, wherein of the Vacancy of Edin^{r}, and that it is not fit that any Presbyter, at first dash, should be preferred to it, and desiring to know whom the Archbishop judges to be fittest for it.

10. (Original) Lauderdale (so spelled here), June 13, 1674, to Archbishop Sharp, about the King's commands to suppress all scandalous and seditious Conventicles, and great endeavours being used to alarm all England w^{t} the fears of a present Rebellion in Scotland, and the Petitions in Scotland for a National Assembly, as being intended more against Episcopacy than against Conventicles, comparing such Petitions to those of 1637 and 1638; and about the King's being very careful that ye honour and authority of the Bishops may be preserved, and all contrivances against them suppressed and punished, &c. [Printed in Stephen's Life and Times of Sharp, p. 455.]

11. (Original) Very angry Letter of Bp. Ramsay of Dunblane, June 7, 1675, to Archbishop Sharp, both then at London, about his being turned out of Dunblane Diocese, &c., w^{t} the Archbishop's answer, June 8th, 1675, tacked to it, and in his own holograph.

12. (Original) Lauderdale, March 21st, 1676, to Archbishop Sharp. Herein a promise of King Charles 2, not to Sign a Presentation to any See in Scotland, but such as shall have the approbation of the two Archbishops w^{t}in their respective Provinces, &c.

13. (Original) Lauderdale, July 18th, 1676, to Archbishop Sharp, wherein, *inter alia*, to ye same purpose: "Therefore, I beseech your Grace to write to me whom you will pitch upon for the vacant Bishopricks, and then we shall be quiet." N.B.—Copy tacked to this Letter of a remarkable paragraph from the Life of Dr. Berwick, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, importing, "that as in the Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the usual method of filling the Sees in England was utterly impracticable; therefore the King should be Petitioned to grant his Royal License, impowering the Bishops to

meet together and to make choice of fitt persons, according to ye Canon and practice of the Primitive Church; which scheme his Majesty most graciously received and approved of, &c. And thus the Consecrations were to be performed in a Canonical manner, and with the utmost prudence and precaution as to ye safety of the Consecrators and Consecrated from any persecution from the enemy."

14. (Original) Lauderdale, Janry. 25, 1679, to Archbishop Sharp, intimating *conge d' elire* to the Dean and Chapter of Ross to Elect the Bishop of Galloway.

15. (Copy) Augt. 13, 1679, of the Declaration of King Charles the 2d, in favours of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, concerning Presentations to the Churches that are at his Majesty's disposal, to be only by their recommendations.

16. (Original) May 6th, Lauderdale to Archbishop Sharp, about ye increase of lawless Conventicles, and particularly that ye common hangman of Irvin keeps Conventicles and Preaches.

17. (Original) Octor. 20th, at noon, Holyroodhouse, Rothes and Lauderdaill to Archbishop Sharp, informing that the King had restored the now Earl of Argile to that Title, but not to be a Marquis, with a small competency to him, and the rest of the Estate to the Creditors.

18. (Copy) Some Account of the Murderers of Archbp. Sharp, by name and surname, without a Date.

19. (Original) Some Account of the Murder and Murderers of Archbp. Sharp (not the same with the foregoing), in an anonymous Letter to Sir William Sharp, without a Date.

20. (Copy) Order of James, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, his Funerals, on Saturday, May 17, 1679. [Given under IV., following.]

21. (Original) Warrant for the Execution of Andrew Guilan, one of the murderers of Archbishop Sharp, July 12, 1683. Subscribed by Perth, Maitland, Jas. Foulis, &c.

Number 2nd.

6. (Original) July 6, 1675. Bp. Paterson to Archbp. Sharp, then at Bath for health; wherein of a Meeting of 5 Bishops at Edin^{r}, about ye Malleurs infesting the Church, and not a word of any Presbyter present, or invited to be present. Subscribed thus—Jo. Gallovidien.

7. (Original) Without Date. Abp. Paterson to Abp. Sharp, concerning Bp. Ramsay's removal by the King (Sec. 11 in Num. 1st), from one See to another, for fomenting and abetting the Clergy insolently to insist for a National Synod or Convocation; concerning bad tendency of such a Synod; and concerning an Address by the Commons in England against Lauderdale.

14. Authentick Copy of a Paper, Signed at Court by the Abp. of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Edin^{r}, March 1686, for taking off the sanguinary Laws concerning Religion w^{t} relation to ye Papists.

22. (Copy) Act of Indemnity, K. James 7, June 14, 1688, excepting the murderers of Abp. Sharp, Fergusson the Plotter, Home of Polwart; Fletcher of Salton; Mr. Gilbert Burnet, &c.

What follows is from a Letter from the Rev. Robert Forbes of Leith (afterward Bishop of Caithness) to Bishop Alexander at Alloa, about the delivery of the Episcopal Chest, directed thus:—

To Mistress Keith, Relict of the Rt. Reverend Bishop Keith, at Bonytown, near Edinburgh.

Madam,—By ye *appointment of the Bps. of ye Church, Bp. Keith, your worthy husband, was to provide a Chest, and put therein all such Writs, Registers, and Papers as related to our Church affairs, which he either then had or should procure from his Brethren or oyrs. And it was ordered also that this should remain in his custody, but on his Demise in the custody of the succeeding Primus; which Providence having ordered to be my lot, it becomes a duty incumbent on me to call for that Chest and ye contents y^reof; and being so, I intreat you'll be pleased to deliver it to the Rd. Mr. William Bell, whom I have commissioned to call for it and send it to me; who, if you desire, will give you a Rec^t for it, q^ch shall be sustained by me. You see, Madam, y^t I am obliged to make ye demand, q^ch I hope you'll take in good part, and believe y^t q^rein it lies in my power to serve you, I am (w^t ye tender of my best wishes to you and yours), Madam,

Your most humble servant,

Cupar, July 19, 1757. ROB. WHITE.

II.—EXCERPTS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD BOOK OF MY LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, FROM 1663 TO 1666.

The Book contains several Journey-charges of the Archbishop from and to St. Andrews and Edinburgh, as also frequent Alms, at home and while travelling, to the poor at Crail, Kinghorn, Leith, Edinburgh, and Falkland; to widows, lame soldiers, and Highland pipers. A great space is devoted to diet expenses, for different sorts of wines, for capons, rabbits, and part-

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* No such Appointm^t, Order, or Regulation on record, that I know of. It must have been only oral. Was not said Chest in ye keeping of B. K. even q^n Dr. Rattray was Primus? Is not Ed^r, or the vicinity of it, the properest place for such Chest to be in? It was ye opinion of B. K. that Bonnyhaugh was the best and safest place during the time of the Distress, and that there B. F. and R. F. could always have easy access to it on all emergencies. If Memoirs should appear in Print, q^ch is still much threatened, is it not advisable that Chest should be at hand for expeding an answer, q^ch is not to be expected from Cupar or its neighbourhood? Mr. B. delivered ye above L^r (Dated on the very day on q^ch B. F. parted from B. W.), out of his own hand, and Mrs. K. made this answer: "Indeed, Mr. B., I can make no answer to this till I see Mr. Forbes, who is searching among Mr. K. his Papers, and adding greatly to the Chest, insomuch that it cannot contain all y^t he has already picked out for that purpose; and therefore B. F. has bespoke a larger Chest to be made at his own expence. And now you must see that I can make no ans^r till I see B. F. himself." "O, Madam," said he, "there is no haste, no hurry at all in the matter. Take your own time. But who is employed to make the said Chest?" "I believe," said she, "Thomas Wilson."

N.B.—It will be hard, methinks, if ye Chest should go a *bellwavering* into ye Country over the Forth, especially q^n I'm at so much pains about it. Please return the inclosed with your conveniency. It came after I had scribbled all this some hours. ROBT. FORBES.

[The Initials in the above Note are—B. K., for Bishop Keith; B. F., Bishop Freebairn; R. F., Rev. Robert Forbes; B. W., Bishop White; Mr. B., Rev. William Bell.—ED.]

ridges; tobacco pipes, fluicks, and moor fowls; tame pigeons, ducks, chickens, and turkeys.

The Money columns are *Scots*. Twenty Pounds Scots = £1 Sterling. One Shilling Scots = One Penny Sterling. One Penny Scots = $\frac{1}{12}$ of a Penny Sterling.

Necessaris for my Lord and uther Deburstments.

Aug. 15, 1663.—For a pair of shiverines to my Lord and drink money to the boy,	001	18	00
29.—To the barbour for trimeing my Lord,	000	18	00
Sept. 22.—For washing my Lord cloathes at 3 several tymes,	003	04	00
For a link to wait on the coatche,	000	06	00
28.—For ribbanes to my Lord shoes,	000	09	00
Oct. 3.—For 2 ellis of creap for a murneing string when the Bishop of Orknay Died, at 2 *l* 13 *s* the ell, is	005	06	00
For a pair of black shambo gloves to my Lord,	001	16	00
For 6 quarteris of black silk coard to my Lords hatt,	000	05	00
11.—For tuo linkis at the Laird of Grantis buriall,	000	12	00
14.—For a bybill to Williame Sharpe,	004	10	00
For six quarteris of black ribbanes to my Lord,	000	08	00
15.—For a link to wait on the coatch to the abbay,	000	06	00
Nov. 11.—For two linkis at my Lord Glasgowes buriall,	000	12	00
14.—For a link to the coatche going to Ladie Glasgowes hous,	000	06	00
For holland to be band and cuffis to my Lord,	004	00	00
For cours holland to be stockis to the band and cuffis,	000	12	00
17.—For a link goeing to my Lord Chancellours hous,	000	06	00
For a link to my Lord Presidents hous,	000	06	00
The compt of the money given to the poore in smallis thir 3 monthes bygane comes in haill to	010	19	08
To a poore shoulder at the abbay church doore,	000	06	00
To the poore people at the abbay church on both sydes of the coatche,	000	04	00
To poore people at severall tymes at the hous and abroad at the coatche theis ten dayes bygane,	001	02	00
Nov.—Payed to ane apothecarie at St. Androis for some oyllis and drougis to the coatch horse,	001	08	00

Accompt of my Lord Archbischop of St. Androis and Glasgow thair Lordships Chargis at Londoun in Lodging, Dyet, Vyne, Fyre Wood, Coallis, Candillis, from Dec. 3 to Jan. 27, 1664.

Monenday, Dec. 7, 1664.—For fyre in the morneing and at night,	000	17	00
For bread and drink in the morneing and at night, and for cheese,	001	01	00
For a coatche to Vorcester hous, Durham, zaird Lady Balheavin and home,	002	08	00
Dinner for a pullet,	001	08	00
For butter limon turnepis and pepper and egges,	000	09	00
For dresing the pullet and a peice of beiff at 4 *s* the piece,	000	08	00
For aile, bread, fyre, and a pynt of claret at dinner,	001	10	00

For fyre at night,	- 000 10 00
Saboth.—Dinner to many noblemen for 2 barrell of oysteris,	- 004 00 00
For a dishe of fishe with egges and butter,	- 003 00 00
For a Vestphalia ham with cheekines,	- 013 04 00
For a coadis head and oysteris,	- 006 06 00
For a dishe of stewed carpis,	- 006 00 00
For a dishe of dried quhittines,	- 003 00 00
For a dishe of fried smeltis,	- 004 16 00
For a chyn of salmond,	- 003 12 00
For a jouyll of sturgeon,	- 006 00 00
For a tart,	- 005 02 00
For oringis, Vinegare, spyce, and tobaco pypis,	- 000 18 00
Die Martijs.—For a pynt of wormwood wyne in the morning, and a quartclaret at night, and for pippins,	- 001 19 00
Supper to many noblemen and utheris for a young turkie and dressing,	- 003 10 00
For 3 phesines at 3 lib. the peice,	- 009 00 00
For tuo woodcockes,	- 002 08 00
For tuo pulletis,	- 003 00 00
For 4 pertrigis,	- 004 16 00
For 4 cheekines at 16 *s* the peice,	- 003 04 00
For aples and carvie,	- 000 18 00
For oringis and limones,	- 000 16 00
For anchoves to be a dishe to be sauce,	- 001 02 00
For olives, caperis, vinegare, spyce, and butter,	- 001 06 00
For oysteris, aile, mustard, suggar, and pearsle,	- 001 08 00
For 4 bottillis of cedar,	- 001 04 00
For a peice of beef at dinner to the servants,	- 000 16 00
To the Landlady for supper dressing, kitchene, and fyre,	- 001 16 00
For pypes to Lauderdaill, and for bread at night,	- 000 16 00
Item in drink money to my Lord Lauderdaill's servands,	- 006 00 00

Accompt of Money given to my Lord Archbishop of St. Androis his Grace, and debursed at his direction in Londoun from November 23, 1663, *till January*, 1664.

For a chair to the watter my Lord going to Lambeth,	- 000 12 00
For ribbones to my Lordis tippet,	- 000 06 00
To my Lord going to the Kingis chappill,	- 006 00 00
For a chayre ther,	- 000 12 00
For a chayre to the watter,	- 000 12 00
For trimming my Lord, and for a newes book,	- 001 05 00
For a pair of shoes and galloshes to my Lord and ribbanes,	- 006 08 00
To Mr. Bloures man bringing home the new gowne,	- 001 10 00
For ane ivorie cabinet,	- 072 00 00
For ane new hatt to my Lord,	- 063 00 00
For dressing the old hatt, and for pock and string,	- 003 00 00
For cutting my Lordis litell seall,	- 012 00 00
For a new satin cap,	- 003 00 00
For small ribbanes for the key of the cabinet,	- 000 03 00
Given to a poor widdow at my Lordis direction,	- 001 04 00

Cristmas Day to my Lordis going to the Chapill, - - 003 06 00
To the doore keeper of the Chapill, given by my Lord, - 006 00 00
For a chayre to Bishop Winchesters, - - 000 12 00
For a chayre from Whithall in tyme of rayne, - - 000 12 00
Jan. 1664.—To the keeper of Lambeth Chapill to see the cushyon, - - - - - 000 12 00
For rebbanes, necklaces, and pendentes for the childrene, - 012 00 00
For tuo satin capis to the bairnes, - - - 004 04 00
For a paire of stockingis to my Lord, - - - 003 12 00
For 2 stemin petticoatis and 2 bairnes coatis, - - 040 16 00
For 4 timber combes for my Lady, - - - 001 10 00
For 2 horne combes and a caice, - - - 001 04 00
For a pair of gray schooes to my Lord, and drink money, - 003 12 00
To my Lord to give in drink money for the asses, - - 006 00 00
For the asses stable and meat a night, - - - 001 04 00
To Mr. Lockhart for my Lords pistolls, bought be him, - 018 00 00
For a new scabboord to my Lord sword, - - - 001 04 00
For orange flower watter to my Lord, - - - 002 08 00

Money given to his Lordship since February 3.

At the Consecration to his Lordship in the Churche, - - 005 16 00
For vashing his Lordships cloathis at Edinburgh, being all foull efter the journey, - - - - - 001 05 00
To a tailziers man for mending his Lordships cloak and doublet, 000 12 00
For 3 Spainsche bisomes and 3 mapis sent to St. Androis, - 001 16 00
For a new bitt to my Lordis new Londoun brydill, - - 001 10 00
May 21.—For drugis to the childrene quhen they got all phisick 2 or 3 dayis together from Doctor Pittilluo, - - 007 14 00
28.—For fixing a ston in a ring, - - - 000 12 00
To a barber the day of the Chanclours buriall, - - 000 18 00
For a pair of murneing shoes to his Lordship, - - 002 18 00
For dressing his Lordship hatt and a new pock therto, - 002 02 00
For a Solen goose sent to St. Androis, - - - 000 04 00

Debursed at his Grace's direction.

1664. Feb. 8.—To the Earle of Athollis mane that brought wyld foull, - - - - - - 001 16 00
To John Wilsone, bell man of Crail, - - - 001 04 00
To the Ladie to buy a pig, - - - - 000 18 00
For a pocket inkhorne for William Sharpe, - - 000 05 00
For sex new bee scapis at 8 *s* the piece, - - - 002 08 00
May 4.—To William Sharpe for a paire of arrowes, - - 000 10 00
For a glove and a brace, - - - - 000 14 00
For a bow string, - - - - - 000 03 00
Aug. 22.—For solling his Lordships stockengis, - - 000 03 00

Ane Accompt of his Grace my Lord Archbischop of St. Androis, his Debursementis for necessaris and other wayis at Londoun from August 30 *till Oct.* 18, 1664.

Sept. 19, 1664.—To the Archbishop Laudis devotion and a newes book, - - - - - - 000 13 00

Sept. 22.—For a paire of French litill sweet gloves to his Lordship, - - - - - - - 001 16 00
Oct. 4.—For mending and solling his Lordships stockeines, - 000 12 00
6.—Payed to Johne Kirkwood for his Lordships seale, - - 024 00 00
To a staff with a silver head, 2 caice of knyves, and a bell, - 020 08 00
8.—To a boy with ane lanthrene from Lauderdaills, - - 000 06 00
Dec. 13.—For a horse hyre to Balcarras for Mr. Gilbert Burnet, 000 12 00

Accompt of Money given to his Grace.

Dec. 8.—To his Lordship the day Margaret Sharpe was borne, 10 dollars, - - - - - - 029 00 00
For a Virgall to Williame Sharp and for glasping it, - - 000 16 00
12.—To the poore the day of Margaret Sharpe's christeneing, - 002 14 00
For a quart of wyne the day of hir christeneing, - - 002 00 00

Discharge, 1665.

April 13.—For black silk cord for breeches, - - 000 04 00
May 2.—For a great satin cap to his grace, be accompt, - 004 02 00
3.—For a silver needle to Agnes Sharpe, - - - 001 10 80
29.—For a tarr barrell to the bonefyre, - - - 000 12 00
Oct. 4.—For the heirdis fie this half yeire, - - - 002 04 00
19. To a poor man and to a pyper, - - - 000 08 00
20.—For a paire of chamber gloves to his Grace, - 000 14 00
For 2 vnces of fine sealling waxe, - - - 000 12 00
For 2 clubs and 2 ballis to Williame Sharpe, - - 001 04 00
Nov. 14.—To his Grace going to Church on Tuysday, - 000 12 00
16.—To his Grace going to Church on Thursday, - - 000 12 00
For two goff ballis to Williame Sharpe, - - - 000 08 00
19.—To his Grace, being Sabboth, - - - 001 09 00
To my Lord Bischop of Dunkeldis man with muirfoullis, - 001 09 00
June 13.—To the watter wyff that furnished watter to the hous, 000 06 08

Accompt of Moneyis given to his Grace since 1 *Januar* 1666.

Feb. 9.—To your Grace on Sabboth at St. Androis, - - 001 09 00
To your grace at Edinburgh comeing doune to Leith in small money and turneris, - - - - - 003 14 00
15.—To your Grace going to Church on Thursday, - - 000 12 00
To your Grace the day Johne Sharpe was Christened, in small money and turneris, - - - - 004 07 00
Mar. 18.—To your Grace at Agnes Sharpis burial, 10 dollars, - 029 00 00
Apryl 12.—To your Graces going to sermon on Good Fryday, - 001 09 00
To your Grace goeing to Sermon on Easter day, - - 001 09 00
20.—To the medwyff, - - - - - - 002 18 00
May.—To your Grace in a Paper given to my Lady, - - 100 00 00

Accompt of Moneyis debursed at his Grace's directione to Barberis, Poore, and others.

For carieing up of tuo puncheons of vine from Anstruther, - 004 00 00

For a quarters board of Margaret Sharpe, - - - 010 00 00
To the violers in the Abbay, - - - - 002 18 00
To the Laird of Nydies man that brought troutis, - - 000 12 00
To George Nairne for bowelling A. S., and for a schear cloth, 15 dollors, - - - - - 043 10 00
Mair to Andrew Sword for the same vse, 3 dollors, - 008 14 00
To be distribut among the poore the day of the buriall, 011 12 00
To the servantis about the kirk, 2 dollors, - - 005 16 00
For the mortcloath, 1 dollor, - - - - 002 18 00
To the persones that carried the silver staffis, 3 dollors, 008 14 00
To the poor boxe in the sessione, - - - 066 13 04

Accompt of your Gracis chairgis at London, and of money given at your Gracis direction since May 15.

For tuo fanes and tuo rollis, - - - - 006 00 00
For a silver needle to my Lady, - - - - 001 16 00
For 2 ell and ½ of skarlet, at 19 lib 16 *s*, to be my Ladies petticoat, - - - - - 047 00 06
For 5 yeardis ¼ of flannen for a petticoat to my Ladie at 1 lib 11 *s*, - - - - - 009 00 00
For another greene tuilled night cap, - - 002 14 00
For tuo quhit tuilled capis at night, - - 003 06 00
Foure fyne timber combis and 2 horne combis, with caices, 006 06 00
For 2 pocket Bibillis, - - - - - 007 00 00
For a seare cloth for your Gracis issue, - - 000 09 00

III.—Notanda.

In the old Church-yard of the Parish of Banff, there was a Stone with the following Inscription, which has been renewed in erecting a new wall:—"In this Cemetery are interred the remains of Robert Sharp of Kininvie, Provost of Banff, and the father of Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was Born in May, 1613, in the Castle of Banff, the residence of the Family, and basely murdered on the 3d of May, 1679. Also Robert Sharp, Sheriff Clerk of Banffshire; his spouse, Janet Abercromby of Birkenbog; Mrs. Ann Hamilton, his niece, and other descendants of the Family. The above Inscription was renewed on the present enclosing walls, erected by public subscription in the year of our Lord 1865. Domine, dirigie nos." Beside the Inscription is a representation of the Armorial Bearings of "Robert Sharp," with the Date 1667, and several initial letters.

Archbishop Sharp was made a Burgess of Glasgow:—"Decimo tertio Noveris, 1666.—The q^{lk} day the most Reverend Fay^{r} in God, James, Archbishop of St. Androwes, Primat and Metrapolitan of Scotland, is made Burges and Gild Broy^{r} of ye s^{d} Burgh. [*A. Orr Ewing's View of the Merchant's House of Glasgow, p.* 125.]

1865, July. While on a visit to St. Andrews, the Rev. George Gordon Milne, late Incumbent of S. James', Cupar, shewed me the original Letters

Patent from Charles II., of the Presentation Charter of Archbishop Sharp to the Metropolitan See of St. Andrews, found at Magus Moor, *soaked with his murdered blood*. It is given in Lyon's History, vol. ii., 381, App. This Chart had been repeatedly put to the test by competent Antiquaries. Mr. Milne said—"In the bowels of my compassion, I lent this to an importunate friend, who was anxious to take an impression of the Royal Seal, and he gratefully returned to me the *one half*. 'The seal,' the friend said, 'broke among his fingers!'"

Mr. Alex. Cumming, farmer at Craigherbs, near Mill of Boyndie, Banffshire, while ploughing, turned up a small stone, on which some engraving appeared, and which, on examination, was supposed to be the Seal of Archbishop Sharp, as it bore his Family Arms, in conjunction with those of the See, with the Legend—*Jacobus Episcopus Sancti Andre*. 1838. [*Stephen's History, vol. iv., p.* 548.]

The Way and Manner of the Consecration of the Scottish Bishops at Westminster, Dec. 15, 1661.

The foure Doctors, Sharpp, Fairefoule, Hamilton, and Lightoun, come in coach to the Dean of Westminster's house in the Cloister, where they were mett by four Englishe Bishopps, London, Woorester, St. Asaph, and Carlile, and were conducted by them to the Church, where all were placed over against the Pulpit. The 4 Scots in the habite of Doctors, with their Canonicall coates, girdles, gownes, tippets, and corner caps. Sermon being ended, they went to the east end of the Church, where the Altar stands. London having the action, placed himself upon the right side of the Altar, Worcester on the left; the rest, Scotts and English, standing before it. Then Canterburie being Commissioner, the Commission was read, and London proceeded to read the forme of the booke of Common Prayer, each of the Scotts having one in their hand. After some time spent in reading, the Scotts sate down before the Altar on their knees, in which posture the oath of supremacie was tendered to them by the Bishop of London, they having their hands on the booke and kissing it. This done, they removed to a by-roome, and after a little returned, having a linnen garment above their gownes, such as a shirt without sleaves. In this garb they stood some time before the Altar, and then returned to another roome, and after a little come in againe attired as Bishops, thus—Above the linnen garment called a rocket, they have a gowne without sleaves, of a rich silk stuffe, and to it were pinned lawne sleaves. Having stoode a little, they kneeled againe before the altar. Then came the English Bishops and laid their hands on their heads, one by one. The Consecration being ended, they communicated thus—2 English Bishops and the foure Scots, kneeling before the altar, receive the bread and wine from London. This done they rose, and the foure Scots Bishops went toward the Altar, one after another, bowing as they went, and then kneeling laid downe the offering upon it. After which

they went to Sir Abraham William's house, the place where ambassadours are received, and there had a sumptuous feast, where diverse of the Scottish Nobilitie were present. But the Lords Middleton and Crawford were not, they being sicke. All this is testified by one who was ane eye witnesse. [*Analecta Scotica, vol. i., p.* 79.]

IV.—The Procession and Burial.

The remains of the murdered Prelate were removed to his house in St. Andrews, from which, after thirteen days, they were removed to the Parish Church. The Privy Council determined to honour him with a public Funeral. It was performed with the utmost magnificence, agreeable to a Programme issued by the Government, the original of which is in the Episcopal Chest at Glenalmond. The Order directs, that the Prebends and Clergy of the Metropolitical Church shall meet the Body in their Robes, in good order, at the door of the Church. The respectable inhabitants were directed to be drawn up in two lines, betwixt the Abbey and the place of interment, for keeping off the crowd, so that the Procession might pass through a lane betwixt two files, without interruption or disorder. The Privy Council appointed the Archbishop of Glasgow to act as chief mourner, assisted by the other Bishops in deep mourning. The Privy Council were to walk in a body, and the Macers of Court were to walk bare-headed, as a guard to the honours of Purse and Mace.

The Procession, as marshalled by order of the Privy Council, proceeded in the following order:—

Sixty-one old men, corresponding to the years of the defunct's age, each in mourning-hoods and cloaks, and bearing on staves the Arms of the Archiepiscopal See, impaled with those of the defunct, one preceding and bearing a little Gumphion,* the rest following two and two.

The Horse of State,
Equipped in furniture, as for the Riding of Parliament,
led by footmen in the defunct's livery;
Two close trumpets, with mourning banners;
A horse in mourning, led by footmen in mourning;
The Great Gumphion borne on a lance;
The great mourning Pencil,† borne
by Sir John Strachan;
The defunct's servants, and those of the Nobility
and Gentry in mourning;
The Magistrates of St. Andrews;
The Magistrates of the other Royal Burghs;
The Magistrates of Edinburgh;
Professors of the University of St. Andrews;
Clergymen of the Diocese;

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* From the old French word, *Gonfalon*, a banner.

† Probably from the French, *Pennonçean*, a small pennon.

Doctors and other Dignitaries in the Church;
The Rector of the University, ushered by his three Maces;
Gentlemen and Knights, two and two;
The Lords of Session,
ushered by their four ordinary Macers;
The Nobility, according to their rank, two and two;
Two close trumpets;
A mourning standard, borne by Sharp of Houston;
Four coats-of-arms, two paternal, and two maternal, borne
each after the other;
The great mourning banner, borne by Cunningham of Barnes;
His Grace's Physician, Secretary, and Chaplain;
Six Pursuivants, in their coats,
two and two;
Six heralds in their coats,
two and two;
The first bearing, on an antique shield, the Arms of the See,
and of the defunct, impaled; the second, that of the
See; the third, the crosier; the fourth, the
scarf; the fifth, the gown;
the sixth and eldest, the mitre on a velvet cushion;
The Lord-Lyon, King-at-arms, in his coat;
The Lord High-Chancellor,
preceded by the purse and great mace;

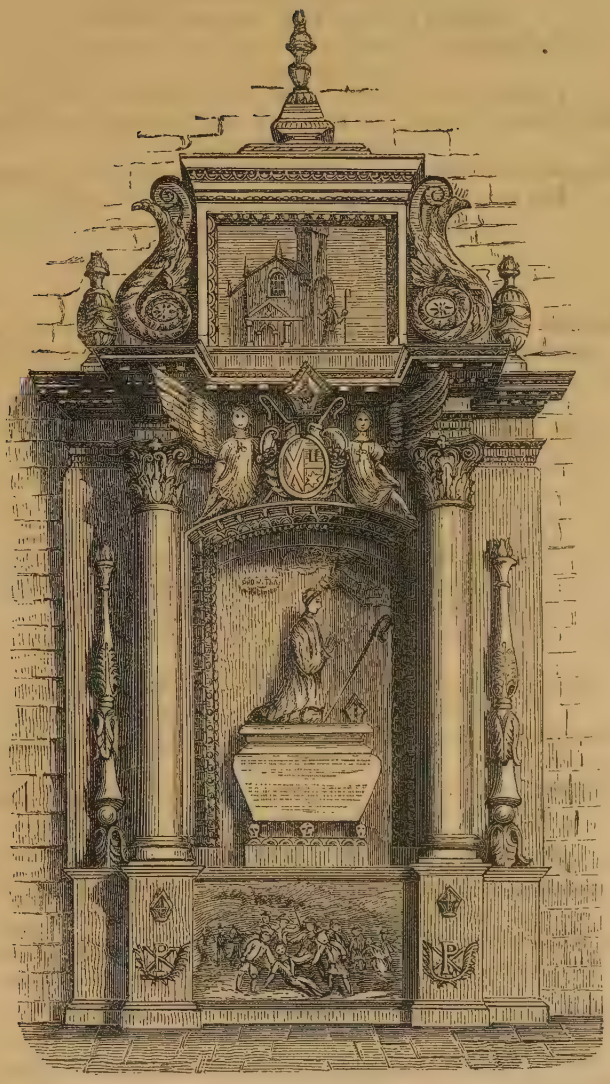
Macer of Privy Council.

THE COFFIN,
adorned with scutcheons of the defunct's
arms, impaled with those of the See,
and with a mitre placed on a velvet cushion,
fringed and tasseled with gold,
and covered with crape;

Macer of Privy Council.

Chief mourners, Sir William Sharp of Scot's Craig,
the deceased's only son, and
Sir William Sharp of Stoneyhill, the deceased's brother.
Over the Coffin
A canopy, adorned with the mitre, with small escutcheons,
mort-heads, and cyphers, borne by six Moderators
of Presbyteries.
The Archbishop of Glasgow, and all the Bishops of Scotland;
The bloody gown in which his Grace was slain, borne
by the Chaplain of his Household;
The coach out of which he was taken and murdered, with the
coachman, horses, and postilion, all in deep mourning.
A troop of horse-guards.

The Church was all in mourning; the Pulpit, and before it a table covered with black velvet, on which the coffin was placed. The Funeral Sermon was Preached by John, Bishop of Edinburgh. The body was laid in the grave with the sound of open trumpets. Over the grave a canopy was erected, covered with black cloth, and adorned with the gumphion, standards, banners, &c., which had been carried in the procession.



ARCHBISHOP SHARP'S TOMB, TOWN CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS.

V.—The Tomb and the Inscription.

About a year and a half after the Archbishop's Murder, his son, Sir William Sharp, of Scotscraig and Strathtyrum, applied to the Kirk Session for permission to erect a Monument over his father's grave, in the Town Church. The Magistrates and Session, considering "the honour and duty which they owed to the memory of the late Lord Primate," and that the Monument would be an ornament to the Church, gave their consent for the erection. So Sir William disponed to the Kirk Session an Heritable Bond which he held over Lands at Boarhills, to the amount of 2500 Merks, or £1666 13*s* 4*d* Scots, the annual Rent of which was to be drawn by the Session tlll the principal sum was redeemed, and was to be applied towards keeping the Monument in repair, and for behoof of the Poor. On the principal sum being realized, about 35 years after, the Kirk Session laid it out in purchasing eight acres of land, in that portion of ground called 'the Prior's Acres,' and in assisting to pay the price of other six acres, in the vicinity of the Town, purchased from Mr. George Hay of Leys. These lands continued to remain in the possession of the Kirk Session till the passing of the Scottish Poor Law Act, when they were transferred to the management of the Parochial Board. The Papers adducing these facts cast up in 1849, being found among the Kirk Session Records in an old box, and on being produced to the Board they gave instructions for the complete repair and renovation of the Tomb. At the commencement of these repairs, it was resolved to open it. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1849, the workmen proceeded, in presence of the Magistrates, the Parochial Board, and others interested, to remove the large flat stones in front of the Monument; which being done, an entrance was easily effected into the Vault below.

The Vault may be described as a Stone Chest, the inside measurement of which is 7 feet 4 inches in length, and four feet in depth; breadth, at the head 3½, and at the foot 2½ feet. Each side and end is composed of one standing on edge, and the top is one stone, about 10 feet by 5. In the Vault was found a large quantity of human bones, and the remains of numerous coffins, under all of which were discovered the remains of the coffin of the Archbishop. As the place was very damp, not a vestige of the wood or of his remains were to be found, after a deposit of 172 years. The large iron handles, and some of the corners, plates, &c., of coffins, were found all lying in their places. Considerable anxiety was displayed to get hold of the Skull, but it was not to be found. On that part of the lid which had been over the breast was found what was allowed to be a composite, on which was slightly discernible some traces of figuring, the whole surmounted by a knot of silk ribbon. Previous to closing up, a bottle was placed in the Vault, containing the names of those who were present, some Documents relative to the Monument, and a few Hand-bills. It appears that when the Town Church was repaired 60 years ago, the Vault was opened then, and the Skull carried off. Others think that from the fact of the Town Council

in 1725 having offered a reward of £10 Sterling for the discovery of persons who had broken into the Church at night, defacing the Monument, and carrying away part of the marble, that the Tomb must have been pillaged then. Previous to that Date it was very common to have Interments in the Church. When the floor came to be levelled for the seating, all human remains, &c., were thrown in here to be out of the way, which accounts exactly for the state in which the Vault was found.

A few years before his Death, his Grace presented to the Town Church a silver Baptismal Basin and Communion Cup. The former weighs 64 oz. 5 dwts., the latter weighs 37 oz. 12 dwts.; and, will it be believed, that on Sacrament Sundays, at the Evening Sermon, this Chalice is used as a *Collection Plate* at the door! The same use of the Communion Cups is also made at Craill. Each has the following Inscription:—"In usum ecclesiae parochialis civitatis Scti. Andreae, donavit Jacobus archiepiscopus, anno 1675."

On the upper part of the Monument is an emblematical representation of the Archbishop supporting the Church, rent—rather grotesquely; next below are two Angels with wings extended, supporting the Shield, Mitre, and Crosiers. In the centre the Archbishop is kneeling, while an Angel places the Crown of Martyrdom on his head. *Pro mitra coronam* from that time became the Family Motto. Beneath is an Urn, containing the Inscription, under which is a Bas-relief representation of the Murder. In the background the assassins are in pursuit of the carriage; in the front view they are putting the Primate to death, Guillan holding the horses, Haxton lingering aside on horseback, and the others in the act of the Murder. The daughter of the Archbishop is detained by two of the conspirators, while in an imploring attitude she begs her father's life. The following is a Translation of the Epitaph on the Urn of the Monument:—

To God, the greatest and the best.
This lofty Mausoleum covers the most precious remains of
a most holy Prelate, most prudent Senator,
and most holy Martyr;
For here lies all that is left under the sun of the most
Reverend Father in Christ,
James Sharp, D.D., Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of
all Scotland, &c.;
whom
The University, as a Professor of Philosophy and Theology; the
Church as a Priest, a Doctor, and a Ruler;
Scotland as a Chief Minister, both in her Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs;
Britain, as the Adviser of the Restoration of King Charles II.
and of Monarchy;
The Christian World, as the Restorer of the Episcopal Order
in Scotland—
Saw, Acknowledged, and Admired;

WHOM
All good and faithful Subjects perceived to be a Pattern of
Piety, an Angel of Peace, an Oracle of Wisdom,
an Example of Dignity;
And all the enemies of God, of the King, and of the Church,
Found the implacable Foe of Impiety, of
Treason, and of Schism.

AND WHOM,

Notwithstanding he was endowed with such great and excellent qualities, a band of nine parricides, through the fury of Fanaticism, in the light of noonday, and in the Vicinity of his own Metropolitan City, murdered in a horrible manner, with many Wounds, from Pistols, Swords, and Daggers, after they had wounded his most beloved eldest Daughter and Domestics, weeping and imploring mercy on their knees, and whilst he himself had also fallen on his knees to implore mercy for them, on the 3d of May, 1679, in the 61st year of his age.

LII. Alexander Burnet. A.D. 1679-1684. *(No Seal.)*

Alexander Burnet was son of Mr. John Burnet, a Parochial Minister, who was of the Family of Barns. His mother was a daughter of the Family of Traquair. He was Born in 1614, and was Chaplain to the great Earl of Traquair. After the troubles began, he retired into England; and, being there, was put into Holy Orders. He had a Rectory in the County of Kent, but was turned out of it by the Puritans, upon the score of Loyalty, in 1650. After this he went beyond sea, and had the good fortune to serve his then Majesty, King Charles II., by intelligence from England and some other parts. Upon the Restoration, he became Chaplain to General Rutherford, his father's first cousin, who was made Earl of Teviot sometime after. When this heroic Lord was constituted Governor of Dunkirk, Mr. Burnet had an English Congregation there. He was made Bishop of Aberdeen upon the Death of Bishop Mitchell, in 1662. [Bishop Mitchell Died in February, 1663. According to a MS. correction now before me, he succeeded to the Bishopric of Aberdeen in September, 1663.—M. R.] He was Consecrated at St. Andrews by Archbishop Sharp, "some other Bishops being present at that time" [*Lamont's Diary*], on the 18th September, 1663. On the 11th April, 1664, he was Translated to Glasgow, and after Archbishop Sharp's Murder, to the See of St. Andrews, 28th Oct., 1679, where he Died on the 24th

of August, 1684, and was Buried in S. Salvator's Church, near the Tomb of Bishop Kennedy. There is no trace, however, of his grave. On the last Letter which Archbishop Sancroft received from this Primate, he endorsed the following lines:—

"Obiit, Aug. 22, 1684, hora 2d Matutina.
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Scotia."

Fountainhall says that Archbishop Burnet "Died at his house, in the Abbey of St. Andrews, 22nd of October, and was Buried in S. Salvator's Church. He was a man of much moderation, especially since he was laid aside in 1669." He left a piece of land in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews for the benefit of the Poor of the Guildry for ever, which still goes under the name of "Bishop Burnet's Acre." It yields an annual Rent of £5 10*s*. Martine of Claremont (the Author of *Reliquiæ Divi Sti Andreæ*, from which others besides me have borrowed information nowhere else to be had) dedicates his "Tract," such as it is, to Archbishop Burnet, in August, 1683. This small, modest "Tract" is only 256 pages quarto! Martine alludes in his "Dedication" to the Primate's "exemplar and unflexible vertues, pietie, and honour (as much above flatterie as your Grace does generously despise it), that have justlie raised your Lordship to so eminent a statione in the Church, and put your Grace beyond the reach of their malice, under whose tongues lie the poison of asps. . . . And when your Grace hath for many years most successfullie served the great Bishope of our souls in your generation, that you may peaceablie exchange your Mitre for a Crowne, and your Rotchet for a Robe of Glorie."

LIII. Arthur Ross. A.D. 1684-1688.

Arthur Ross, son of Alexander Ross, Parson of Birse, in the Shire of Aberdeen, had his education at the University of St. Andrews, and was Minister first at Kinerny, next at Old Deer, both in the Shire of Aberdeen. He was then made Parson of Glasgow in 1665, in which station he continued till the year 1676. He was, upon the Death of Bishop Scrogie of Argyle,

promoted to that See, and from thence was Translated to the See of Glasgow in 1679, and again from Glasgow to St. Andrews, by the King's Letters Patent, 31st October, 1684, where he continued until the Revolution in 1688 Deprived him and the rest of his Brethren. He Died 13th June, 1704. [*Keith.*]

Arthur Ross was the last of the illustrious line of Archbishops in this See who bore the Title, among whom were the sons of Kings and Nobles. So says Thomas Stephen in his "History of the Church of Scotland." But they were sons of Kings and Nobles begot "on the wrong side of the blanket." Archbishop Ross was the son of Alexander Ross or Rose of Easter Clune, in the Parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire, Parson of that Parish, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Aberdeen. This Alexander, the father of the Archbishop, was a stout Anti-Covenanter. His sufferings are given in a Petition (in which he is called *John*), presented by his grandsons, John Ross, Minister of Foveran, and Alexander Ross, Parson of Perth, afterwards Bishop Rose of Edinburgh. Bishop Keith

Field filled by a figure of a Bishop Mitred and Robed, holding before him a S, Andrew's Cross, the right hand raised in Blessing; over the figure a canopy. On the sides the Legend, *Sit Christo suavis odor.* In the lower part of the Seal, a Shield bearing a chevron chequé between three water-bougets; in middle chief, a rose. Above the Shield a Mitre and Mantling. The whole encircled by the Legend. [*Matrix formerly at Trinity College, Glenalmond, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.*]

does not seem to have been aware of the relationship between Archbishop Ross and Bishop Rose; but Grub alludes to it in his History (vol. iii., p. 278, Note), and refers to the "Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock," 525, *Spalding Club*.

"(4.) Mr. John Rose of Insh, Minister of that Parish. This gentleman had two sons, viz., Mr. Alexander and Mr. Arthur. This last, viz., Mr. Arthur Rose, was, in 1675, Consecrated Bishop of Argyle. His elder brother (5), Mr. Alexander Rose, was Parson of Monimusk, and was father of two Clergymen, viz., Mr. John and Mr. Alexander. This Mr. Alexander was for some years one of the Ministers of Perth; from whence he was Translated to Glasgow, and was made Professor of Divinity in that University. In 1686 he was Consecrated Bishop of Moray, from whence he was Translated to Edinburgh, in 1688. His elder brother (6), Mr. John, of Insh, was Parson of Foveran." [*The Family of Rose of Kilravock, Spalding Club, p.* 525.]

The Honourable George Rose, of the Treasury, was of the same Family. His grandfather was Donald Rose of Wester Clune, in Birse. Alexander Ross, Author of "Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess," a Poem in the broad Scotch dialect, was also one of the Birse Rosses.

During the time the Archbishop was Minister of Kinerny, at the period of the Restoration, he Signed the Declaration of the Synod in favour of the re-establishment of the ancient Ecclesiastical Polity. He was made Parson of Glasgow in 1665, in which station he continued till 1675, when he was promoted to the See of Argyll, upon the Death of Bishop William Scrogie. He was Consecrated at Edinburgh in May 1675, along with Bishop Paterson for Galloway, by Archbishop Leighton of Glasgow, Bishop Young of Edinburgh, and by another Bishop whose name is not mentioned. [*Law's Memorialls, 4to*, 1818, *p.* 77.] He owned his appointment as "Parson of Glasgow" to his Predecessor in the See. The Rev. C. J. Lyon, in his History of St. Andrews, vol. ii., p. 105, says—"I have now before me a Copy of a Letter addressed to him when Minister of Old Deer, in the

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year 1664, by the late Primate Burnet, then Archbishop of Glasgow, offering him a situation in that City of £1200 Scots per annum; for which he was to Preach only once every Lord's-day, and once on a week day, unless it be at Communions, or some such extraordinary occasions. The Archbishop further evinces his good opinion of him by requesting him to 'engage some deserving persons to come this way, for supplying our Vacancies, and at Meeting, and I shall study to provide for them as you think their parts and experience do deserve.' I have also a Copy of a Deed by the Provost and Dean of Guild of Glasgow, conferring the Freedom of their City upon him when he was Bishop of Argyll, in 1675."

According to Burnet, his namesake Died in Scotland. [*Own Times, vol. ii., p.* 626.] "And Ross, a poor, ignorant, worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent that these supplied all other defects, was raised to be Primate of that Church; which was, indeed, a sad omen, as well as a step to its fall and ruin." It required no strong light from Gilbert's Lamp of Prophecy to foretell *ill*, when he knew well what was going on behind scenes.

It is not known where Archbishop Ross resided during his latter years, after he was outed from his high position. Probably he lived and Died in Edinburgh in 1704, and was Buried in the Churchyard of Restalrig. In the Canongate Churchyard, near the north-west corner of the Church, is a Stone with this Inscription on the one side—"To the Memory of George Stuart Forbes, Esq., Representative of the ancient Family of Brux, and his spouse, Margaret Stewart, only daughter of Capt. John Stewart, R.N., a Cadet of the honourable Family of Ballechin." On the other side of this Tombstone is—"The proper Burying-place of this Family is in Restalrig, in the Tomb of his Grace Arthur Ross, last Archbishop and Primate in Scotland, whose great-grandson, George Stuart Forbes, here interred was; but he, having Died suddenly in Edinburgh, was privately interred here, formerly the Burying-place of the Eglinton family."

Archbishop Ross' daughter Anne Married, in 1687, John, fourth Lord Balmerino, and was the mother of Arthur, sixth

Lord, beheaded on Tower-Hill, London, in 1746, with the Earl of Kilmarnock.

A tale about a Bishop is always read. Here is one about our Archbishop:—

"About two miles further on, I pass'd the ruins of the old Church of Kinernie; the Parish was some years ago united to Midmar. In the Reign of Charles II., Ross, afterward Archbishop of St. Andrews, was Minister here; but, being somewhat of the nature of Pharaoh's butler when exalted, he did not remember his brethren. It was, however, very natural to suppose that one who had felt the inconvenience of a small Stipend himself, would be ready to lend every reasonable aid to have his successors bettered; and upon this rational presumption the Minister of Kinernie reckoned upon the interest of his Metropolitan, in his intended application for an augmentation of his Living.

"He waited upon the Primate, and laid the case before him. 'You Country Clergymen,' said the Bishop, 'should learn to moderate your desires. I know what it is to live in the Country. When I was Minister of your Parish, I could afford a bottle of good malt liquor, and a roasted fowl for my Sunday's dinner; and I see not to what further you are entitled.' The rural Priest made his bow, and retired with this parting compliment—'It would have been no great loss to the Church of Scotland, though your Grace had been yet eating roasted hens at Kinernie.'" [*Francis Douglas' Description of the East Coast of Scotland (Paisley*, 1782), *p.* 253.]

Account of an Apparition which was said to have been seen in the House of Archbishop Ross, described in a Letter to the Rev. John Warden, and by him communicated to the Rev. Robert Wodrow.

Rev. Sir,—I mind some time ago I had the occasion to converse with you anent sume thing which fell out in that house in St. Andrews where Bishop Ross lodged, which is as followeth:—

Andrew Berrage, my wife's brother, principell servant at that time to the Bishop, a young man who was verie apt to crush anie surmise of aperitions before that time. Andrew Berrage told me and his sister that there is a chamber in that lodging possest then by the Bishop; that neither family nor stranger lay in that roome, by reason of ane ould suspition of aperitions that frequented that roome. It fell out there comes so many strangers one day, that all the other roomes was taken up with the strangers except that

suspected roome. My brother-in-law, indevoring to banish such a Himera (as he called it) out of the family, prevails with the paige, a young lad, that both should ly together in that roome; and accordingly set on a good fire in the chamber, the bed being neere to the middle of the roome. My brother-in-law lies down with his face towards the dore, the paige with his back to his, which obliged the one to loke to one end of the chamber, and the other to the other end of the chamber.

About the middle of the night [comes] ane aperition of the coatchman at the entrie of the chamber where my brother's face was pointing; at the same time, the postiline appears at the other end of the chamber. My brother and the paige being both awake, the coatchman advances towards my brother in the foreside of the bed. My brother fals a scowlding of the coatchman, calling him drunken rascall, questioning him why he was not in bed ere this time. The aperition still advances towards him till it comes closs to the bed, and the other aperition in the back side of the bed advances towards the paige; the paige all the time smyling at my brother taking, as he thought all the time, the coatchman for the postiline that advanced towards him. My brother-in-law riseth on his elbow, and swears he would ding the devill out of the coatchman, and thrusts at him with a full stroake, till he seeth his arme through the aperition, and his hand on the other side of him. After the thrust at the aperition, the coachman and postiline each of them went back to each end of the roome and disappeared like smoak. Then, he said, instead of cursing he fell a praying; then touches the paige, asking him if he was waking, who answered, "Yes." "Saw you the coatchman?" said he; who answered, "I saw the postiline."

After some conference betwixt them, they fand that their backs being towards other in the bed, and accordingly their faces looking to each end of the chamber, declaired to each other what they saw as above. They instantly arose and sat at the fire till the morning, taking wan another ingaged not to devilge what they saw, for frightning the rest of the servants.

However, the secret breaks out, and comes to Bishop Ross his ears, who industeruslie laboured to desuad his servants, and for proof thereof he would ly in that chamber alon. His servant sayes to him, in a jocking manner, "My Lord, alow me to be in the chamber below your Lordship." The fire is put on, candels placed on the table, and in a little time his Lordship goes to bed. My brother and paige sets up in the roome below him. About the middle of the night, the Bishop comes down stairs with all sped possible, and thought it convenient to bring no thing with him but his shirt, barefooted, calling for his servants; but what he saw he would reveal it to non.

Sir, this is the reall Account my wife and I had from her brother's mouth; and next to seeing it myself, I could confirme it no better.

My dewtiful service to you, your wife, and family. Your ain,

THO. HARLAW.*

Alloa, 14th January, 1718.

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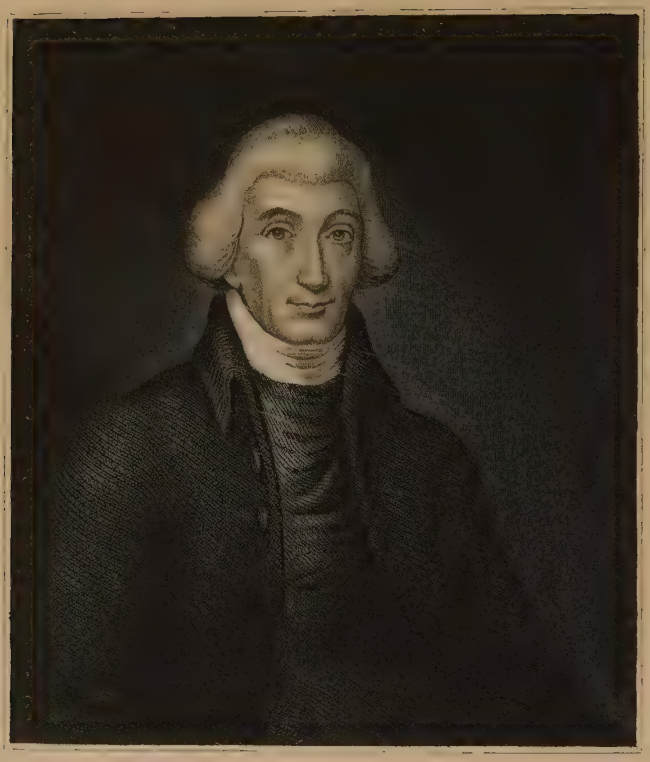
* "Private Letters" addressed to Mr. Wodrow, p. 18, Advocate's Library, Printed but not Published.



affectionate Brother & faithful Friend
Alexander Jolly.

THE REVOLUTION.

(From a MS. by Bishop Rattray, Transcribed by Bishop Jolly from a Copy in the handwriting of Bishop Alexander of Alloa.)

After Episcopacy was abolished, as to its legal Establishment, at the Revolution, the Bishops, it seems, found it impracticable to supply the Churches or Dioceses with new Bishops, as they fell vacant by the Death of any of their own number; but the Inspection of these Dioceses, at least within the Provinces of St. Andrews, fell to the charge of the Archbishop thereof during his lifetime (if any were then vacant), and after his Decease, w^ch^ happened June 13th, 1704, to the Bishop of Edinburgh, as Vicar of that Metropolitical See.

Thus things continued till the year 1705, that all the Bishops being now dead—except Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow; Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh; Haliburton, Bishop of Aberdeen; and Douglas, Bishop of Dumblane—it was thought necessary to take care of the Succession, and not to suffer the Order of Bishops to be extinguished among us, that we might not be put to the necessity and hazard of having recourse to the Bishops of other Churches for new Consecrations, and of depending upon their good will whether and on what terms we should have a Church preserved to us. With this only view, therefore, the Rev. Mr. John Sage and Mr. John Fullarton were then Consecrated Bishops at Ed^r^, on S. Paul's Day, Janry. 25, 1705, by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Ed^r^ and Dumblane. And after the Death of the Archbishop, w^ch^ happened Decr. 9th, 1708, that they might not run too near to the number required by the Canons of the Church for Consecration, in case any accident should happen by the Sickness or Death of two of them together, especially being, as themselves express it, in the Diplomata or Instruments of Consecration given by them, almost quite worn out with manifold cares, diseases, and old age—(multiplicibus curis, morbis, atque ingravescente senis tantum non confectes)—for this reason, I say, they Consecrated two more, viz., Mr. John Falconer and Mr. Henry Chrystie. This was done at Dundee on the 28th day of April, in the

year 1709, by the Bishop of Ed^{r}, assisted by the Bishop of Dunblane and Bishop Sage.

And here it is to be remarked, that in the Consecration of these two, as well as of the two former Bishops, Haliburton of Ab^{d}, thô still alive, was no ways concurring; nor indeed was he consulted, or so much as made privy to them. This, if their Consecration had been designed to give them any immediate Jurisdiction in this National Church, or to entitle them to decisive Votes in its Councils or Synods, would have been a step altogether unjustifiable, and repugnant to the Nicene and other ancient Canons of the Church. But as their design was only to preserve the Order (as I have said above), they thought that a valid Consecration by any three Catholic Bishops was sufficient for this purpose; and intending, on prudential considerations, to keep their new Consecrations as much a secret as possible, they knew the weakness that attended that Bishop, at least in his old age, too well to intrust it with him. This I have been oftener than once told by one of the Bishops themselves, then Consecrated (Bishop Falconer), and indeed the thing sufficiently proves itself; for, had it not been on this account, what reason can be given why they should not have preferred the Bishop of Aberdeen to be one of the Consecrators, who was a Diocesan Bishop of this Church, legally established in his See before the Revolution, to Mr. Sage, who had been but lately Consecrated a Bishop, only at large himself, and that, without any Designation to any Diocese, in the most private manner.

That this Preservation of the Order, and not any Jurisdiction over this Church, which could never have been given to Bishops at large, consistently with the Canons and Discipline of the Church Catholick, was all that was intended by them in these Consecrations, is evident likewise from the very tenor of their Instruments of Consecration, in one of w^{ch} now lying before me, and written with Mr. Sage's own hand, immediately after the words above cited, follows: Qua propter, ex eo quod Deo, Supremo Servatori nostro, Sacrosanctæ ejus Ecclesiæ, et Posteris debemus, in Animum induximus, Officium, Characterem, et Facultatem Episcopalem aliis probis, fidelibus, ad docendum et regendum idoneis Hominibus committere. Here you see that the very reason w^{ch} moved them to make these new Consecrations was, that the most part of their Colleagues being dead—(plerosque Fratrum nostrorum carissimorum et in Collegio Episcopali Collegarum in Domino obdormiisse)—and the few of them that were remaining—(per paucos qui Divina Misericordia superstites sumus)—almost quite worn out w^{t} manifold cares, diseases, and old age, they thought that their duty to God obliged them to provide for his Church and for Posterity, by Consecrat-

ing persons to the Episcopal character, who might keep up a Succession of Bishops among us; that they should be, *ad docendum et regendum idonei*, was no more than what the dignity of that character committed to them necessarily required; besides that it made them the most likely Candidates for being chosen to be Bishops of particular Dioceses or Districts, by a regular or Canonical Election, when the circumstances of the Church should make it proper or necessary; and thereby of having the Government and Jurisdiction of these Districts, and in consequence an interest also in that of the National or Provincial Church to which they belong, committed to them; and therefore, whenever this might happen, it was necessary they should be qualified for it. In a Letter of the Bishop of Edinburgh to Mr. Falconar, before his Consecration, he says—"I doubt not but that you, w^{t} many others, have been laying the afflicted state of our desolate Church to heart, and yet likely to fall under a farther desolation by the failure of our Order, if some speedy course be not taken to prevent the same;" and then, having intimated their design of Consecrating him, and having barred all excuses from modesty or otherwise, he adds—"So, I beseech you not to interpose delays, which are not sufferable in our present case; but that you yield a ready compliance in what is both necessary and indispensable." Thus it is plain from the whole circumstances of these Consecrations that all that was intended by them was to preserve a Succession, and not to entitle them to any Jurisdiction in the Church, w^{ch} they could not possibly imagine would be conferred by Consecration alone. But this will still farther appear from what is to be said afterwards. Having now six Bishops in all (for they did not reckon on the Bishop of Aberdeen, whom they could not trust w^{t} the secret), they had no farther thoughts of adding any more to their number, till the Death of some of them should make it necessary.

On the 7th of June, 1711, the R^{t} R^{d} and Learned Bishop Sage departed this life, and soon after his Death the Honourable Mr. Campbell came down from London. I find by a Letter of the Bishop of Ed^{r}, dated July 2d, 1711, that he expected him at Ed^{r} in 20 days after, according to a Letter he had received from him the Post before, and he says in this Letter, Mr. Campbel was to be altogether incognito; and he was Consecrated at Dundee, August 25th, in the same year 1711, by the Bishop of Ed^{r}, the Bishop of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconer—Bishop Haliburton of Ab^{d} being still alive, and not so much as acquainted w^{t} it. This was done upon the recommendation and at the earnest desire of the R^{t} R^{d} Bishop Hickes, whose design therein, no doubt, was that he might be assistant to them at London, whether he returned after his Consecration, and hath remained there ever since. But

Bishop Campbell's Consecration was not alone sufficient for their purpose in England, and therefore the Bishop of Edr was prevailed on by their sollicitation to send up Bishop Falconer to London, in the end of the year 1711, in order to Consecrate the Rd Mr. James Gadderar, who was well known to and much esteem'd by him; and accordingly he was Consecrated there on the 24th day of February, 1711-12, by Bishop Falconar, Bishop Campbell, and Bishop Hickes.

In the month of May, 1718, Bishop Chrystie Died at Kinross; and the Bishop of Edr, considering that there were now only two Bishops within the Kingdom besides himself, viz., Bishop Fullartoun and Bishop Falconar (for the Bishop of Dunblane and the Bishop of Aberdeen were both dead before this time, and the two in England were by their circumstances confined to live at London, and could not easily undertake so long and expensive a journey as to come down to Scotland on any sudden emergency that might require it), did judge it necessary to Consecrate other two Bishops, that, in case of his own Death, there might be four Bishops within the Kingdom, wch he thought as small a number as he could safely trust to, for the preservation of the Succession; and accordingly on the 22d of October, 1718, he Consecrated Mr. William Irvine and Mr. Arthur Millar at Edr, being assisted by the forementioned Bishops Fullarton and Falconar.

Thus I have laid before the Reader a plain and simple Account of all the Consecrations made in the Church, from the Revolution till the Death of the Bishop of Edr. Now, till about the year 1712, these new Consecrated Bishops kept their character very secret, so as that few or none, except of their most intimate friends, knew any thing of it. At length Bishop Falconar, observing the great neglect of the sacred Ordinance of Confirmation in the Country places, occasioned chiefly by their not having a Bishop at hand to apply to, thought it hard, and what he could not well answer to God for, not to afford them that assistance herein wch his station enabled him to do, and therefore began to act a little more openly in this matter, that probably others of his Brethren might herein follow his example. But they never attempted to Ordain any Clergyman, or perform any Act wch implied Jurisdiction, but by the Bishop of Edinburgh's special desire or permission. Thus, when the people of St. Andrews were in want of a Presbyter to officiate among them, and were desirous that one Mr. James Morrice should be put in Orders for that purpose, Bishop Falconar, thô living within four miles of the place, would not meddle in it till he wrote to the Bishop of Edr, and had a Letter from him desiring him to do it, which Letter is still extant, as are likewise some others from the same Bishop to him, of the like

nature; particularly one, wherein, understanding that he was going to the North to visit his friends there, he desires him to put a person, Mr. Patrick Maitland, recommended to him from that Country, into Deacon's Orders, and says he hopes to be able to put him into Priest's Orders himself, when that shall be necessary; and he earnestly intreats him to employ himself in all the necessary offices respecting the Churche's good, and belonging to his character, in that Country, where, says he, there is much need of such an one as you. Nay, even the Bishop of Dunblane, when he lived at Dundee, would not Ordain any person out of his own Diocese, but as desired to do it by the Bishop of Ed^{r}. We have an instance of this in the case of Mr. Robert White, who, upon a Vacancy at Essie, was chosen by those concerned there to that Charge. But this good Bishop did not meddle w^{t} his Ordination, thô he lived in the same Town w^{t} him, till he had the Bishop of Ed$^{r's}$ Letter recommending it to him. Bishop Falconar happening at that time to come to Dundee, he shewed him the Letter, and intreated him to take a part in it, by Ordaining him Deacon, after which he himself should put him into Priest's Orders; but he refused this, saying he had no Title to act in it, and that the Order not being directed to him, he could not regularly do it. And thô he yielded at length to his importunity, yet it was only on his promising to write an Account of it to the Bishop of Ed^{r}, and to take all the blame of that irregularity upon himself. But that the Bishop of Ed^{r}, after the Death of the other local Bishops (to which æra the several instances above mentioned are to be referred), kept the sole power of governing the National Church in his own hands, and that the Clergy and people throughout the whole Kingdom still applied to him as to their Ordinary, is a thing too well known, and too recent in everybody's memory, for any person to pretend to call it in question.

Let us now, before we proceed farther, look back to the state of this Church w^{t} respect to Publick Worship, preceding this period of the Bishop of Ed$^{r's}$ Death, which, indeed, at the Revolution, and for a long time after, was very lamentable, and such as scarcely deserved that name; for we had no such thing as any Offices or Liturgie used among us. The method in our ordinary Assemblies on the Lord's-day was almost the same with that of the Presbyterians, beginning w^{t} singing a stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, after w^{ch} followed an extemporary Prayer, during which, as well as at singing of the Psalms, most of the Congregation sat irreverently on their breech, only they were uncovered. Then came a long Sermon, the text of which was no sooner read but most of the people put on their hats and bonnets. After the Sermon followed another extemporary Prayer, at the

conclusion of w^ch^ they said the Lord's Prayer, then another stanza or two of the Metre Psalms, w^ch^ they concluded w^t^ a Doxology; but the people sat likewise during all the time of this last Prayer and Psalms, in the same manner as in those before Sermon, only they rose up at the Doxology, thô some thought even that too superstitious; whether they generally stood up at the Lord's Prayer I am not so certain. After the Doxology, the Congregation was dismissed with the Blessing; but indeed most of them did not wait for it, for all the time it was a pronouncing they were running out of Church like so many sheep breaking out of a fold, in the greatest hurry and confusion. Nay, from the time the Sermon was ended, the people, in many places at least, began gradually to drop out; for, in truth, the hearing of it was the only design they had in coming to Church, and that wherein they placed all Publick Worship; thô, properly speaking, it be not so much as a part thereof, being intended only for instructing the people in their duty, or exhorting them to the performance of it, to whom therefore it is directed, whereas all Worship must be directed to God only. And even for their instruction it is plain in itself, and experience too sadly confirms it, that Sermons can be of little use to such as have not been before duly catechised in the fundamental principles of our Holy Religion; and for this we generally made use of no other Catechism but that of the Westminster Assembly, the unfitness of w^ch^ to this end is so well known to all men of sound principles, that I need not insist on it.

The Holy Eucharist was not Celebrated in most places at least above once a year, if so often, and their method of doing it differed also very little from that of the Presbyterians; for they had their Preparation Sermon (as they call it) the day before, their Action Sermon on the day itself, besides their Discourses at the Serving of the Tables; for they had long tables placed in the Church, on each side of w^ch^ the people sat as if it had been at a common meal, and handed about the Elements from one to another, whilst the attending Elders shoved the plate w^t^ the Consecrated Bread along the table for their greater conveniency, during w^ch^ time a Presbyter was still discoursing to them; only after each table was served, while they who had Communicated were removing and others planting themselves again about it, a stanza of a Psalm was sung; and on the day after they had their Thanksgiving Sermon. All this work of Preparation, Action, and Thanksgiving Sermons and Discourses at Serving the Tables, for these were the phrases used by them, as well as by the Presbyterians, obliged them likewise to take the assistance of two or three Presbyters from the neighbouring Parishes, only they did not call so many as the Presbyterians do, who have

two or three Sermons going on together, one in the Church, and others in the Church yard, or open fields, where the Sermons continue from morning till night, the Preachers still succeeding one another; nor did the Presbyters who came to assist bring the people of their Parishes along with them, far less did people convene from far distant places as it were to a Fair or Mercat, not to Communicate but to be hearers of the Sermons only, as is now done among the Presbyterians on these Occasions, as they call them. As for the Consecration, that was performed by an extemporary Prayer, which, how defective it must frequently have been may be easily judged, considering that many of them had no notion of Its being the Sacrifice of the Christian Church; only they repeated indeed the Words of the history of the Institution. And thô they might proportion the Bread at first to the number of Communicants before Consecration; yet at least in many places they generally Consecrated but a small part of the Wine, and when it was exhausted, they had a little barrel or some other such vessel at hand, from w^{ch} they filled more, and streight used it w^{t}out any Consecration at all. And as for the Sacred Ordinance of Confirmation, which the Primitive and Catholick Church always looked on as so very necessary for conferring the Holy Spirit on such as had received the Baptism of Water, it was not at all used by us. This so great affinity betwixt us and the Presbyterians as to what respected Publick Worship, if I may call what is ordinarily transacted in our Lord's-days' Assemblies by that name; for, in truth, the proper Worship of the Christian Church, the Worship of the faithful, is, as it was always believed to be in the primitive ages, the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, which therefore was then never omitted in their Publick Assemblies, every Lord's-day at least. This so great affinity to them, I say, was without doubt the reason why our people so generally joined w^{t} the Presbyterians in the beginning of the Revolution, or, as they expressed it, went to the Kirk to hear them; as perceiving no other difference from what they had been formerly used to, save only in the omission of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology, at the times I have formerly mentioned; which, had the Presbyterians been so wise as to have continued, their harvests had probably been still greater; for the Divine right of Episcopacy, and the necessity of an Ordination by Bishops for conferring the Sacerdotal Powers, was then very little known among our Laity, perhaps not by several of our Clergy themselves. Thô all this which I have now described, notwithstanding we had all along some men of good learning among us, who had studied the Ancients and payed a just deference to the judgment and testimony of the Primitive Church; but as this was a study too much neglected, most of

them taking up only with the Systematical Divinity, all that these could do was to regrate what they had not sufficient power to help.

In this deplorable state we continued till about the year 1707 or 1708, only the English Common Prayer Book had been used in some private families before, almost from the beginning of the Revolution; but about that time it began to be introduced into our more Publick Assemblies; and as the Gentry and people of better fashion were generally zealous in promoting it, so it came to take very soon with our commons also; only some few of our older Clergy shewed some backwardness to it, as looking upon every alteration from what they had been accustomed to, how much soever to the better, as a culpable innovation. Of this there was a remarkable instance at Dundee, where the most of the considerable Citizens of our Communion, together w^{t} severals of the Gentry who then lived in Town, were very keen to have it brought in; yet Mr. Norie, the first Presbyter of that place, and whom we shall have occasion to mention afterwards, opposed it all he could, and, as I am credibly informed, even Preached against it. However, they persisted stedfastly in their resolution, and after several Meetings and Conferences w^{t} him about it to no purpose, they at length plainly told him that if he would not agree to their design, w^{ch} his reasonings seemed to imply he was not at freedom to do, they would call a third Clergyman to read Prayers for them; but that to prevent any division, and that they might not interfere w^{t} one another in that case, the Prayers should be begun so early on the Lord's day as to be over before his usual hour of meeting, which all of them should likewise attend. And so they left it to be considered of by him and his Collegue, who joined with him in this refusal, not out of principle or inclination, for he had been among the first in this Kingdom who had used them in a family where he was Chaplain, but through a slavish obsequiousness to Mr. Norie, and for fear of offending him. This proposal of a third Clergyman, w^{ch} they had good ground to believe the Bishop of Ed^{r} would have granted them, if it should have been found necessary, for they had acted all along by Mr. Sage's advice, with whom one of their number kept a Correspondence, and he being then at Ed^{r}, by him understood that Bishop's sentiments; this proposal, I say, at first stunn'd Mr. Norie and his Collegue; but when they came to reflect on it, they reckoned they might make a handle of it for inducing several people to stand by them in opposing the introduction of the Common Prayers; and accordingly they run about representing it as a design formed against their interest, and for breaking and dividing their Congregation, and earnestly obtested such as they thought they could have any influence on, to appear against it at the

next meeting, as they had any regard for them or for the preservation of peace and unity—a pretext which they who set themselves in opposition to any wise and good designs, for rectifying what may be amiss or defective, never fail to make use of when they find themselves at a loss as to the merits of the cause. But neither by this, nor by all their other practices, could they ever prevail w^t^ any to declare against the Common Prayers; only they got two to promise that they should, at the ensuing meeting, stand up against introducing them at that time and in the manner proposed, and accordingly they did so; but before the meeting broke up, they found themselves, to their great surprise, deserted both by Mr. Norie and his Colleague, which bad treatment of them, as they supposed, they very much resented for a long time after.

This sudden change was thus brought about. The Managers and others concerned in this matter being, as I have said, very well informed by Mr. Sage of the Bishop of Edinburgh's inclinations to favour their design, had before urged Mr. Norie to write to him for his advice and directions about it, which, thô at their importunity he had once condescended to do, yet he still delayed, and at last flatly refused. Whereupon they wrote again to Mr. Sage, and by his means procured a Letter from the Bishop of Ed^r^ to Mr. Norie. This Letter was put into his hands when he was at this meeting; what were the contents of it we are only left to guess; but after reading it by himself, and communicating it to his Colleague, his warmth sensibly abated. He began to speak softly of the Common Prayers, and after having faintly expressed a fear that it would occasion some to fall off from them, he at length condescended to the introducing of them, only he desired that another might be employed to begin them; which was agreed to, and Bishop Chrystie was pitched on for this, who came upon their desire, and having read Prayers for them, first on a Litany day, and then on the Lord's-day after, left them to continue it. This Letter of the Bishop of Ed^r^ Mr. Norie afterwards termed an Order, and used to value himself that he was the only person who had such an Order from his Bishop for that purpose. And indeed, if it was a peremptory Order, I believe he was so far in the right; for that worthy Prelate, thô he encouraged the bringing in of the Prayers all he could, yet did not think proper to impose them, especially in our present circumstances. But there was something so very singular in this case, where Mr. Norie had so long and so stiffly opposed the general bent of his Congregation, that it was no wonder if he stepped a little beyond his ordinary method. But thô Mr. Norie was thus prevailed on to comply so far as to read the ordinary Prayers on Sundays and Litany days, yet at

Easter following he continued to Celebrate the Holy Eucharist after his former manner, such as I have described above, and designed to have done so next year also, at the return of that solemn Festival; but finding the Gentry, many of whom were then in Town, determined to leave it on that account, and to go to such places in the Country where they might have the opportunity of having it Celebrated in a manner agreeable to their sentiments, he ever yielded to them in this also, thô not without shewing some reluctancy. The pretext he made use of against it was the same he had so much insisted on against the Common Prayers in general, viz., that he would thereby lose many of the Commons; but how very groundless this pretext was, soon appeared, for none of them absented or took any the least objection at it; nay, his Congregation, w^ch^ was indeed one of the most considerable in the Kingdom, rather increased upon it than diminished. There were some few others of the old Clergie, one or two at Ed^r^ itself, who did not use the Common Prayers during all Bishop Rose's lifetime. But into most of our Congregations throughout the whole Nation they were very quickly introduced, without the least opposition that I know of any where, even from the meanest of our Commons. The prudent and gentle methods used by the Bishop of Ed^r^, w^ch^ can never be sufficiently commended, contributed not a little to the success of this whole affair; for he contented himself w^t^ doing what he could to promote it by his encouragement, but without attempting in the least to impose it by way of authority, a method w^ch^ I am perswaded would be the most effectual in many cases, where any thing might be judged fit to be reformed. We were also very much assisted by the charity of the good people in England, who sent down from time to time great parcels of Common Prayer Books, w^ch^ were distributed gratis among the common people, to their great encouragement. This is what we ought ever to retain a very grateful sense of, as well as of their other charities to us, and to pray that they may be rewarded by the Blessing of God on them and their posterity.

Some people among us could have wished that instead of the English Prayer Book, that w^ch^ was formerly composed for the use of our own Church in K. Ch. 1st's time, had been now introduced; but that could not have been so easily done, as for other reasons perhaps, so especially through want of Books, whereof so great a number as was requisite to be distributed among the Commons could not have been so soon provided. Besides, the differences betwixt them are not very material, save only in the Communion Office. Here, indeed, ours is allowed to have the preference, even by the judgement of the learnedest Writers of the Church of England themselves, and accord-

ingly it was used by severals of our most intelligent Clergie, w^t^ the Bishop of Edr^s^ knowledge and allowance; and even some who did not use it, did yet interject a Prayer of Invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the Elements, and to make them the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, and read the first Prayer in the Post-Communion immediately after the words of Institution, for a Prayer of Oblation as it was originally designed. It may not be improper also to remark, that even before we had the Common Prayers it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine, not indeed at the Altar, but in preparing the Elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation; and after this time we are now speaking of, it came to spread still somewhat more, several of our younger Clergie, especially, beginning to acquaint themselves w^t^ the Principles and Practices of the Primitive Church, and to pay a great regard to them.

In the year 1717, there arose a Controversie among the Nonjurors in England, concerning the restoring of some primitive usages that had been retained in the first Liturgie of Edw^d^ 6th, which, as Mr. Wheatly observes [*Rat. Illustr., pag.* 26], had this just encomium from King and Parliament, "that it was set forth by the aid of the Holy Ghost," but were dropt in the second, not from any worthy cause, but rather from curiosity, as was declared even by the Parliament w^ch^ confirmed that review; that is, indeed, to gratify such as were tinctured w^t^ the leaven of Calvinism, and particularly these two forreign Divines, Bucer and Martyr, whom Cranmer had invited over, and but too much consulted in this affair. These, perhaps, did not obtain to have all the alterations made in the English Reformation w^ch^ probably they might have desired, but that they prevailed so far as to procure "the laying aside several very primitive and venerable usages" [*Wheatly's Rat. Illustr., p.* 27], is not to be denied.

It is not necessary to my present design to give any particular Account of this Controversie, w^ch^ may be much better understood by consulting the learned Writings that were Published on both sides, and are very well worthy to be carefully read and compared together by all such as would frame a right judgement of it. Only it may be proper to be observed here, that they who were against the proposed alterations did not pretend to condemn these usages as any way sinful or culpable; nor did they deny that they were attested by the Fathers who wrote even before the first Council of Nice, as received and practised by the Church in the 2d Century at least, that is, in the age w^ch^ immediately succeeded the Death of the Apostles; for the testi-

monies of Justin Martyr, Ireneus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and Arnobius, do plainly evince this beyond all controversie. Nor farther is it disputed, that after that Council, from the 4th Century downwards till the very times of the Reformation, they were universally used by the whole Catholick Church, this being also unquestionably evident from the Writings of the subsequent Fathers, as well as from the Councils and Publick Liturgies of all Churches; nay, some of them at least freely owned them to be desideranda, and that they should be heartily glad to have them restored in a regular way. All that they pleaded was—1st, that they were not of absolute necessity, and that because, as they alleged, they were not contained in the Scriptures; and 2ly, that nothing short of their being thus necessary could make it allowable for them to use them, as being strictly bound to the observance of their present Liturgy, till it should be altered by an authority every way equal to that w^ch^ had established it. On the contrary, their adversaries asserted that they were necessary parts of Christian Worship, that they were to be found in the Scriptures, if explained according to the notions and phraseology of the age in w^ch^ they were wrote, which is necessary for understanding the sense of all ancient Writings; and that thô it had been otherwise, yet their necessity might have been sufficiently proved from Apostolical Tradition, as St. Basil observes [*Ad Amphilochium, de Sp. Sancto c.* 27., *Vide et apud Beverig. Pand. Can., Tom.* 2, *p.* 376], "thô the Apostles did indeed commit the κηρυγματα, or Doctrines of Christianity, to writing in the Scriptures, yet not the δογματα, or Mysteries of the Christian Worship. These, thô equally useful and necessary to Christian piety, and what cannot be rejected without doing the greatest injury to the Gospel, yet the Church receives as delivered to them only by Apostolical Tradition, in such a manner as is proper to the nature of mysteries; *i.e.*, so as not to be distinctly known and understood by the uninitiated, and w^ch^ consequently could not be plainly delivered in Writing. Obscurity is also a way of keeping things secret, as he farther observes, and this the Scripture uses in speaking of any of these δογματα. All which, says he, is designed for the benefit of the uninitiated reader, that the Publication of them may not render these venerable Mysteries cheap and contemptible in the eyes of such as are not duly prepared to receive them." They urged also the testimony of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Tertullian, &c., as also several passages from the Scriptures themselves, to prove the obligation of observing unwritten Traditions when the conveyance is unexceptionable. So that the Controversie turned, not on their lawfulness or expedience, or on their being desideranda—things wanted to compleat the English Reformation, the restoration of w^ch^ in a

regular way were to be wished for—but on their being necessary or essential, as some were pleased to express it. This I remark not with any design to pass a judgment in this matter, but only for the sake of some among us, who, either through their own ignorance or to serve their private ends, by imposing, after a most unjustifiable manner, on the ignorance of others, endeavour to raise clamours against these usages, as unlawful, Popish, and superstitious; by w^ch they unawares do the greatest service imaginable to Popery, by confounding it with pure, primitive Christianity; and are so very daring as to condemn the judgment and practice of the Catholick Church, even in the earliest and purest ages, those ages wherein the noble army of Martyrs sealed their testimony for the truth of Christianity with their blood, and wherein Miracles and other extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were still continued with the Church in a plentiful manner. Whereas the Church of England herself proposed these very ages as the standard of hers, as they ought unquestionably to be of all reformation. And, if this were a proper place for it, it were easy to prove by a large collection of testimonies that the learnedest Writers of that Church have ever mentioned all these Usages with approbation, both before and since this Controversie began; and seem to regrate that she should have been prevailed on by the forementioned influence so far to depart from her own rule as to lay them aside. Nay, it is objected to her by some of the Dissenters themselves, when they are urged w^t the arguments from Antiquity. But to go on w^t our Narrative. No sooner was this Controversie started in England but both parties applied to the Bishop of Ed^r, each of them endeavouring to engage him to their interest. But this wise and prudent Prelate rightly judged that it was his business only to act the part of a mediator betwixt them if possible, which yet he found himself very much difficulted how to do, considering that as the one asserted these Usages to be so absolutely necessary that they could by no means Communicate without them; so the other, who denied this, pleaded their obligation to adhere to the established Liturgy of their Church; but he would by no means declare himself of either side. This plainly appears by Letters still extant under his hand, in one of which, Dated May 22d, 1718, he says—"In my humble opinion, seeing that matters are come to an open rupture, and that controversie, new among Protestants, stands not so much upon the foot of expediency or inexpediency, lawfulness or unlawfulness, primitiveness or not (for all primitive Usages are not necessary), but is stated in the terms of necessity or no necessity, we wave any interposing in this matter, untill we see, if not the issue and end of this debate, yet at least something farther into it; for till one party find itself at a loss in point of

argument and reason, I see no hopes of succeeding in any enterprise of accommodation." And a few lines after, he adds—"As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid upon them, I am very desirous of farther information; being, God willing, resolved, if I find these Usages strictly necessary, to embrace them together, w^t^ all the disadvantages that may attend them; if only lawful, some way useful or desireable, prudence in this case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted." And in another, Dated September 18th, in that same year—"Mr. Peck continues still here, notwithstanding that 8 or 10 days ago he asked my commands for London. I told him that I would write w^t^ him, and repeated to him what I had told him long ago, which was, that I believed we would not explain ourselves in the matter of the controverted Prints until we saw the issue of the Controversie." And in another Letter of his, February 18th, 1720, but a very short time before his Death, after giving his approbation of some proposals of Accommodation that had been drawn up by a gentleman at his desire, he adds—"But as I find himself something distrustful of the success of his proposal and expedient, as matters stand stated at present with our Brethren abroad, so I am afraid likewise that untill the present ferment that is among them be something abated, they shall not be easily wrought upon to hearken to terms of Unity or Concord; thô I am hopeful that time may bring them to more tractableness and temper." And that indeed this good Bishop was no enemy to ancient Usages, but wished that they might be established among us, thô he was afraid to have them urged and imposed in so rigid a manner as not at all to admit of any prudential allowances, at least without the most indispensible necessity, may be clearly seen from what he writes on occasion of some Administrations that he judged to be defective, in a Letter of his, Dated the 30th of July, 1713, long before this Controversie began, wherein he says "that he hopes, through the Divine indulgence, from the Churches in w^ch^ they live, their acceptation of them, and the insuperable difficulties the far greater part of people are under to know otherwise, they shall sustain no prejudice in that case; but that for such, who upon maturity of judgement, after diligent enquiry, scruple them, he thinks it hard to reject them when they come to have these defects supplied." Only as to the manner of doing it, he advises that great caution be used, and then concludes with this excellent Prayer—"God Almighty, give us all fuller and clearer light, and establish all things among us upon the true ancient foundations." Besides, I have already observed that he allowed the use of the Scotish Liturgie or Communion Office; no doubt as reckoning it on this account preferable to the English; and was very well aware that the

mixture was also used by many, and particularly by Bishop Falconar (for whom he always expressed the greatest friendship and regard), several years before the English Controversie began, as well as afterwards. Nay, farther, he allowed that gentleman, from whom he had the proposals of Accommodation mentioned above, the use even of the Communion Office, then lately composed in England, in his own private family, being sufficiently convinced of his due regard to the Peace and Unity of the Church, and deference to the authority of his Superiours.

"On the 20th day of March, 1720, it pleased God to remove this excellent person from us, after he had sate so long at the helm in very cloudy and stormy weather, and governed this Church (the whole burthen of w^{ch} lay on his shoulders) w^{t} the greatest prudence and caution, and w^{t} a very even and steady hand. His death was somewhat sudden, so that he left no directions how matters were to be managed after him; but his own example, had it been followed by his Successors, might have served instead of all directions he could have possibly given."

Upon his demise (says the Author of the "Review of the Elections of Bishops in the Primitive Church," whose words I shall here set down, because he not only knew the fact perfectly well himself, but hath also, as he tells us, extracted his Account from the Minutes thereof), all the Clergie in and about Edinburgh, "whether properly belonging to that Diocese or not, did, by common consent," &c.—(the words of the Book, which see, are quoted at length from p. 236 to these words, p. 240, "this is clear from the preceding remarks.") Thus far this learned gentleman, to whose remarks I shall add other three, no less obvious—1st, It is, I think, from hence manifest beyond dispute, that, as I said above, after the Death of the other Ante-Revolution Bishops, Bishop Rose, during all his lifetime, had kept the Government of this whole National Church in his own hand, and never admitted those new Consecrated Bishops at large to a partnership with him in the Jurisdiction thereof, as a College wherein things were to be carried by a majority of votes; otherwise how could their characters have been so little known to all these Presbyters as that they could say, "They had only heard it whispered about that they had been received into the Order of Bishops, but that it was still but hearsay"? 2ly, That what Bishop Falconar here declared, in the name and presence of the rest of his Brethren, did not drop from him rashly and unadvisedly, but was agreeable to his settled judgment, this appears from a Letter of his to that gentleman who drew up the above-mentioned Proposals, and sent them together with the Letter w^{ch} he wrote along with them to Bishop Rose, to be revised by him,

and either forwarded or not, as he should approve of them. This gentleman, writing to this Bishop, had said, that "That Government was new and unprecedented, if it could properly be called a Government at all, where there were only Bishops at large who, thô they may perform Episcopal acts in a vacant Diocese, yet cannot claim any Title to a particular Jurisdiction, or challenge the obedience of the subjects of any particular Diocese, antecedently to a Canonical Election;" adding these words, "This is a very great inconveniency, which I could heartily wish were timeously thought of w^t respect to ourselves; where, if it be not prevented, there are some events, not very unlikely to happen, w^ch may make it of very bad consequence." This Bishop Falconar, in his foresaid Letter to him, Dated December 14th, 1719, takes particular notice of. "What you suspect," says he, "concerning Bishops at large, is as seasonable so I think most providential." This he said, because he hoped it would have put the Bishop in mind to take proper measures in time with respect to the Government of this Church, so as that it might be settled on a regular footing, as far as circumstances would permit, in case of the event of his own Death. But alas! the many and uneasy avocations he every day met with, and the bad state of his health, both which he complains of in his Letter of February 18th, 1720, which I have mentioned above, and his being so soon after snatched away from us, disappointed these hopes. But there is another Letter of Bishop Falconar's still extant likewise, which was wrote immediately after Bishop Rose's Death, and before Bishop Fullarton's coming to Town, which shews that not only he, but the Presbyters also themselves, were aware of this. "Our Presbyters here are divided," says he, "and some of them moved the sight of our Syngrapha, pleading that they were not, in matters of that consequence, to go on presumption, but on evidence. To this we frankly went in; but then the same persons, though they own all honour to be due to our character, and that we are vested with full Faculty to Ordain and Confirm, now that all the Sees of the Nation were vacant, yet deny us any power or jurisdiction, through defect of Election. You know that I was apprized of this, insomuch that I never exerted any act of authority, and had nothing more at heart than to have some reasonable expedient condescended on how valid Titles to appropriated Districts should be constituted." And 3ly, It is also plain from the above Account that it was the design of the Electors that the person to be chosen by them should be, in the proper sense, Bishop of Edinburgh, w^t the same Ecclesiastical Privileges that his Predecessors in that See had enjoyed. For this was the very reason, and indeed they could not possibly have any other, why they admitted all the Presbyters, even of

other Dioceses or Districts, who happened to be then in Town, to join with them in the Election, on account of the extensiveness of his influence as Vicar of St. Andrews, and the concern they might have therein, during the Vacancy of that Metropolitical See. Not that this gave these other Presbyters a proper Title to claim any votes in this matter, but that the Presbyters of that Diocese to whom it properly belonged thought it reasonable to allow them a share in it, especially in the then present circumstances, when, all the other Dioceses being vacant, they also must be under his immediate inspection, so long as their Vacancy continued, which, with respect to severals of them at least, might probably be for some considerable time. But no sooner was Bishop Fullarton Elected, than some of the other Bishops framed to themselves the scheme of governing this whole National Church in common, under the name of the "College of Bishops," a name indeed very well known, as used by the Ancients to signify all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, as being all of one and the same Order, distinct from and superiour to Presbyters, and each of them the single principle of unity to his particular Church; but perfectly new and unheard of as applied by them to a sett of Bishops at large acting in common, which made this Church no better than a monster with a multitude of heads. And in order to effectuate this their newly projected scheme, they insisted that he should not be Bishop of the Diocese of Edr according to the intention of his electors, but only "of the District in and about Edinburgh," as they were pleased to name it, and that he should be only their Primus, with a power of convocating them, and presiding in their Meetings; which, he being a good-natured man, through the over-easiness of his temper, did then comply with. It may be thought strange that Bishop Falconar, who, from what has been above related, appears to have been very well aware of the no-authority of Bishops at large, should yet have yielded to this project of a College, which he not only knew to be without precedent, but to be utterly inconsistent with the primitive plan of Ecclesiastical Government, and that fundamental principle of *Unus Deus, unus Christus, unus Episcopus, in una Ecclesia*—One God, one Christ, one Bishop, in one Church, upon which the Unity of the Church was established. But as he knew the stiffness of those he had to deal with, he judged it might be of dangerous consequence if they should, upon any account, split among themselves at so critical a juncture. Besides, it had been suggested to him that the Clergie in Angus and Mearns, who had a great esteem of him, would, if it were thought proper, cheerfully concur in Electing him for their Bishop, and that others probably would follow their example, so that by this method the Nation might by common consent be divided into large contiguous

Districts, instead of the ancient Dioceses, and the whole be very well governed by five, or at most six Bishops, so long as the Church continued in her present situation. This project he thought to be so very plausible as that it could hardly fail to take effect, and that the College Scheme would be thereby extinguished of itself, without any noise or opposition. He therefore acquainted his Brethren with the design these Presbyters had of Electing him, and that he thought it would be a good precedent for the Presbyters in other places to chuse the rest of them for their respective Bishops after the same manner, and this they seemed at that time to be very well pleased with.

Upon Bishop Falconar's return from Edr, the foresaid Presbyters in Angus, Mearns, and part of Perthshire, did accordingly set about this their designed Election, and by a Deed, Subscribed by almost all of them, did address him "to take upon him the Spiritual Government and Inspection of them, and the people committed to their charge;" adding, "and we do hereby promise to acknowledge you as our proper Bishop, and to pay all due and Canonical obedience to you as such." The supposed Author of the late "View of the Elections of Bishops," &c., is one of the Subscribers to this Deed.

About the same time, the Presbyters within the Presbytery of St. Andrews, considering that he had his residence among them, and that they were too few to have a distinct Bishop of their own (being but three in number), did, by a Deed of the same nature, put themselves likewise under his Inspection as their proper Bishop. And he ever after continued to act as the proper Bishop of both these Districts, and was owned and acknowledged as such by all ranks both of Clergy and People, his Title thereto not being opposed, or so much as called in question, by any person whatsoever.

But to return to Bishop Fullarton. It was thought proper to lay before some persons of distinction the Account of his Election, and of the present posture of the Churche's affairs, that they might have their judgment concerning them, to wch they all professed to pay the greatest deference. And they, upon this application made to them, gave it for Bishop Fullarton, that he should be proper Bishop of the Diocese of Edr, according to the intention of his Electors, and should enjoy the same Ecclesiastical Privileges which his Predecessors in that See had done. This being notified to his Brethren, none of them made the least objection against it, but on the contrary seemed readily to acquiesce in it, insomuch that wt their consent and allowance he immediately thereupon altered his Subscription.

LIV. John Falconar. A.D. 1720-23. (*Consecrated* 1709.)

John Falconar was well born, being a descendant of the Lord Halkerton's Family. In 1688 he was ejected from being Rector of Carnbee, a rural Parish Church (Stipend £238 17*s* 8*d*, Glebe £30), near the foot of Kellie Law (810 feet above sea-level) and Castle, three miles north from Pittenweem, in Fife. Kellie Castle was formerly the seat of the Earl of Kellie, where the Bishop was often a visitor. It is now a ruin, with fine trees about it, looking down upon Balcaskie and the Firth of Forth. Yet there are good Paintings on some of the Panellings. While Minister of this Parish, our Bishop Married a daughter of the Lord Dunkeld, by whom he had two sons.

Number 18 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.—Letters of Orders, &c., in the Episcopal Cabinet, Glenalmond.*

7. (Copy) Letters of Orders of Mr. John Falconar into the Presbyterate, by the Bishop (Paterson) of Ed^{r} (in S. Giles'), May 19, 1683, wherein these words—*Juxta mores et ritus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, "according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Scottish Church."

10. (Original) Act of Ordination into the Episcopate, Mr. John Falconar, by Bishops of Ed^{r} (Rose), and Dunblane (Douglas), and Bishop Sage; Dundee, Aprile 28, 1709.

The Rev. Wm. Bright, who has done so well to the memory of this good Bishop, has these observations in *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. ii., p.* 244 (Nov., 1852):—

We may easily realise the scene at Dundee: The aged Bishop of Dunblane receiving Falconar and Christie, and waiting a day, as it seems, for Rose and Sage; for it was on the 28th of April that they proceeded to Celebrate, with a mournful privacy, the most august solemnity of the Catholic Church. Their Rites were shorn of the old Cathedral splendour; their *Veni Creator* must be murmured like a voice out of the dust. But they had with them the Eternal Pontiff, and the unfailing powers of His Kingdom. They were speaking His words and doing His work; rather, He was working by them. And it was, doubtless, in full assurance of having Him for their Unseen Comforter, that Falconar and Christie knelt before those worn old men, to receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of Bishops in the Church of God.

The Consecrating Prelates, in the following Document, quoted by several Historians from *MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church of Scotland*, evidence how straitened the Church then was to preserve the Apostolic Succession, and also, that no Diocesan Titles were assumed. [*Cited in Stephen's History, vol. iv., p.* 39.]

To promote the harmony, peace, unity, and order of this most afflicted Church of Scotland, which God hath committed to our care, whenever, and as far as lies in our power, in its so great affliction,—We, &c., ... Commend to our beloved Brethren in Christ, Mr. John Falconar, Priest and Pastor of Carnbee, in Fife, and Mr. Henry Christie, Priest and Pastor of Kinross, whom we have this day admitted as Associates in our Episcopal College, by the Divine Rite of Consecration, to that portion of the before-mentioned Scottish Church, which has its warfare in God, with the Province or Jurisdiction of ; and we entrust it to their Episcopal care, until God, in His great mercy, see fit to deal with His, alas! now afflicted Church, the Bride of His dear Son, in this corner of the earth. Adding this, also, our most ardent wish, that, relying upon the Lord, and undeterred by the storm of persecution, our before-mentioned Brethren will watch with anxious solicitude that the high and most Sacred Order of Bishops, continued by the Succession of lawful Ordination, may never fail nor cease.

Bishop Falconar continued after the Revolution to reside at Carnbee, and undertook the oversight of the Clergy and Congregations in the Counties of Angus, Mearns, and Fife; and so virtually, if not nominally, he was Bishop of St. Andrews and Brechin. He was at London on the 24th February (S. Matthias' Day), 1712, as one of the Consecrators of Bishop Gadderar; and again, the year after, at the Hon. Bishop Archibald Campbell's Marriage.

Letters Copied by Bishop Jolly from the Originals.

I.—*A Letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh (Rose) to Mr. Falconar, relating to the great necessity for his Consecration, Edinburgh, December* 2*d*, 1708.

Reverend Brother,—I doubt not but y^t you, w^t many others, have been laying the afflicted state of our desolate Church to heart, and yet like to fall under a further desolation by the failure of our Order, if some speedy course be not taken to prevent the same; wherefore, as it is incumbent upon us all to see to some remedy to this threatening evil, so my L. Glasgow and I, w^t the consent and approbation of others, has cast our eyes upon you to take a part w^t us in our Ministry, and to be associated w^t us in the Sacred

Colledge; and I do not only intreat but obtest you, that you would put yourself in readiness, upon the first Advertisement from me, to come over hither in order to receive Imposition of Hands for y^{t} effect, and so soon as I am informed when a third of our number can be brought hither, I will not fail to advertise you. I pray you to keep this affair entirely to yourself, and let nobody know of it. I know what excuses from modesty and other ways you may be ready to make; but as our present circumstances, which you shall know at meeting, can permit no such to be taken off your hands, so I beseech you not to interpose delays, which are not sufferable in our present case, but y^{t} you yield a ready compliance in what is both necessary and indispensible. I expect a satisfactory answer by the very first occasion; for, till I receive yours, I cannot send for a third to be present w^{t} us, and I am much afraid that my L. Glasgow shall not last till y^{t} affair be over. Wherefore, I shall labour under great pain untill I shall receive a satisfactory return of this, which is in haste from, Sir,

Your affectionate Bro^{y}r and Servant,

(Signed) Alex. Edinburgen.

Sir,—Send your answer to me under under your son's cover, that it may come the more safely to my hands.—To Mr. John Falconar, at Carnbee.

II.—*Another upon the same subject.*

Reverend Brother,—You, I doubt not, will be surprised that you have not heard from me this long time, and especially in a certain matter of importance as to us both, whereof I wrote formerly to you; but the matter is, that our friend at Dundee has been very ill, and not fit for business this while bygone. I myself likewise have been these 6 or 7 weeks bygone much disordered by a violent sickness in my stomach, but I hope to be in condition to wait upon you at Dundee ag^{t} the 26 or 27 of this month, and I hope you shall be there ag^{t} y^{t} time, in order to what you know of. If my health serve me not, I'll signify as much to you next week; but if you hear nothing from me, be sure to keep tryst on the 26, when I hope to be at Dundee. I have wrote this w^{t} no small uneasiness, by reason of a pain in my right arm, which obleidges me to say no more, save y^{t} I am, Reverend Brother,

Your most affectionate and humble Servant,

Alexr. Edinburgen.

Ed^{r}, Aprile 15, 1709.—Pray let me hear whe^{y}r you have got this, and whe^{y}r you may be at Dundee.—To the Reverend Mr. John Falconar, at Carnbee.

III.—*Another on the same subject.*

Reverend Brother,—Thô scarce anything else could have prevailed w^{t} me to travel in my present condition than what I am so anxious to have finished, so I hope God shall afford me strength to make y^{t} journey, and am fully purposed, God willing, to be at Dundee ag^{t} the 26 instant. If bad

weather or violent storms keep me one day longer, I know you will excuse it; but I hope you shall be there ag^{t} the day appointed. I could wish y^{t} our business were done w^{t}out ye knowledge or suspicion of any whi^{ch}r we go to; and as you can easily have a pretence to colour your being there at that time, so, if you can so contrive it, I wish it may be pretty late before you come to Town, that our work may be done next morning before any of our B^{r}n there know y^{t} you are in Town. I shall say no more till meeting, save y^{t} I am, &c., *ut supra*.

Ed^{r}, Aprile 21, 1709.

N.B.—It was not till Aprile 28 y^{t} he, toge^{ch}r w^{t} Mr. Chrystie at Kinross, were Consecrated Bishops at Dundee by Bishops Rose of Ed^{r}, Douglas of Dunblane, and John Sage.

IV.—*A Letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh to Bishop Falconar, Dated from Edinburgh, July* 2, 1711.

Reverend Brother,—I had a Letter from London last Post, acquainting me y^{t} about 20 days hence I might expect here y^{t} gentleman I spoke of to you at our last meeting. He purposes to be here altoge^{ch}r incogito, and not to see or be seen by his friends, or any else, save those w^{t} whom he has business; for his time straitens him, and is resolved after the dispatch of that immediately to return. Wherefore, I give you this Advertisement, that you may so dispose of yourself as not to be out of the way about y^{t} time, in case he desire to see you, or that you may be useful for the dispatch of his affair. This is all, Sir, at the time from

Your very affectionate and humble Servant,

(Signed) A. E.

To the Reverend Mr. J. F., at Carnbee, to the care of the Post of Creile.

N.B.—The gentleman referred to in ye above Letter was the Honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell, who was Consecrated a Bishop at Dundee, August 25th, thereafter, by Bishop Rose of Ed^{r}, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar.

In 1716, the Usage Controversy broke out in England between two parties of the Nonjurors, headed respectively by Collier and Spinckes. Meetings were held with no satisfactory result. Collier and his supporters looked to Falconar for sympathy. In the autumn of 1717, Falconar wrote from Craighall, in Perthshire (Bishop Rattray's house and estate), to Bishop Campbell, advising the Usagers to drop their Ritual restorations if they were likely to drive away adherents, or to cause division in the body. In his Reply, Dated October 31, 1717, Campbell

insists that his friends considered it essential to Celebrate the Eucharist according to the Four Usages, and could not, for instance, conscientiously receive the *Unmixed* Cup.

Early in 1718 (the year of the New Communion Office), a Mr. Peck was sent by the English Usagers to Edinburgh, to procure some Synodical Resolution from the Scottish Prelates. He did not, however, so far as Bishop Rose could learn, attend even the ordinary Church Service, wherein "there is nothing to scrouple him," says the Prelate, "save bidding to pray for Christ's Church Militant. Neither did he scrouple to own to me that the Church of England, as formerly constituted, was no Church, as wanting these things insisted on to be restored."

V.—*A Letter from Mr. Peck to Bishop Falconar, Dated Edinburgh, August 13, 1718.*

R^{t} R^{d} Sir,—I have here sent you four Books, which, with those you received before, are all y^{t} have yet appeared on either side of the Controversie. And notwithstanding the promise we have of a 2d Part of the *No Sufficient Reasons for Restoring*, &c., we may conclude from what we have already that the Common Place Books of both partys are pretty well exhausted, so that we may begin to judge which scale preponderates. I therefore beg the favour of you, Sir, so soon as you have perused these Papers, to send me your thoughts of them, and whether the Book just mentioned has more depretiated, or the Answer raised the credit of Tradition higher than the just regard we ought to have for it. And likewise, whether the Author who pleads *No Necessity*, &c., or his antagonist pleading a *Necessity for an Alteration*, has best supported his opinion w^{t} testimonys and arguments. If the odds be considerable on either side, it will be no longer difficult to determine on which side they are. But the favour you did me of communicating your thoughts to me concerning the matters in dispute, when I did myself the honour to wait on you in Angus, convinces me that I need not trouble myself or you w$_{t}$ entering into the merits of the cause; for you was then of opinion (and I think you will find nothing in these Papers to make you alter that opinion), that the things contended for ought to be restored; and you likewise gave me assurances of your readiness to use your best endeavours for their restoration, but y$_{t}$ you was for bringing it about by the gentlest and most inoffensive methods. Give me leave, Sir, to join w$_{t}$ you in those pious endeavours, and to propose a method to your consideration.

The Liturgy of the Ch. of Engl$_{d}$, which at present obtains amongst you, has not an Ecclesiastical, or so much as a Civil, sanction to recommend

the use of it in this Kingdom; whereas your own, compiled in the Reign of K. Charles, has both, as appears by his Proclamation prefixed to it, when it is said—"We have divers times recommended to ye Archbishops and Bishops here, the Publishing of a Publick Form of Service in the Worshipping of God, which we would have uniformly observed therein. And the same being now condescended upon," &c. And then he goes on and enjoins the use of it. Here we find it condescended upon, and Published by the Prelates, and then Confirmed by the Regal Authority; and I believe you will not deny but y^{t} the Publication of it by the Bishops, to be uniformly observed, is as much a command on their part, for an uniform observation of it, as the Proclamation is on the part of the King. So then this is properly the Liturgy of ye Ch. of Scotl^{d}, and the other prevails only by the connivance of the present Governours. And the only reason y^{t} I ever heard why the English Service Book was received here, was because the Copies of your own were scarce, and not sufficient for the number of Communicants, a great many of whose circumstances were such as would not allow them to purchase Books, and consequently a new impression could not be had. In this your distress, some Prelates in England (with whom, by-the-by, you would not have join'd in ye use of them) sent you a considerable number of English Books, to be distributed among your people gratis, and from y^{t} time the use of them has been continued here. But, if I am not misinformed, they never so obtained but y^{t} most of, if not all the Bishops, and a great number of the inferiour Clergy, used them partially and w^{t} reserve, supplying some defects in the Consecration of ye Eucharist, viz., the Invocation of the H. Sp^{t} upon the Sacrifice, and the Oblation of it to God ye Fa^{r}r, from their own Form, which is a certain argum^{t} that in the judgem^{t} of these persons their own Communion Office is more perfect, and consequently preferable; so that the only reason why ye other is made use of, is because, as I observed before, they have the Books for nothing. Now, the only things to be considered are, how they, and their poor hearers, shall come at the Scots Service as cheap; and 2ly, how some few alterations (to render it still more perfect and primitive) may be made. As for the first, I propose this method, viz., that the Communion Office (entitled the Com. Office according to the Liturgy of ye Ch. of Scotl^{d}), should be Printed by itself, and the whole, not consisting of above a sheet and half of paper, might be done for a very small charge, and 10,000 Copys cost but a trifling sum of money, which sum might easily be collected from gentlemen, who would not refuse to contribute to so pious a design. And 2ly, for the alterations, I shall mention only two. The first is in the Rubrick, where the Presbyter is ordered "to offer up and place the Bread and Wine prepared for ye Sacram^{t} upon ye Lord's Table." After ye word Wine, and by way of parenthesis ("that is mixed with a little pure water"), this will look rather like explaining an old Law than imposing a new one; and the more so, because the Office from whence yours was chiefly taken, I mean the 1st Liturgy of Edw. VI., in that same Rubrick,

orders a little pure water to be mixed w^t^ the Sacramental Wine. The 2d alteration is the omitting the whole, or at least the later part of the Title of the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," which is likewise omitted in the Form before mentioned. This, too, will look rather like an omission than an innovation, and at the same time take off an objection which is made by some of our friends, that you exclude the faithful departed from your most solemn act of Worship, and by that means virtually refuse Communion w^t^ them. These Books, so Printed by money collected for that use, may be distributed *gratis* thro' ye whole Kingdom, and the use of them recommended, if not positively enjoined, by the Bishops. And I doubt not but in a little time, thro' the regard which the more learned of ye Clergy will have to the alterations themselves, and the weaker judgments to the authority of their former Bishops and Prince enjoining the use of the Scots Form, it will be universally received. Nor do I think the alterations I have mentioned any reason why it may not properly be called "The Communion Office according to the Liturgy of the Ch. of Scotl^d^;" for under that Title I believe it will go best down w^t^ ye people. I say I do not think them any reason, because the 1st of them is only an explanation of a Rubrick, and the later is only the Title of a Prayer, which affects the Worship no otherwise than, as it now stands, it too much restricts the sense of the Prayer, and the whole Service following.

Thus, Sir, I have shewed you what I think a gentle and inoffensive way of returning to a Rule which your forefa^y^rs laid down for you to walk by—a way to restore uniformity at home and to preserve an amicable Correspondence w^t^ your Brethren in Engl^d^; and not only w^t^ them, but w^t^ all ye Saints, Martyrs, and Confessors who have gone before us; and lastly, a way to honour Christ in his own Institution, and advantage ourselves by that most solemn and prevailing address to Heaven. These, Sir, are most desirable ends, and the means of attaining them worth enquiring after, thô some little worldly inconvenience should threaten us in our pursuit after them.

If you think this a proper method, I desire you propose it to the Lord Bishop of Ed^r^, for it may be more regarded when offered by you than me; and if you will do me the favour of a line, pray direct for me to the care of Mr. Cockburn, the Minister in this place. Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant, F. Peck.

If this finds you at Craighall, pray give my service to the Laird and family.

Bishop Falconar declined the proposal of a Synodical Resolution, and at the same time wrote to Bishop Rose, expressing his hope that the Usages were *not* urged as "necessary, if not essential;" and his opinion that they were indeed Apostolical, and their restoration most desirable.

A few days previously, Bishop Campbell had written to Bishop Rose, desiring that at least the *Mixture*, the *Invocation* rightly placed, and the omission of *Militant*, &c., might be established by the Scottish Church as a basis of Unity. Without this, he would not Communicate with her. On May 20th, he wrote to Bishop Falconar to the same effect.

VI.—*Copy of a Letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh to Bishop Falconar, Dated Edinburgh, May* 22, 1718.

Sir,—I had yours by Mr. Crighton, whereby I understand that you wisely declined Mr. Peck's overture of a Synodical Decision, which in our present circumstances is scarce practicable to any good purpose, and might readily enough involve us in divisions and confusions. We have before our eyes into what a tragical state our neighbour Church is brought by these controverted and, I think, rashly decided points; wherefore, I suppose we shall find ourselves concerned to go on by leisurely and well-advised steps. I should be very willing to write to our Brethren on both sides in the terms you advise, if the state of their affair could allow it, that is, if your charitable supposition that these matters are not considered as necessary, if not essential, were really so; but, in my humble opinion, when you take a review of the Answer to the *No Reasons*, you will find it otherwise, and particularly as to the *χράμα*, of which it is expressly said that it is instituted, commanded, and necessary, a necessary part of the matter of that Sacrament, if not essential, and as much necessary as Wine itself, being both of them in the Institution. I shall say nothing of the other points, which, to my thought, are screwed up as high as that which I have mentioned; and, in consequence to this, Mr. Peck, who I presume is fully instructed by his constituents, so far as I can learn, has not been at any Meeting-house in this City since his coming to it, where in the ordinary Service there is nothing to scruple him, save bidding to pray for Christ's Church militant, &c. Neither did he scruple to own to me that the Ch. of Engl^{d}, as formerly constituted, was no Church, as wanting these things insisted on to be restored; and besides this, I have seen doleful Letters from ladies and other Lay persons of the old Communion, from London, bemoaning that there is nothing more openly and industriously handed about by the restoring party, than y^{t} the other is no Church, and have no Sacraments. Now, in this woful circumstance, I know not by what topicks to press a mutual forbearance or re-union: it is not practicable on the side of those who think these primitive Usages essential and necessary, unless they abate something of that rigour, and qualify what they are generally supposed to have said and writ concerning them; nay, they have openly declared that they cannot Communicate w^{t} the other side unless that, in practice at least, they fall in

w^t these Usages. The other side plead that they are provided w^t a sufficient Liturgy, thô not so completely perfect but that it may be bettered, yet a Liturgy the best now in the world, approven and in long use by their Church; that it is cast off w^tout a sufficient authority; y^t by falling in w^t practices not enjoined by it, and strongly pleaded for as necessary even to the very being of a Church, they cannot avoid the being construed to go into that rigid opinion, and thereby throw an indelible reproach upon the Church, give the greatest advantage imaginable to Atheists, Deists, Dissenters, Papists, and enemies of all sorts, and open a door likewise for pressing upon them as necessary other Usages, pretended to be primitive, till God knows where it shall end. Wherefore, in my humble opinion, seeing that matters are come to an open rupture, and that Controversy, new among Protestants, stands not so much upon the foot of expedience or inexpedience, lawfulness or unlawfulness, primitiveness or not (for all primitive Usages are not necessary), but are stated in the terms of Necessity or No-Necessity, we wave any interposing in this matter untill we see, if not the issue and end of this debate, yet at least something farther into it (new pieces are preparing to come abroad *hinc inde*); for till one party finds itself at a loss in point of argum^t and reason, I see no hope of succeeding in any enterprize of Accommodation, and by y^t time we shall perchance be better able, and upon solid grounds, to determine ourselves, and give our opinion, which may readily have the greater weight, as being upon due deliberation, and that probably it may find the contending parties in a better disposition toward peace and agreement than they seem to be at present. As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid upon them, I am very desirous of further information, being resolved, God willing, if I find these Usages strictly necessary, to embrace them, together w^t all the disadvantages that may attend them; if only lawful, some way useful and desirable, prudence in this case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted.

These, w^t respect to what you advise me, are my present thoughts. Perchance they may change; for the truth is, thro' my long indisposition, I am so faint, and my spirits so low, that I cannot, w^t any due attention or fixedness, think upon any thing. I have sent you a Pamphlet; perchance you have not seen it. You need not so hastily return it, for I may have the use of another Copy if I need it. I am perfectly wearied out w^t writing this, wherefore I shall say no more, save y^t

I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate Brother and most humble Serv^t,

(Signed) A. E.

I had almost forgot to condole the late loss of our worthy and dear brother (meaning Bishop Chrystie at Kinross). I judge it may be necessary, upon sev^l accounts, to provide another in his stead, and I intreat y^t you would have your thoughts concerning one for y^t effect, that when we shall have occasion to meet together, that work may be done, among others which

may occasion our meeting. What would you think of our friend at Calendar? [Meaning Mr. (afterward Bishop) Irvine].

Directed to the Reverend Mr. John Falconar, at Carnbee.

VII.—*Copy of part of a Letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh to Bishop Falconar, Dated Edinburgh, September* 18, 1718.

Sir,—The very next Post after I received your last, I wrote to Mr. Fullarton to be here about the end of this month if possible, having acquainted him of your intended journey; I told him likewise you was to go off about the beginning of the next month; and if my Letter should be slow in coming to him, or his occasions could not permit his coming hiyr by the end of this month, I believed yt I should prevail with you to put off your journey till the 10 or 12 of the next, which, if need be, I intreat and hope you will agree. I desired him, so soon as he got my Letter, to give me a Return, signifying his Dyet, yt I may have occasion to advertise you of it, wch, God willing, I shall not fail to do. Mr. Peck continues still here, notwithstanding that 8 or 10 days agone he asked my commands for London. I told him yt I would write wt him, and repeated to him what I had told him long agone, wch was yt I believed we would not explain ourselves in the matter of the controverted points, untill we saw the issue of the Controversie. I have not seen him here since, which makes me think that he is still here. I am afraid this may miss the Post, therefore shall say no more, save that I am, Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

(Signed) A. E.

To the Reverend Mr. John Falconar.

VIII.—*Another Letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh to Bishop Falconar, Dated from Edinburgh, October* 2.

Reverend Brother,—I am sorry to see your last to me written wt anoyr hand than your own, and much more for the occasion of it. I pray God to give you a speedy deliverance from this trouble, wch, thô I principally wish for your own sake, yet I am not unconcerned at the disappointmt it might occasion if it continue any time wt you; for this afternoon I had a Letter from Mr. Fullarton, promising yt he shall, God willing, be here against the 8 or 9 instant, and bidding me tryst you here agt that time. There is now no time for stopping his journey, oyrwise I would do it. Wherefore, as it is necessary to put our affairs in some tolerable order, whatever may happen to eyr of us, so if you should happen to continue disabled, let me know if you think it advisable that I and the oyr persons concerned should come to you, for I had rayr risque my health than yt work should not be done, for God knows when we may meet again. Pray let me hear from you as soon as possible. I can say no more lest this may miss the Post. I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate humble Servant, A. E.

I had your Letter and Mr. Fullarton's this day almost w^tin an hour of one ano^yr.—To the R^d Mr. J. F., at Carnbee.

N.B.—In pursuance of the above Concert on October 22 thereafter, Mr. William Irvine and Mr. Arthur Millar were Consecrated Bishops at Ed^r by Bishop Rose of Ed^r, Bishop Fullarton, and Bishop Falconar.

On the 22d October, 1718, Bishop Falconar, after a severe attack of gout, was able to journey from Carnbee to Edinburgh, to join Bishops Rose and Fullarton in Consecrating Millar and William Irvine. The latter was a decided Anti-Usager. To the former, a great friend, Bishop Falconar wrote a month afterwards: "Thô I have nothing worth your while to read, yet it is comfortable to converse with one whom I value, by the way w^ch, for ought I know, God hath established to supply the defect of the presence of friends." Alluding to "the desolations of this afflicted Church," he adds, "there is no shipwreck of that kind w^ch is more at heart with mè than that of St. Andrewes, w^ch I reckon a distinguisht place, by marks of regard more than one. I purpose, by God's assistance, to attempt Confirming of the well-disposed Students, and to perform Worship and administer the Sacraments to the good people in that place, who are under a great destitution; but this with outmost secresy and caution, insomuch that I purpose to try if something may be done this way on such week dayes as are less opposed to observation." In writing to Bishop Millar on the 3d March, 1719, he mentions that he had withheld "the Great Benefit" from two women at St. Andrews, the relict and daughter of a Clergyman (Mr. Andrew Fleukar), for being at strife with the daughter's husband.

IX.—*A Letter from Bishop Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, Dated April* 2, 1720.

R^t Reverend Sir,—Though I have never yet attempted to give you the trouble of a Letter since I had the honour of your conversation here, I cannot forbear at present most heartily to condole with you upon the unexpected loss of that truly great and excellent Prelate, the L^d Bishop of Ed^r, who has so worthily presided over your Ch. for so long a time. It was a singular blessing that God was graciously pleased to spare him till now, for the benefit and advantage of those under his inspection, in such distracted times as we have had. And it is a heavy stroke to others, thô an unspeakable gain to himself, that he is now removed into another world, where we

may, however, comfort ourselves w^{t} an assurance y^{t} he rests from his labours, and his good works follow him.

And now, Sir, that you come to succeed in his room, and to have the care, for which he was so eminently conspicuous, derived upon you, I humbly beseech Almighty God to endow you w^{t} such a portion of his Sp^{t} as that you may always proceed w^{t} the same vigour and courage, w^{t} the same care and prudence and circumspection, the same religion and piety, that he did, and the same success for God's honour and the peace and welfare of His Church, which has so happily dwelt in unity, and not fallen into divisions, as to the grief of my soul, I must confess, we have done here. It is a very ticklish time wherein you are now called to exert yourself; but your abilities for so high a station are so well known, that I promise myself you will not fail to supply his place to the full satisfaction of all you are concerned for. And as I had the honour of a frequent Correspondence w^{t} my good Lord, now w^{t} God, I beg to have the like freedom w^{t} yourself, whereby you may understand the state of our affairs upon all occasions, and we of yours. And if there be any service I can be capable of doing either yourself or any of our friends w^{t} you, you shall at all times find me most ready to do the best I can. One thing I have at present to communicate, that a very worthy friend of mine, Mr. Higden, very lately returned some money to my good L^{d} of Ed^{r}, which he is not sure arrived at y^{t} place before his Lordship's Death, thô possibly it might. If I mistake not, it was 50 pounds; and I here take notice of it, y^{t} if it did not come before, you may please to make what inquiry you can after it, for I have not yet heard by whom it was sent. I expect, also, y^{t} he will have some more in no long time. Twenty pounds I have heard of in one County, and ten in another, y^{t} fell not into Dr. Sharp's hands; but I do not find y^{t} either of these sums are returned hither. If you will please to send me word by any one y^{t} comes to this place (to my house in White Fryars, London), what way you desire to have this, or any thing else, y^{t} may be got conveyed to you, I will be sure to give direction accordingly. I am, w^{t} great sincerity and respect, R^{t} Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

NATHANIEL SPINCKES.

This for ye Reverend Mr. Falconar, at Ed^{r}.

X.—*A Letter from Bishop Collier to Bishop Falconar, London, May* 20, 1720.

Sir,—I understand by your last to Mr. C——bell, y^{t} you have seen a Letter from our old friends at London, in which they charge us w^{t} having been the occasion of carrying numbers to ye Ch. of Rome, into the Revolution, and, which is still much worse, into Atheism itself. First, supposing the matter of fact true, and if some of our people had deserted all these ways, which way are we to blame for their running into Heterodoxy? Our Principles and Worship, I'm sure, as you justly observe, have not the least tendency to misguide them; on the contrary, they are better preservatives

against Popery, as has been proved, than those of our old Brethren. And why should the ignorance, inconstancy, or other undue motives, be charged upon us? But, besides, they misreport the matter. I know but of 4 or 5 y^{t} have gone from us to the Church of R., one of which is Dr. Sharp, who perverted another, who, to speak softly, has a very unhappy character. Another is one Minors, a Clergyman, who went off upon his exception ag^{t} the validity of the Ch. of Engl$^{d's}$ Orders at the Reformation, which objection would have carried him from our old friends no less than from us. But then, as we have lost some, we have stopped and recovered as many; and, which is farther to be observed, our old friends have lost some to ye Ch. of Rome, and sev^{l} to ye Publick Congregations. And as to ye charge of Schism, it is no better than arraigning the Primitive Church, w^{t} whom our Worship agrees, in all the 4 points we differ from them. Besides, their calling us Schismaticks comes w^{t} a very ill grace from them, who admit those whom they know Members of the complying Church to their Communion. Two of their chiefs defend this latitude, and the 3d joins w^{t} them: this is uncontestible matter of fact.

Sir, I hope the revival of the 4 primitive things gains ground in your Country. I pray God preserve you in health and happiness, and

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

J. Collier.

To the Reverend Mr. Falconar.

XI.—*Another from Bishop Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, Dated May* 23.

R^{t} Reverend and Kind Sir,—Several intervening businesses made me later than I ought to have been in acknowledging your goodness and favour, in not only pardoning the freedom of my late application to you, but, moreover, vouchsafing me a most obliging answer, w^{t} an Acc^{t} of the posture of affairs at the time, and a promise to oblige me yet farther w^{t} a Relation of what should be determined at your intended Meeting, the news whereof will be highly acceptable amongst us. And ye rather because I promise myself y^{t} will give us a full assurance of what I am already told, y^{t} you have a singular unanimity amongst all Orders; at which not only I, but others also, exceedingly rejoice, and pray for a long continuance of it. And, indeed, we cannot but be the more nearly affected w^{t} your enjoying so valuable a blessing, by reason of our own unhappy want of it. Blessed be God, we were for a long time at unity, and in perfect harmony w^{t} one another, and whatever trouble any of us at any time met with from other adversaries, we lived like Brethren in peace and love, and w^{t}out fear or apprehension of any breach amongst ourselves. But since it has pleased God to suffer dissentions to arise, and a new unthought-of sect to set up in opposition to the Ch. of Engl^{d}, to the grievance of our souls and the joy of our Romish and other enemies, we cannot but most heartily congratulate your greater advan-

tage in having so comfortable an agreem^{t} preserved amongst you all. And thô Almighty God has in His infinite wisdom thought fit to remove your most useful and excellent head from any longer presiding over your poor oppressed Church, his place appears to be so admirably filled w^{t} yourself, and those other wise and judicious, as well as pious and learned, Prelates, who stand up in his stead, and have the whole care now devolved upon you, y^{t} your great loss will hereby be made easie to those committed to your charge. And may the Divine Blessing and the Holy Sp^{t} be w^{t} you all, to assist and strengthen you, and carry you successfully thro' all the trials you may have to conflict w^{t} in the weighty service whereto, in His good Providence, God has been pleased to call you all!

I am heartily glad my good friend Mr. Irwin is one of you, as well knowing how well fitted he is for such a station, and how truly usefull you will find him upon all occasions. When you shall either see or write to him, be pleased to give him my very hearty service, and wishes of all happiness to him. And y^{t} you will be pleased likewise to accept the same yourself, is the unfeigned request of, R^{t} Reverend Sir,

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,

N. Spinckes.

This for the Reverend Mr. Falconar, at Ed^{r}.

XII.—*A Letter from Bishop Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, at Kellie (in the direction), August* 19.

R^{t} Reverend Sir,—The favour of your kind Letter of July 7th, I have now before me, and am obliged to beg your acceptance of my unfeigned hearty thanks for the same, and in particular for your undeserved courtesie and civilities wherew^{t} you have been pleased to treat me in it. I am truly sorry y^{t} you have occasion to complain of the gout; thô perhaps it may be a troublesome sort of physick to you, and as it often proves, and I hope it will w^{t} you, a means of prolonging life. I must agree w^{t} you y^{t} writing by the Post will scarce be at all convenient. But if we can have convenience of conveyance by a private hand, I am apt to think there may be no danger in that, and shall therefore be very thankful if you will be so kind as to favour me w^{t} some information y^{t} way, as you shall have opportunity. For I cannot but be desirous of understanding the state of your Ch.; as also, on the other hand, I conclude you will think it proper to understand the state of ours. The motion you mention, y^{t} only ye old Presbyters should have the privilege of voting, seems to have been too hard upon their other Brethren; and it is happy you found them so disposed as to recede from it, as in all reason they ought to do. And I beseech Almighty God y^{t} you may meet w^{t} no more disputes of that nature.

Though it were to be wished in q^{t}ever Church the method of administering Holy Offices were ye same, yet the case w^{t} you is very different from yours in y^{t} respect. You have no settled Liturgy since the Reformation;

and so, thô you have been so happy as to introduce the use of a Liturgy in your Worship since the Revolution, yet are you not so tied to any one Form as we are. Besides, it is a great happiness to you that you have no scandal, breach of Communion, animosities, or disputes, among$_t$ you, whereas we labour under them all. Had our Brethren taken some liberty in breaking thro' our Rubrick, for the sake of things not necessary, thô we should have blamed them, and have been sorry for so unwarrantable a practice, yet we should have been very loth to have broken off Communion w^t them, in hope y^t they might in time have considered better, and returned to their former practice. And it is a deep affliction to us that they have proceeded to depart from us, and set up an opposite Communion. And what ye sad consequents of y^t are I need not tell you. It is very kind in you to study a method of accommodation between us. And, as to what you mention of not writing any more, I make no doubt it will readily be agreed to on our side, provided the others will agree to the same. There is a Book now in the Press, from what Author I know not, which yet I will heartily endeavour to get stopt, and I believe I shall be able to do it upon an assurance y^t they will likewise stop all on their side. If they will not agree to this, I see not what reason there can be for our being silent more than they. And if there be anything else you shall think proper to propose to us, y^t is consistent w^t ye obligation to observe the Orders and Injunctions of ye Ch. whereof we are Members, I dare answer for my Brethren, as well as myself, y^t it shall be very thankfully received, and be attended to w^t all ye respect and consideration due to q^t comes from persons of your singular worth and learning. And we shall, moreover, think ourselves highly obliged to you for so desirable an interposal, in so melancholick a case as ours is. In ye meantime, I promise myself, y^t as we pray for your deliverance from the severe trials and hardships you are forced to conflict w$_t$, so likewise, on ye other hand, we shall not want your intercessions, for the repairing our breaches, and restoring unity and concord amongst us. I am, w^t great sincerity and respect,

Your m. aff. and m. humb. Servant and Brother,

N. Spinckes.

XIII.—*Another Letter from Bishop Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, May* 24, 1721.

R. R. Sir,—I hope you received a Letter y^t Mr. Strachan did me the kindness to send for me the last summer in answer to yours, wherein you was so very kind as mention the thought of making some proposals for an accommodation between our separating Brethren and ourselves, which I begged to see, and promised y$_t$ I should for my part, and I did not doubt but my Brethren too, would be very glad of, and ready to comply w^t any thing y^t might be consistent w$_t$ our obedience to the Rubrick, and our obligations to the Ch. we are of. And I cannot think that more than this can in reason and conscience be expected from us. I waited for some considerable time in hope you would have done me the honour of acquainting me w^t your

thoughts hereupon; and should have given you ye trouble of another Letter upon the same subject, had it not pleased Almighty God to visit me wt a series of sicknesses for the greatest part of the last winter, and from which I am very lately recovered; and, blessed be God that I am so, and hope I may continue so. Thô, if it should prove otherwise, His will be done; for I alwise desire to be rather at His disposal than my own, and to have Him chuse for me than myself.

I hope, Sir, you have had your health, and may you long enjoy that singular blessing, both for your own sake and of those under your care, to whom it will be a blessing as well as to yourself. We hear great slaughter has been made amongst the gentlemen of your Country, by our wicked as well as unhappy South Sea. But I perswade myself you have escaped that wreck, the Governmt having long since taken care of the Jacobites, yt if any of them had been inclined to have run in amongst the rest, they would not be exposed to the temptation, for want of money to venture wt them, and so are easy in themselves, whilst many others, who have lived long upon the plunder of the Nation, are now become as poor as we. Abundance of our people, both great and small, are in a miserable condition; and, after all ye care our Senators have taken, are greatly afraid yt the mountain will at last bring forth a mouse. I have not the honour to be known to the R. R. Mr. Fullartoun; but I have begged of Mr. Irwyn, and beg also of you, Sir, that when you shall see him next, you will do me the favour to give him my very humble service and hearty congratulation upon his being advanced to the station he now so justly and so worthily possesses. I hope you may all escape wtout great danger, or damage, or trouble, during the time of the General Assembly, now met. You have the same gracious Protector you have had formerly; and yt He will condescend to protect you agt all ye attempts of your most outragious adversarys, is the sincere prayer of,

R. R. Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

Nathaniel Spinckes.

This for the Reverend Mr. Falconar.

On January 10, 1721, Falconar wrote a long Letter to Bishop Campbell, in which he says—"My charge is exceedinglie enlarged, and the regard I have to the great and good Master to Whom I am responsible, will not allow me to do His work negligentlie; and in the discharge of this great trust, wch is very disproportioned to my power, there occur, and that frequentlie, verie many difficulties, wch necessarilie require the help of others more knowing and more prudent than myself. There are many of our Brethren, within that District assigned to me, who use the

Scotch Liturgie, omit 'militant,' and use the Mixture, being induc'd to that good old way as by what they have read; so *by my example*, and three short Discourses given them in wreating —one about Confirmation, another about the Eucharist, and a third about Preparedness for it. I have also recommended to the Clergy the use of some Books, w^ch^ treat some subjects, the knowledge of w^ch^ is necessary at all times, but more especiallie with respect to the present situation of our afflicted Church; and I reckon that this way of doing will *graduallie and gentlie lead them* into an acquaintance and love of what is Primitive. I much incline to transmit to you all these things, together with a Form of Prayer for deliverance to this distressed Church, w^ch^ I think is used universallie in the above District. This was done by me in the end of October last, throughout the Presbyterie of St. Andrewes, the whole Shire of Angus, and that part of Perthshire w^ch^ is allotted to me. As for the more distant counties of Mearn and Aberdeen, it was not practicable to visit them, because winter was approaching. . . I must necessarilie throw up the inspection of that *huge Shire of Aberdeen*, it being so remote, . . and this is the chief reason why I incline to the promotion fo D. Garden, and the other."

The Rev. John Skinner says [*Eccles. History, vol. ii., p.* 607]: "Mr. Falconar was an intimate acquaintance and great favourite of good Bishop Rose, who pressed him most warmly, for the good of the Church, to take the burthen of the Episcopate upon him in these times of trial and difficulty. And indeed no man could have been fitter for it in any condition of the Church, as, from the many Letters that remain of him, he appears to have been not only a man of great piety and prudence, but likewise a consummate Divine, and deeply versed in the Doctrines and Rites of the Primitive Church, which, both by example and argument, he studied to revive and bring again into practice, in the softest and most inoffensive way possible."

Bishop Russell adds, in his Edition of *Bishop Keith's Catalogue, p.* 522: "As a proof that this eulogy is not altogether unfounded, we are informed that he was likewise very highly esteemed by the eminently learned Henry Dodwell, with whom

he Corresponded relative to a Book which he had intended to Publish against Deists, and other such enemies of Christianity. Dodwell's opinion of Bishop Falconer may be farther collected from a wish which he expressed that the latter would execute a Work, projected by himself, on the *Laws of Nature and Nations*. I know not, however, that the Bishop did actually become an Author. There is preserved in Manuscript a little Tract written by him for the Viscountess of Kingston."

This MS. is now before me—the Original, and also a Copy in Bishop Jolly's own handwriting. On the former is this Note by Bishop Low: "Written by Bishop Falconar, for the use of the Viscountess of Kingston, daughter of Colin, Earl of Balcarras, and first Married to the Earl of Kellie. The Author was a Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, early in Eighteenth Century, resided at Carnbee, in the County of Fife, and was reckoned one of the best Divines of his age. He Married a daughter of Galloway, the Lord Dunkeld."

This Treatise, as an exponent of Bishop Falconar's "views," is now Printed at the end of this Life, for the first time.

"The Life of Mr. Henry Dodwell; with an Account of his Works, and an Abridgement of them that are Published, and of several of his Manuscripts; by Francis Brokesby, B.D.; London, 1715," is now scarce. I have the use of the Copy (2 vols., E. 3. 6, stout bound) in the *Scottish Episcopal Library*, wherein is written—"Alexander Jolly, Turriff, 1778. Both volumes gifted by the Rev. Mr. John Innes, Deacon." I Transcribe from vol. ii., p. 501: "His (intended) Dissertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations, and other Writings left imperfect. . . No antecedent reason could have obliged God to punish communities for the crimes of private persons, had He not settled societies. These thoughts Mr. Dodwell has given us some strictures of in some of his Writings, and particularly in his *Discourse against Marriage in different Communions*, and in that *against Occasional Communion;* but more fully in his Letter to the Reverend Mr. John Falconer, a North Britan, who requested his assistance in his designed Work against Deists and the like adversaries of Christianity. In answer to which, he began that

Discourse of the Laws of Nations, which he broke off, because it hindred him in the prosecution of his Discourse on *Dr. Woodward's Shield*, in which he had then made some progress; and at that time sent Mr. Falconer a shorter Letter." Page 609: "Mr. Dodwell's hypothesis of the Immortality of the Soul. . . The fire prepared for Evangelical Criminals shall be eternal. . . The Atheists themselves quickly gave over their eagerness in buying my Book, as my bookseller himself informed me, when they found, upon actual perusal of it, how little it answered their expectations. The person who occasioned it, as soon as I knew his name (which Mr. Gadderar conceal'd from me), and could write to him, and send the copy to him, own'd himself satisfy'd with what I had there said. Since that he hath seen my just defence, and I have lately receiv'd another Letter from him, wishing that my adversaries were satisfy'd also. He (Bishop John Falconar—on the margin in Bishop Jolly's handwriting) is your Countryman, and of great repute among the Episcopals there."

In the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 1852-53, there is given a pretty full Digest of our Bishop's Letters and Papers deposited in the Episcopal Chest, by the Rev. Wm. Bright, while Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College, Glenalmond, titled "Bishop John Falconar and his Friends." These illustrate minutely what an able Correspondent, Counsellor, and Divine he was. The Letters addressed to him from Bishops Rattray and Campbell will be found under their Memoirs.

XIV.—*Commission from the Archbishop of Glasgow and Bishop of Edinburgh to Messrs. Falconar, Bruce, and Keir, about Collections.*

Reverend Brethren,—The necessitys of our suffering Brethren, as they do daily grow greater, and at present press them very hard, so our sense of this and sympathy w^{t} them obliges us to the most effectual measures for their relief; and because it is reasonably to be presumed that none will act more vigorously for their interest than their Brethren, and who are likewise fellow-sufferers w^{t} them, we have therefore thought fit to nominate two discreet Churchmen in each Presbytery, to Collect in y^{t} District, for their behoof, what the pious bounty of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, shall incline them to bestow. And because we doubt not but that upon this our

earnest desire, you will undertake the managing of that affair wᵗin the bounds of ye Presbytery of St. Andrews; we do, therefore, hereby very earnestly recommend it to you to be carried on wᵗ all the dispatch conveniently you may, in doing whereof you will perform a service most acceptable to God, much needed and desired by your afflicted Brethren, very becoming your character, and most obliging to us who are, Reverend Brethren,

Your affectionate Brethren and Servants,

(Signed) Jo. Glasgow.
Alex. Edinburgen.

Edʳ, 1 Janry., 1707.—For the Reverend Mr. John Falconar, Minister at Carnbee, and Mr. Andrew Bruce, Minister at Pittenweem, and Mr. John Keir, Minister at Cults.

N.B.—There are oyr 2 Commissions in ye same words from ye Bishop of Edʳ alone to Mr. George Honyman, Minister at Livistoun, and Mr. John Falconar, &c., the one Dated Edʳ, 2 June, 1709, the oyr Edʳ, 24 August, 1713, Signed both Alex. Edinburgen.

A special object with Bishop Falconar was to restore the use of Confirmation, which had been quite neglected for many years, owing to the Persecutions which the Church had been subjected to.

XV.—*Falconar's Form of Consecrating the Ointment, and of Confirmation, chiefly an Abridgement from the Greek Euchology, which Gadderar had Copied for him.*

O God, ye Faʸr of Lights, from Whom cometh every good and perfect gift, send forth Thy most Holy Spirit on this Oyl. Make it the Oyl of Gladness to the Sanctifying of the Soul and Body, the Garment of Incorruption, and a perfecting Seal, imprinting the holy name of Thy only begotten Son on this Thy servant, now hallowed by the Water of Baptism, that he being thus Sanctified in Soul and Body, and freed from the dominion of all sin and wickedness, may be safe from the temptations and infestments of all evil and impure spirits, and being numbered among Thy sons and adopted into Thy family, he may be owned by Thee before Thy Saints, Angels, and Archangels; and in and by this pure and sacred Mystery of the Holy Ghost, the Spᵗ of J. Christ may enter into him, and ever dwell wᵗin him, as in an holy temple, thro' the same our Lord J. ✠ C., to Whom, wᵗ Thee, O Father, and Thee, O H. Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and evermore. Amen.

Almighty and Everlasting God, Who hast vouchsafed to Sanctify this Thy servant by the Laver of Baptism, and hast given unto him the forgiveness of all his sins, strengthen him, we beseech Thee, O Lord, wᵗ Thy

H. G. the Comforter, and daily increase in him Thy manifold gifts of Grace, the Spt of Wisdom and Understanding, the Spt of Counsel and Ghostly Strength, the Spt of Knowledge and true Godliness, and fulfill him, O Lord, wt the Spt of Thy Holy Fear. Sign and mark him to be Thine for ever, by the virtue of Thy Holy Cross and Passion. Confirm and strengthen him wt the inward Unction of Thy H. Spirit unto life everlasting. Amen.

I Sign thee wt the Sign of the ✠ Cross, and Confirm thee wt the Chrism of Salvation, and lay mine hands upon thee, in ye name of ye F. and of ye S. and of ye H. G. Amen. [And continuing his hands on his head]—Defend, O Lord, this Thy Servant, &c.

Recipé given for the Chrism.—Use Oil of Olives, Oil of Nutmegs, Cloves, wt a Mixture of the Balsamum Anti-apoplecticum, with some Myrrh, Storax, and other Ingredients thickened to an Ointment.

Chrism according to S. Cyprian—Mixture of Oil and Balsam.

XVI.—*To Bishop Gadderar, in Falconar's hand, without Date, Signature, or Address, probably referring to a case like Bishop Rattray's. One leaf has been torn off.*

. . . This disease continues wt me, and thô the swelling be much abated, yet it hath so settled in the joint that it is like to stick long there, and consequently to disable me from travelling, at least to any great distance. . . .

The case of the person who hath the important matter in hand is much at heart wt me, chiefly because of the fear I have that I shall not be in a condition to be concurring in it. And, indeed, I see not any absolute necessity of my assistance in yt work, now yt M. Wh. is vested with full powers for that and ye like ministrations. His Deeds will have the same ratification in Heaven; and that consent and approbation wch I had, is by me fairly derived on him, or shall be done, if reckoned needful, by a formal Deed. Besides, his performance will have this advantage, yt it may escape, by an ordinary prudent management, all observation, and it is scarcely possible to avoid it if done by me or any oyr. And when I lay together his Ordination and my disease meeting in such a critical nick, I am apt to think yt Providence intimates it should be done by him. I don't think there is any great need of Witnesses. For as these are necessary only for the satisfaction of the Church, so the Church desires no satisfaction on yt subject, considering the present situation of her circumstances. And then, to ratify the fact, on supposition the notoriety of it be judged necessary afterwards, this may and shall be done by authentick written Deeds. And then, I would not have the person concerned to consider himself only as a Catechumen, or as one who, in a formal sense, is an alien. Neither of these are true, but as one in a state of misfortune, rather than of sin, and who by yt deed means no more than to please God, to satisfie his own conscience, and secure

his Title. His preparations should then lye, in my weak opinion, in a sure perswasion of his Orthodoxy, in humiliation for his former sins, in a full trust of a Plenary Pardon of all yt is bypast, and in an entire and voluntary resignation to Jesus, to live agreeablie to the terms of the Holy Covenant.

XVII.—*Copy of a Letter from Bishop Rose of Edinburgh to Mr. Falconar, relating to the Validity of Lay Baptism.*

Reverend Brother,—The desire of ye person you wrote of seems to me to have great reason on its side, and I wish that case had been taken under consideration, and decided eyr by your own or any oyr rightly constituted Protestant Church. Which, so far as I know, has not as yet been done; nay, ye practice and sense of our neighbour Church looks to be agt it, upon what warrantable principle, or how agreeably to some other both of their principles and practices, I am yet to learn; but as for the thing itself, it wants not perplexing difficulties on both sides; and thô I have often thought upon it, yet I must own that I am scarce able to resolve myself clearly as to what may be fit to be done in cases of yt nature. I am loth to annul all such Baptisms, and to impeach both our own Church and others that seem to allow them, in so far yt they allow those persons who have no other, all Christian Privileges. On the other hand, I know not how to allow the validity of qt is done wtout a Commission; for my own part, I make a difference betwixt those who are satisfied or have no scruple about their Baptism and those who have. As to the first, I reckon their Baptisms, thô invalid in matter of right, yet not so in matter of fact, and that thro' the Divine indulgence, from the Churches in wch they live, their admission and acceptance of them, and ye insuperable difficulties ye greatest part of people are under to know otherways; for the Churches admitting of such Baptisms, thô no faryr than not to pass a censure upon them, seems to me to put these persons *in bona fide* to rely upon such Baptisms, and I hope yt they shall sustain no prejudice in yt case. But how the Governours of the Church shall account for affording yt ground of confidence, I do not know; but for the oyrs, who upon maturity of judgemt, after ripe enquiry, and weighty considerations, scruple the validity of their Baptism, their case seems to be very different from yt of the others, and I think it hard to reject them when they crave to have the defects of their former supposed Baptism supplyed; but this I think fit to be done in ye way and manner you wrote of, and yt upon many obvious and weighty considerations. God Almighty direct you, give us all fuller and clearer light, and establish all things among us upon ye true ancient foundations.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant, A. E.

Edr, July 30, 1713.—To the Reverend Mr. John Falconar, to ye care of Mr. Alex. Rose, lodging at Mr. Naughtie's house, in Edr.

XVIII.—*From Mr. Gadderar to Mr. Falconar, on the same subject.*

R. R. S.,—I was glad to find by yours of the 14th of last July that ye Letters sent you from hence are come to your hand, as all yours, wch are most acceptable, have been received by your friends here. You have greatly rejoiced me by the most agreeable [report] you give yt our dear friends, wt you, ye true sons of the Church, do strive to adorn their profession wt suitable conversations, wch will bring great comfort to those that are over them in the Lord, and admonish them, and the richest blessings to themselves. I pray God yt they may be filled wt ye fruits of righteousness, wch are by Jesus Christ to the praise and glory of God. Our most worthy friend, whose opinion you desired, has had a severe fit of his old distemper, and was so weak and low in his spirits, yt I delayed the giving him your Letter for some time, wch made me delay my answers so long. At last he had your Letter, and we had some discourse on the points contained therein. His resolutions are as follow:—To the first, such preparation and dispositions as are necessary, as are proper and required to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper. To the 2d, he is of the Candidate's opinion as to immersion; but seeing we have no *Baptisteria* fit for the immersion of adult persons, he thinks the immersion of ye head thrice, being the principal part of the body, sufficient, seeing ye Church dispenses wt immersion altogether in some cases; but if the gentleman chuses rayr immersion of ye whole body, in yt case *Femoralia lintea* will be necessary, and a meet vessel, in a convenient apartment, fit for ye Celebration. Oyr circumstances must be left to ye prudence of the administrator. To ye 3d, Confirmation cannot come too soon after Baptism, and he is satisfied yt Unction is very ancient, and was used in Confirmation in ye Primitive Church. And since you tell me ye have none of ye ancient Liturgies, I have consulted those both of Greek and Latine Churches, particularly as to Chrism; how ancient they are, I leave to such as are conversant in them to determine. They swelled to a huge bulk many ages ago, and the Rites and Services introduced appear to me in their whole extent impracticable. The very knowledge of ym is too much for one man. *Ars longa, vita brevis.* The luxuriancy of ye Greeks, particularly in their *Liturgia Ordinum*, is surprising.

I have Transcribed the inclosed Sheet, in which you have what concerns Chrism, wt my authoritys, and likewise what Habertus writes as to the institution of it. I own I am of his opinion in yt point. In the Preface to the Liturgie of ye Ch. of E., there is a short Discourse of Ceremonies, why some are abolished and some retained, wch 'tis like, you may think worth your reading. But this is not to disswade you from gratifying your friend, who is known to be a gentleman of singular worth, and who knows these matters better than I do. Yet I must own my jealousie of introducing Rites and Ceremonies which are not expressly of Divine or Apostolical institution; and even some of these are abolished, and others gone into desuetude. The Exteriour of Religion is undoubtedly necessary, for we are

indispensibly obliged to glorify God in our bodies, and when the Church is pleased to appoint what is for Decency, Order, and Edification, I am not to dispute, but to obey. But the disproportionate increase of the Exteriour had for many ages lost, I am afraid, the very Soul, if I may so speak, of our most Holy Religion. The Ch. of Rome's altering the Apostolical Rite of Imposition of Hands in Confirmation into that of Crossing the Forehead with the Thumb, dipt in the Chrism, is what I cannot approve of. But I shall always be ready to submit to better judgem^{ts} and better information.

I acquainted Mr. Spinks w^{t} this matter, and I reckon he will write to you. Your few friends here truly love and respect you, and as I know your sincere affection towards them, and that you seem afraid of the imputation of flattery while you express your genuine sentiments of them, the way to avoid it is to think soberly of them, as you certainly do of yourself; to abstain from admiration, and not to write their good qualities or perfections to themselves, for good men will be afraid to hear themselves praised, being cautioned as to that, John v. 14, and Job xxxii. 21, 22. I think it hardly worth while to trouble yourself w^{t} Dr. Clark; his design seems to be to lessen our B. Saviour as to his Divinity from the Scriptures w^{ch} belong to his office of Mediatour, w^{ch} is nothing but fallacy and imposing. Whiston is sunk into such contempt w^{t} all men of sense and learning, that he is not capable of doing much harm here, *Deo gratias*.

Your Bro^{y}r is very well; his friend is still alive. We would be glad to see your friend here, and wish you could perswade him to add to his good learning a more extended conversation and knowledge of the world, an advantage to a candidate e^{y}r for Ecclesiastical or Secular employment. Our friend is very thankful for your getting off some copies of the "Thesaurus." I have put up the 6 in a box, and sent them aboard a ship bound for Leith, to the care of my friend Mr. Ch. Littlejohn. They are £3 a copy in sheets. I have advanced the 3d part of the price, which is £6. The box, porterage, and other small charges amount to 6*s*. You desire your Letters to be directed to my L^{d} of Ed^{r}, and I take it for granted y^{t} you will not be displeased that I have left them open to be perused by his Lordship, to whose judgem^{t} we owe great deference, upon the acc^{t} of his solidity, as well as y^{t} of his station and experience. We are much obliged to your good and honourable friend the L$_{d}$ Lyon, who is sincere and hearty to promote the interest of the Church, and is very civil and obliging to me in particular. I shall add no more to this tedious Letter, but y$_{t}$ I ever am heartily and with respect yours, (Signed) J. G.

London, Aug. 14, 1713.

Upon the foot was wrote as follows:—

Sir,—I hope you had my Letter by the Post, by w^{ch} you will know what has hindered this so long, which has made me very uneasy. The Dean has not recovered his health so as to be able to apply to study, so y^{t} we have but

small hopes of receiving much farther benefit by his excellent pen. Your son's noble patron is now made the greatest man among you. I pray God make him a happy instrument of good things to the Church, and to his Country. The Elections go on apace here, and are very strong on the Church's side. Our friends abroad are very well, God be praised. My most humble service to my Lord Lion. I pray God for an increase and continuance of your health, that you may see peace upon Israel, and a righteous thô oppressed cause flourish. Adieu!

Sept. 14, 1713.—For the Reverend Mr. John Falconar, at Carnbee.

XIX.—*A Letter from Mr. Spinckes to Bishop Falconar on the same subject, Dated August* 17, 1713.

Honored Sir,—I have had the happiness to hear sometimes of your welfare by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Gadderar, at which I much rejoice, and beseech Almighty God to grant you a long continuance of it, for His Church and Religion's sake, as well as for your own. As to your case proposed, I cannot think my judgm^{t} to be of any importance after that Mr. Gadderar has given you my worthy neighbour's and his own. However, to shew you how ready I am to take an opportunity of serving you to the best of my ability, I shall deliver my sense of it in few words. Our Church, it is plain, recommends Immersion in Baptism, where it may be w^{t} safety; and I could wish it oftener practised than it is, in conformity to primitive Usage, and the tenor and design of S^{t} Paul's 6th chap. to the Romans. Thô I much question whether this course was taken in the Baptism of Cornelius and his Company (Acts x. 47); and thô I do not see a necessity of trine either Immersion or Aspersion, I cannot apprehend any hurt in it, and therefore see not why it should be refused. It is certain Chrysm after Baptism was a very ancient usage, but not instituted in Scripture; for which reason, I take Confirmation by laying on the hand and Benediction, to be as complete as by Unction. And since our Church directs to that method, I should not think it proper to use Unction, because it is a variation from my Rule, to which I think I ought no more to add than to detract from it. But you in Scotland, being not under the same obligation, are more at liberty to act as you shall think most proper. Nor do I think, if you use Unction, you need concern yourself about the Composition for it, since we have no certainty how it was made anciently, nor can have; but any sweet oil seems to me sufficient. By this you will see my opinion is not only that you may safely gratify the gentleman in his request, but that you may do it in what method you like best. And now, I take it for granted, I need not advise you to secresy in it, whereby to prevent the clamours that might otherwise be raised by either the ignorant or malicious, being loth to be farther troublesome to you; and therefore I add no more, but that I am, w^{t} great sincerity, Sir,

Your very humble and faithful Servant,

(Signed) N. Spinckes.

If you shall see or have occasion to send to my good Lord Bishop of Ed^{r}, be pleased to give him my humble service and duty; and I hope it will not be long ere you hear again from me by his Lordship.

Directed on the back—This for the R. R. Mr. Falconar.

XX.—*Another Letter from Mr. Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, Dated December* 2, 1713.

Reverend and Honored Sir,—I am very sensible of the favour of your kind Letter, which I received by good Mr. Campbell, and beg your acceptance of my unfeigned thanks for it. The great respect and reverence I justly have for you, makes me rejoice at the sight of your hand; and your friendly acceptance of my poor opinion in the case proposed, is still a farther instance of the obligation I owe to you. I was sensible that I was out of my sphere in pretending to give my advice to one who was so much better able to advise himself, but would not decline offering it plainly and freely, thô hastily and on the sudden, that you might see how ready I am to do you any service in my power, upon whatever occasion. The good Dean has had more freedom from the severity of his distemper, for diverse months past, than could well be expected. He has now got a cold, which oftentimes has been the beginning of a fit, but we do not find that effect of it yet; and I pray God we may not, in which I know you will heartily join w^{t} me. I hope you have received before this Ten Pounds of the remainder of the good Lady Coventry's Legacy, which I know my good Lord Bishop of Ed^{r} would do me the honour to remit to you, if it be come to his hands, as I promise myself it is before this. I wish I could have made it a much larger sum, but the account would not allow it, by reason of the number we had here to partake of y^{t} money. As I do not forget to pray for you, so I heartily thank you for the share I have in your prayers, and do beg the continuance of them for,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

(Signed) N. Spinckes.

XX.—*Mr. Hay of Dalgetie's Character of Bishop Falconar, Transcribed from the "Postboy," Dated Edinburgh, July* 25, 1723.

On Saturday, the 6th instant, Died John Falconar, D.D., very much lamented. He was a gentleman well born, being a descendant of Lord Halkerton's family. He apply'd himself from his youth to the study of Divinity. He was made Rector of Carnbee, in Fife, and there Married a daughter of Lord Dunkeld, by whom he had two sons. He was afterwards most deservedly promoted to a higher station in the Church, and then he was obliged to exert his capacity, which he did with much wisdom and prudence, and which, from his innate modesty, he had till then endeavoured to conceal, except when his duty or character made it necessary. He was a

gentleman endowed w^t^ great meekness, moderation, and charity, w^t^ exemplary piety and great humility. He was a man of good natural parts, and great learning. He always applyed himself more particularly and closely to the study of the Holy Scriptures and the Writings of the early Fathers, in both which he was a great proficient. From these he formed his principles, and his life and practice were as primitively Catholick as was his doctrine; and no outward difficulties did ever move him out of this road. He was calm, serene, and uniform under the many pressures of very narrow circumstances, having no fortune to sustain him for many years before his demise, but what Divine Providence kindly afforded him from day to day; and, indeed, he needed the less, because he only desired and was content with a little. He much lamented the disputes in Religion and the divisions of Christendom, both at home and abroad; and the great decay of Primitive Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, Government, and Practice, and he laid the melancholy situation of the Church of Scotland very much to heart. In short, he was a man of a truly Catholick spirit, much beloved and respected by all who knew and had a relish of his virtue and piety.

Number 4 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue in the Episcopal Cabinet.*

2. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, May 3, 1720, informing them about what had pass'd in Edin^r^ after the Death of Bishop Rose, viz., fixing a Bishop in Edin^r^, and Bishops in other places, not pretending to fill Dioceses, but appropriating some to Districts, and these in the way of comendam; that the Ante-Revolution Presbyters had contended for excluding the Post-Revolution ones from any faculty of chusing Bishops, but it was carried against them; and y^t^ Mr. Fullarton had been fixed in Edin^r^; only they did not think it prudent he should succeed the late Bishop of Edin^r^ in his Vicarious Metropolitical powers, but that he should Convocate and Preside.

3. (Holograph) Bishop Collier to Bishop Falconar, May 30th, 1720, obviating a clamour raised by old friends ag^t^ the Usagers of having been the occasion of carrying numbers to the Church of Rome, into ye Revolution, and to Atheism itself, and of their being Schismaticks; which last comes w^t^ a very ill grace from those who admitt some whom they know to be Members of the complying Church, and that two of their chiefs defend this latitude.

4. (Holograph) Bishop Spinckes to Bishop Falconar, Augt. 19, 1720, wherein of the motion that only old Presbyters (*i.e.*, Ante-Revolution ones) should have the priviledge of Voting, &c., and y^t^ Scotland is not tied down to any settled Form of Liturgy since the Reformation.

5. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, Febry. 3, 1721-2, wherein that he himself [B. F.] had Administrated with ye Mixture and by the Scotch Prayer Book many years backward, long ere any dispute commenced at London; that he had apprised the late Bishop of

Edin^{r} of his way of doing, against which no remonstrance was made; that ye other Bishops of Scotland approved and used the Invocation according to ye example of the late Bishop Rose, and that was an Innovation w^{t} respect to ye English Liturgy; that there were different Liturgies of old, and before the Reformation, and all this without any injury to Unity; that some in Scotland were oblidged to be tolerated without any Liturgy, &c.; and why, then, all the noise about an exact uniformity? being a thing hardly practicable, &c.

6. (Original) Geo. Patullo to Bishop Falconar, Riga, Octor. 26, 1722, concerning the Administration of the Holy Eucharist by the Lutherans and the Prussians.

7. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar to Mr. Robert Keith, December 26, 1722, importing occasionally to Communicate with those that did not use the Mixture, which and the other Usages he had practised, "and that (says he) some years before the commencement of the dispute in England;" and for this his practice he assigns a weighty reason.

8. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar, March 6, 1723. The address lost, but it would appear to have been to Mr. Robert Keith, wherein the Doctrine and Practice of the Universal Primitive Church must be had recourse to, as subsidiary to the Scriptures, to determine all the Essentials of Religion; that the opposites do ill in grounding their opposition to the Usages on their being *obsolete* and *antiquated*, seeing this will stand in bar to all reformation of Principles and Practices, &c.; that Episcopacy in Scotland before the Revolution was founded on no other foot than that of the King's Supremacy, &c.; with a most hearty wish that the Primitive Penitentiary Discipline were revived, &c.

9. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar, Aprile 9, 1723; the address lost, but it would appear to have been to Bishop Collier. Herein y^{t} Usagers and Non-Usagers should impose nothing as to these disputed points upon Clergy and Laies by authority, but y^{t} the one side should Communicate with the other occasionally, &c. "These English Bishops (says he) who innovated on the first Reformed Liturgy, brought not their people to the Truth, but went over to the people and the Prince, and so is come of it." He also gives a plan of Discipline which he intended.

14. (Holograph, Original) Bishop Gadderar to Bishop Falconar, Augt. 14, 1713, concerning Immersion in Baptism and Chrism in Confirmation, with Bishop Collier's opinion of them. A gentleman mentioned to be gratified in his request; that Mr. Spinckes was to write to Bishop Falconar upon this matter. A sheet of Arguments for the Chrism, out of the Euchologium Græcorum, and Habertus's opinion; as also placed in the same Letter, a Consecration Prayer for the Chrism, in the handwriting of Bishop Falconar, and a Form of Prayer, in said handwriting, at the Laying on of Hands, Anointing, and Crossing in Confirmation. N.B.—This same Letter and the Sheet of Arguments came open and under cover to my Lord of Edin^{r}, for his Lordship's perusal and judgment.

Number 5 in the same Catalogue.

9. (Holograph) Bishop Falconar to Bishop Miller, Decemr. 28, 1714, wherein "that the Governours of the Church, with the Counsel of the Presbyters, have a Faculty to fix the Publick Worship."

10. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Augt. 10, 1720, wherein y^{t} any Form of receiving Penitents from the Established Church of England, should, in point of prudence, be in very general terms.

11. (Original) Do. to Do., June 20, 1721, complaining of those Preachers who set the Observance of Christian Institutions over against Holiness of Life, whereas they are like the twins in ye Story, who live and die together, &c.; and that the Church, when under a destitution of secular protection and encouragem^{t}, whether voluntary or involuntary, should betake herself to her own intrinsic power.

BISHOP FALCONAR'S VIEW OF RELIGION.

(Referred to in page 40.)

Religion is that duty which man oweth to God, and it is expressed by Faith, Worship, and Obedience. To the right discharge of this duty He hath promised rewards, and threatned punishment against such as either neglect it or do it amiss imperfectly. The reward He hath promised is man's true happieness; and therefor He is graciously pleased to call that His service which is man's felicity, and never forbids us the pursuit of a reall but of a false and mistaken happieness.

That this duty of Religion is oweing to God, will be readily owned by all, save those who are formaly Atheists, or who are such upon the matter. These are the men who, in favour of their vices, debauch their reason so much as to state it advocat against Religion, it and their indulged appetites and bents being quite inconsistent.

But such who own Religion, must also own that He hath an indisputable right to prescribe and fix Religion to men. Was it left to man's caprice or reason to form to himself that by which he should procure, not only a temporal life and happiness, but an eternall? This would prove his independencie upon God, both as to his being and weill-being, than which there is nothing more absurd and blasphemous.

This being granted, that God hath an unquestionable right to determine Religion, it will follow that, as He in greatest equity may prescribe to an innocent the measures and conditions of his happiness, under the threatnings of punishments and promise of rewards, so much more may He doe so to an offending creature. It will also follow that no Religion, save what He Himself enjoyns and condescends on, can be acceptable to Him, can plead any title to His promises of reward, or exemption from punishment.

This being granted, the next enquiry must be, where God hath made this discovery of His will, which so tenderly affected to His honour and the

creature's happiness; and there are three things which compeat for it,—Reason, Enthusiasm, and the Revelation contained in the Scriptures.

It cannot be founded on Reason, as it stands single and unasisted by Divine Revelation. Because Reason, however, the Candle of the Lord (as the wise man terms it), gives us but a very obscure idea both of God and of our own nature, of happiness and misery, of our present state and future life, as is evident from the Wryteings of the ancient Philosophers. The best of them, Pythagoras and Plato, founded on the Revelations made to Moses, and expressly declare that God cannot be Worshipped and Served acceptably, unless He should declare Himself on the subject. It's plain that Reason is a very limitted thing, in so much that it is forced to submitt itselfe to the very secrets of nature; yea, and finds inextricable difficulties even in Mathematicks, that Science in which it thinks to find the most certainty. Moreover, it is quite debauched with respect to the generalitie in favour of earthly and carnall passions, so that it does violence to its own clearest convictions. Thus the Scepticks, yea and Mr. Hobs, impugne the certainty even of Geometricall demonstrations. But thô we suppose Reason a sure guide for innocent man, yet it cannot be such for offending man. To know how to attone an offended God, and recover His favour, is utterly impossible, unless He declare Himself upon the subject. All that Reason can possibly suggest on the head, is Repentance; and how is it possible to know if this will be accepted? Repentance revokes the affront, but cannot recall the act; and at utmost it is optionall to God, the Supreme Governour, to accept it or not; so that the guilty party is still left at a doubtfull uncertaintie, and so without any solid ground of hope or comfort. Moreover, if Repentance were enough, even the terms of it behoved to be specified by God himselfe, otherwise it is not possible to know if the committed guilt shall be actually pardoned by the Supreme, and the delinquent restored to favour and the benefite of the Law. From all which it is plain, that offending man cannot know by meir Reason, unassisted by Divine Revelation, what that Religion is which is acceptable to God, and which gives a title to His rewards; in which rewards the true felicity of man doth consist.

God, in revealing truths to men, which are necessary, important, and usefull, yet which he could not have known without His own interposition, graciously condescends to attest them by such supernatural acts, as not only surpass our power, but indeed that of all created agents. These, His supernaturall acts, are of two kinds. First, Trespasses (may I be allowed so to term it) on the method He hath established in acting on His creatures, as stopping the course of the sun, or preternaturall eclipse, dividing the sea, multiplying parts of matter, or rather creating new matter, as in the case of the Widow's cruise of oyle, the feeding thousands with a little bread and a few fishes, especially raiseing from the dead, and our Lord's raiseing of Himselfe. When all these things are done in the face of the sun, before multitudes, confessed by enemies, devils, and adversarie men, for pious and vertuous ends, to the benefite spirituall and temporall of mankind, and leave a permanent effect; when again, in all competitions of preternaturall actings between God and evill spirits, the superiority falls to those who are commissioned by God, and the emissaries of the Devil are vanquished, as in the case of Moses and the Egyptian Magicians, Jannes and Jambres, Elijah and the Priests of Baal, St. Peter and Simon Magus, St. Paul and Elymas the Sorcerer, our Lord in ejecting confessed Devils, and the

primitive Christians in their Exorcism, silencing the Heathen Oracles, and in their contests with the deluding spirits of Hereticks and Heathens.

The other part of supernatural acts is the knowledge of future contingent events, which depend on the various determination of the free will of man, which cannot possibly be knowen by any creature, save by those to whom God is pleased to reveal them. And when these Prophecies are publicly declared, when submitted to the judgement of these who had the gift of discerning spirits, when these are attested by supernatural signs at the time when the Prophecie is uttered, confirmed by the accomplishment of the events, and when the Prophets are at unity amongst themselves, when any one or more truths come thus attested—then it hath the seal of Heaven stamped on it; and to deny or reject it, because it transcends the comprehension of our reason, which is baffled by a great many things in nature, is the sin ag^{t} the Holy Ghost, which is difficultly pardoned.

From all this, these propositions are evident: 1. That the Religion which is acceptable to God, and rewarded by Him, must be revealed by Himselfe. 2. That the Divine truths contained in the Scriptures, evidently bearing the Divine attestation, the Religion prescribed in it must be the true one. Yet here another most material difficulty remains, and that is, anent the sense and meaning of many propositions in the Scriptures, and these, too, of chiefest importance. Whoever shall impartially consider the deplorable debates which now are on foot in Christendom, and the divisions and subdivisions that are among those who glory in the name of Jesus Christ, will find that some men erect new schemes, and force the Scriptures to favour their inventions. On the other hand, the Church of Rome either clap glosses on the Scripture, to fortifie their innovations and inforce them with their pretended infallibility, or they indeed pretend new Revelations, and charge them on the belief of men by pretended miracles. For my own part, the variety of glosses delivered by the various litigant parties hath raised in me great perturbation of mind; and this it must needs occasion to any one who desires to please God, and to perswade others so to doe. That I may be directed aright in this important matter, I have considered that there are—First, some Divine verities so plain that they must be believed unless we will doe violence to our own minds, such as these: that there is a First Cause from which all other things derive their existence, and by whose influence they are preserved and governed; that this First Cause is infinitely perfeit, that He can never deceive or be deceived. These theological verities may be decerned by attentive and unprejudiced minds, antecedently to Revelation; and indeed Revelation supposeth them, althô they are illustrated, and more strongly operate on the mind in order to practice when Revelation seconds Reason. A common artisan, without the help of mathematicks, does his work; but when instructed in the rules and principles of mechanism, sees more perfectly into his act, and does his work more accurately and exactly. Thus Reason may lead into the knowledge of the existence of God, to the knowledge of His infinitly perfeit attributes; but then he discerns these and the like theologicall verities more clearly, and is more strongly impressed by them, in order to faith and practice, when God is pleased to back this discovery which Reason makes by His authoritative Revelation. This is manifest from the far more bright notices of God which these men in all ages have had whose Reason hath bein assisted by Revelation, than those men who in this kind of knowledge have been destitute of this great assistance. Thus, then, to understand the Scriptures, the great

theological verities to which the mind must necessarly assent (unless it will do violence to itselfe by wilfull stifling its own convictions), must be settled on as so many first principles, but so as they are delivered in the Holy Scripture. The Reason of a young child soon convinceth him of that first principle, that he ought to obey his parents; but when this is set in a full light, and authoritatively enjoyned by the parents, it becomes more strongly binding on his belief and practice.

2. The next thing considerable in the Holy Scriptures are matters of fact, such as the Creation, the Fall of our first parents, the universal Deluge, &c. Now, Reason may fairly induce us to conclude that all these facts are infallibly true, if it be considered that men in these dayes lived long, and so were near these facts; that they were exceeding carefull, through the strongest obligation of interest, to transmitt them to posteritie, before the invention of letters; that God in those early ages made very frequently extraordinary communications of His will to man, and by these communications charged the heads of families, under the highest pains, to traduce these important truths to posteritie. Thus Moses could not, after an ordinary way, but know perfectly these great facts delivered in the Book of Genesis. But, then, that God Who cloathed him with his commission and attested it by a miracle, and by a faculty in the name of God to work miracles, did certainly direct him so in wryteing that History, upon which the whole stress of his commission depended, that as he durst not falsifie so he could not possibly be deceived. The knowledge of these facts was of absolute necessity to that peculiar people to whom he was sent, in order to the purposes which God designed on them; yea, to all other men, who from thenceforeward were so to serve God as to be accepted and rewarded by Him. Wherefor, to understand the very great importance of these facts, before and long after the times of Moses, and which are left on record by subsequent inspired penmen, it is of vast use to know the received notions and confessed principles of these times in which the facts were acted; and I doubt nothing but ignorance of this notion hath led many interpreters of Scripture into gross mistakes and errors.

Nothing more common in the early ages of the world than God's extraordinary communications of His will to men; His immediat, His visible, and remarkable punishments of particular offences; His as remarkable, immediat, and visible rewards and deliverances of the Righteous. This with respect to particular persons, but chiefly societies. The most ancient profane Histories are full of these; yea, the Mythology, *i.e.*, the fictitious Histories of the Ancients (which, by the way, are founded on true facts, thô abused by Poetick licentiousness), is full of these also. Immediate Divine designations to dominion, or to the execution of Divine sentences past against persons or societies, was ordinary in these times; and the ignorance of this thing hath led many into error, yea and pernicious practices. The presidencie of angels (in Scripture called gods) was believed in these early times; that of the Supreme Being, after an immediate and direct manner, was reckoned the highest privilege; consulting the oracles of the true God, and of false gods, was very ordinary and received answers from them, especially in arduous cases. These and some other acknowledged notions and practices are to be knowen, in order to a just view of facts recorded in the Old Testament; and interpreters, by not attending to such principles, or ignorance of them, run upon mistakes.

3. In the Scriptures there are Morall Precepts—by which I understand

all these duties performable by free agents (such as angells and men) to God, to other men, and themselves. Now, Reason, instructed in the common principles of the knowledge of God, and in those of prime equity and prudence, may and doth discover many of these duties; but the interior motives to these duties, and the extent of them, is purely owing to Revelation, as shall be showen hereafter in its proper place.

4. In the Scriptures there are the Secrets of Heaven, which Reason possibly could not have discovered without God's interposition by Revelation; such as the apostacie of our first parents, the miserable state of man whyle in this state of enmitie with God, and chiefly the Redemption through Jesus Christ, with all the other mysterious verities which appertain to that supernaturall Dispensation. To this we must add the Ordinances and Sacraments which God hath instituted as necessary appendages to this Dispensation. To understand which aright is the principall concern of a Christian, and in order to this two things are necessary.

1st. To know the Maxims that then were generally received among the Jewes; such Jewes as lived in the Land of Canaan, and such of the Natives and Proselytes as were dispersed among the other nations of the Roman Empire, and which in the New Testament are called Greeks and Hellenists; for on due attention it will be found that the Spirit of God alludes to these their principles, and useth their terms of art; it is very reasonable to think so, seeing the Holy Ghost was to deliver Himselfe to them in a way which they were to understand, and these great Mysteries could not, after an ordinary way, been otherwise understood by them.

2. The other way to come at the meaning of the Holy Spirit in the Revelations of the New Testament, is to know that sense in which the first Christians understood them, and this of all others is the surest way of understanding the mind of God revealed in the Gospel; for it is plain that the good Spirit of God delivered Himself to them so as that they should understand Him. To think otherwise is manifest blasphemie. The miraculous gifts bestowed on these primitive Christians, and which continued with the Church for 300 years, is a plain proof that what they believed, professed, and practised was really the Truth revealed by the Holy Ghost, it being impossible He would attest error or confirm lies by supernaturall acts. They were quit disinterested, and sought nothing else than to approve themselves to God. They despised the pleasures of sense, and the pomp and riches of this world, and aspired after nothing but Heaven. They exposed themselves to all these evils the malice of devils or bad men could invent or inflict, ere they would forgoe one jot or title of that Divine Revelation. These heavenly verities were intrusted by God to them, to be handed down as ane inestimable inheritance to their successors. They knew the danger of being false to their trust, and the great reward of their faithfullness. They knew that if they or ane Angel from Heaven should Preach any other Gospel than what was once delivered to the Saints, they were to be accursed.

Thus, then, that sense of the Scriptures which the Primitive Church believed, professed, and practised universally, in all places and at all times, is indeed the mind of the Holy Ghost. This should be the judge of controversie, and the last resort of all debate, and is infinitely preferable to the conceits and glosses of men, how witty and ingenious soever, who live or have lived at a great distance from the fountain. Let Papist, Calvinist, Lutherian, Arminian, Socinian, Quaker, Anabaptist, &c., advance with what

air of probabilitie or reasonableness whatever, any Doctrine that's contrary or disagreeable to this, it is none of the Divine Faith once delivered to the Saints, and therefore ought not to be regarded.

Of the First Man.

Philosophers who of old have discoursed on the Originall and Nature of Man, have disaggreed and blundered oddly anent his nature and origination; and no wonder, since Reason without the help of Revelation can do nothing to purpose this way. Philosophers who have lived since the promulgation and reception of the Gospel, yet who trusted more to their own conceits than to Revelation, have in nothing been more unhappy than in their enquiries on this important subject. It is therefore just and necessary we should take in with what the Spirit of God in the Scripture hath told us on this weighty head.

We are told, Gen. ii. 7, that God formed man out of the dust, and breathed into his nosethirls the breath of life, and man became a living soul. And Gen. i. 27, so God created man in His own Image, in the Image of God created He him. On this subject we may observe—1st. That the animals were by God's order the product of the earth, Gen. i. 24; whereas, Gen. ii. 7, God is said to have formed man out of the dust of the earth. Whence it follows that man hath a distinguishing excellency and sanctity stamped on his nature, as being the immediate production of God himself. 2dly. That man, which was formed by God out of the dust of the earth, was a compleat animal, and had, as such, no other life than that of brutes, which obleidged him to return to the dust whence he came, Gen. iii. 19. Thus in the first instance, man is none other than a compleat animal, thô of a more exquisite composition than any other animals; and this is what in the New Testament is so frequently called the "natural man," and which indeed should have been termed by our Translators the "animal man," this last being more expressive of the Original. 3dly. God is said to breathe into him the breath of life. This is the rational soul. The Septuagint, or Greek Old Testament, which is followed by the New Testament, plainly calls him a man ere this breath is breathed into him, whence it is clear that this breath is a thing quite distinct from his animal life, a soul far superior to that animal soul which he had before this breathing. This rational soul is that which distinguisheth him from and exalteth him above the beast. It qualifies him for immortality. "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward" (Eccl. iii. 21). This rational soul, distinct and superior to the animal, is the candle of the Lord, as the wise man calls it (Prov. xx. 27). It is that whereby we are capacitated for understanding moral and spirituall propositions; that principle on which the Infinite Word or Wisdom shines, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world (Jo. i. 9). 4thly. Besydes this, the first man is said to have bein made after the Image of God; that is, the Divine Spirit was communicated to him. This is the Divine Nature which is restored to Christians by Jesus Christ (2 Peter i. 4); that spirit which is distinct from the soul and the body (1 Thess. v. 23); the quickening spirit (1 Cor. xv. 45); and the second Adam (47). Thus the first man was, in the first instance, created a compleat living animal, on which God superinduced the rational soul or mind; and then, on that higher principle, he further superinduced the Divine Spirit.

It is plain from what is said, that man was compounded of parts heterogeneous—that is, of diverse or contrary kinds; and hence, with inclinations to things of a material or earthly, and to things of a moral or spiritual nature; whence we may come to have a right notion of the free will or liberty of man; of that power, which by inward consciousness we feel, to chuse or refuse—our animal part one way, the rational and spiritual another. The right choice constitutes virtue, the wrong vice. Besydes this, God implanted in man ane invincible inclination to happieness, and ane equal aversion to miserie. This rendered him a proper subject of the Divine government, seeing his happieness or miserie depended upon God, and without this he could not be capable of reward or punishment, and would have bein indifferent as to vice or virtue, obedience or disobedience.

Of our First Parents while Innocent.

The first man and woman being made, as is said, God joyned them togither by Mariage, and thus Sanctified their posteritie, and then communicated His will to them, after a direct and immediat manner. He, as is said, haveing made them of heterogeneous parts, and made it optional to them to gratifie the one or the other—to choose for their happieness what was pleaseing to their animal sense, or what was agreeable to their rational and spiritual part—and it being His will and their true interest and happieness that they should favour and cultivate the latter rather than the former, did prove them by a plain and obvious test, even that of the fruit of the forbidden tree.

I doubt nothing but it had all about it that was apt to gratifie sense—beautie to please the eye, fragrance to please the smell, flavour the taste, gentleness the touch, and in likelihood its juice was such as not only pleased but was also an incentive to carnall pleasure. To deterr from this bad choice, even in placing their felicity in carnall gratifications, God dealt with them by threats of punishment and promisses of reward. The punishment He threatned was Death, which in greatest probability was to be effected by the removal of his Divine Spirit or Image, and throwing out of Paradise, in which was the Tree of Life, and which Paradise was both an emblem and a pledge of the glorious immortality wherewith they were to be crowned, on supposition of their preferring a rational and spiritual happieness to one that was animal and earthly. The rewards he promised were—Dominion over the creatures of the earth (which dominion is a branch of Divine prerogative), the pleasant Garden of Eden, in which was all that reasonably could preserve them in being and well being whyle in this lower world, and which, as is said, was a pledge and emblem of the nobler Paradise above, that afforded ane indefectable and endless felicity.

The duty, then, of Adam, stood in the Love of God, and that signified by obedience to His Laws; and then in placeing his felicity not in the enjoyment of a terrestrial happieness, thô ample and of long continuance, but in the compleat fruition of God throughout all eternity. In order to these ends he was to temper his animal appetites, and guard his senses against all temptations that might excite in him any inordinate or immoderate desire, any violent bent after any forbidden object, or any excessive inclination toward that which he was allowed to love in a temperate degree. This could not but render him happy in this life, and give him a sure title to the supernaturall happieness in the highest Heavens. That happieness which is

the gift of God purely, is not the effect of piety and virtue, or comes to the creature by the natural efficiencie of these, but which is supernaturall, and not due either to our merit or to our nature.

Of Adam's Sin and its Consequences.

The generality looking on Adam's sin with a glance of the eye too superficially, have interpreted the punishment of it to be ane act of too great severity in God; yet it is far from being such if narrowly inspected and examined according to the rules of strict equity. They were not as yet under the power of any vicious habit; but their will did hang in ane even ballance. They had reason, yea and the Holy Spirit, as also God's immediat communications, to give their choice a right determination, togcther with God's authoritative Commands, and that inforced with the strongest sanctions of rewards and punishments, and these of the highest importance. Their sin, therefore, was that sin against the Holy Ghost, as that sin signifies ane iniquity committed in the presence of and wilfully against the dictate of that Glorious Person, Who is supposed to have visibly manifested His presence by the Shechinah, which in Scripture is called the Glory of God, as was the appearance on Mount Sinai, the Cloud and the Pillar of Fire, the frequent appearances in the Tabernacle and Temple, at the Baptism of our Lord, and His Transfiguration on the Mount. The sin was committed at the importunity of ane offending Angell, and against the express Command of God, their Creator, their undoubted Soveraigne, and most bountifull Benefactor. This, by ane insinuation of falsehood in God, as if He had not proposed the most satisfyeing felicitie to them, but that that felicity which would follow on eating the forbidden fruit would far excell that proposed by God (for this I take to be the importance of knowing good and evil); that the punishment of Death, which God had threatened, would not follow upon the act of eating the forbidden fruitt—the believeing of which fallacious assertion implyed a denyall of the Divyne veracitie. All these aggravations considered and laid together, rendered the sin very hainous; so that ther was an exact proportion betwixt it and the punishment of Death which was threatned and actually inflicted.

The consequences of the sin was Death, and, first, the spiritual one; for then the Holy Spirit, or the Divine Image or Likeness, departed, and signifyed His departure by the removall of His visible presence, or His glory, which so splendidly did shine about our first parents, that they did not know or see their nakedness, which sight raised shame in them, which passion was a manifest proof of a disorder that then invaded their hitherto undisturbed nature. Moreover, the removall of the Holy Spirit did wholly incapacitate them for the everlasting fruition and vision of God in the highest Heavens, which is the supernatural reward and the pure gift of God.

Secondly, their animal appetites now got loose reines, and their reason, or the Divine breathing, being destitute of the assistances of the Holy Spirit, was not match for the animal appetites, now become licentious. Besides, their reason itself was in a great degree debauched, by yielding assent so rashly to the false suggestions of the Serpent.

Thirdly, the body, which might have been preserved from corruption, by eating the fruit of the Tree of Life, now became corruptible, lyable to diseases, and to dissolution by death.

Fourthly, man by the Fall lost his dominion over the creatures of this

lower world, which dominion was a vast privilege, indeed, ane eminent communication of God's soveraignty, some footsteps only now remaining, and which as yet are visible, if not abused by cowardice or weakness, unbecoming the dignity of humane nature.

Fifthly, our first parents by their Fall fell under the dominion of the Devil, even as the conquered party comes under the yoke of the conqueror. The Holy Scriptures inform us of orders and classes of spiritual powers; of Principalities, Powers, Dominions, and Thrones. The ancient Heathen were perswaded of this, and reason itselfe obleidgeth us to presume that ther are innumerable hosts of these invincible beings in these immense and vastly numerous regions which roul over our heads and surround us. Lucifer, with his subordinate Angels, soon left his first station (his οἰκητηριον, *i.e.*, the mansion in Heaven wher he had his first Principality), and was condemned for his breach of order, and trespassing on the station assigned by the Most High, unto these sublunary regions, wher, being envious of the excellent state which our first parents enjoyed, and of the far more excellent they had in reversion, by fraud seduced them into sin; and thus they fell under his dominion. The Scripture hence calls him the Prince of the Power of the Air, and the god of this world, the Prince of Darkness, as this lower world is contradistinguished from the upper regions, which are those of light. The effects of this his dominion are divers, as illusions suggested to the imagination under semblances of truth; hence said to transform himself into an Angel of Light, to counterfitt these truths which the good Angels communicate by the Order of God. His presenting to the fancy sensual and earthly things, under the most amiable and desireable forms; all with his first intention, to make us despise the spiritual, rational, and celestial felicity, and to take in with the carnal, animal, and earthly one. His ingadgeing some persons and nations even to worship and serve him, and to goe by the dictate of their passions in opposition to the Commands of God. His inducing persons and societies to enter into covenant with him, and to transact these covenants by mysteries; thus apeing the procedure of the true God in His actings with His peculiar people. His vexing and infesting these miserable men in the other world or separate state, who have been under his dominion in this.

The Bad Effect which the Sin of our First Parents had on their Posteritie.

I shall not here enter into the dispute, managed with perhaps too much heat, between the Lutherians and Calvinists. The former maintain the soul to be traduced by ordinary generation from the parents to the posterity; the latter will have the soul created and infused. I am as unwilling to plunge into Controversies as unskillfull in them. The first Christians favour the Lutherian syde; and that of the Calvinists was not, for ought I know, heard of before the time of Augustine. The former, I think, explains and takes off the difficulties much better than the latter, and this makes it preferrable to the other, unless it can be show'n that it involves some gross absurdity.

However, it is plain that all the descendants of Adam have, in the first place, lost all the priviledges to which they had a title, on supposition of his perseverance in innocence. The priviledges which are set down in that head concerning his innocence, were the free gifts of God, acts of pure grace; and God was not obleidged by His essential equity to continue them with

Adam otherwise than on his good behaviour, much less to derive them on his posterity.

The posterity, therefore, of Adam have incurred all the effects and consequences of his forfeiture; they have lost the Spirit and the Divine Image, consequently the immortalitie of the body and the supernatural happieness in the highest Heavens. They have lost the absolute dominion over the creatures here on earth, and the great privilege of direct access to God. The animal appetites are now strong and lively. Reason unassisted by the Spirit is not of sufficient power to temper and keep them at rights. Reason itself is debauched by Satanical suggestions, and it which was designed for a ruler over them is become their patron and advocat. Hence the libertie is weakened, the will standing no more in ane equall ballance, but hath a strong bent in favour of the animal appetites, pride and pleasure. The sons of Adam, as such, are under the dominion of the Devill, and condemn'd to share in that punishment to which he is awarded. Hence in a state of hostility with God and the subordinate celestial Powers; hence desecrated and polluted, and unworthy to stand in the presence of God.

Of Man's Recoverie.

Such is the exuberant goodness of God towards man, that He hath from the beginning proposed overtures of reconciliation with him; and thus in consequence of a Covenant made between the Father, the Fountain of the Deity, and His Son the Eternal Word, by Whom the worlds were made, and Who so much interested Himselfe in the formation of the first man, as first to endue him with reason, on which the Eternal Light shineth, and then with the Holy Spirit, the Image of the Eternal Son. This was so much considered by the more divine Philosophers at and after our Saviour's time, that they stile our Lord the Archetypal, *i.e.*, the original and true man; and all other men the Ideal, *i.e.*, the types and images of Him, the true one. However, in order to this reconciliation, He makes a gracious promise of a Saviour (Gen. iii. 15), Who should in the fullness of time conquer the Devil, and consequently reinstate man in terms of perfect reconciliation with God, and restore him to all his lost priviledges. Adam being encouraged by this promise, God entered into Covenant with him. This may be gathered from Gen. v. 3, wher Seth, the first Patriarch after Adam, with whom God renewed His Covenant, is said to have been begot in Adam's own likeness, which would not have been said if Adam had not bein receiv'd into favour with God. As God condescended to enter into terms of reconciliation with Adam, so in great probability with his first sons, Cain and Abel, who, in pursuance of this proposal made by God, offered up sacrifice. The sacrifice offered by Abel being a bloody one, was the most acceptable of the two; for every expiatory sacrifice is a substitution of the thing sacrificed in the room and stead of the sacrificer, whose life is supposed to be forfeited to God for his sin; and therefor the death of a living creature is a more proper and expressive commutation than that of fruits. Hence Abel's sacrifice was acceptable, and that of Cain rejected. Moreover, Abel's sacrifice was more typical of our Lord's great sacrifice on the Cross, and more agreeable to that great rule which seems to have obtained and bein generally received from the beginning by all men, that without blood ther is no remission of sin. Cain having murdered Abel, and for this being banished that part of the

earth in which Adam and these others of his posteritie which were interested in this new Covenant dwelt, the Covenant was made with Seth, as the Patriarch next to these. [*Note.*—That Adam and Eve being created in full bodily perfection, they being also enjoyned to and blest with fruitfulness, as being also one hundred years old when Seth was born, could not but have had a very numerous issue besides Cain and Abel befor the birth of Seth.] That Seth was the first Patriarch after Adam, with whom God entered into Covenant, appears from Gen. iv. 26, "then began men to call on the name of the Lord." The Hebrew will also signifie to be called by the name of the Lord. The Septuagint is expressly in the passive, called by the name of the Lord; which in the language of the Scripture still signifies a person or people peculiar unto God, and distinguished from all others. Thus Seth and his descendants, the successive Patriarchs, which are recorded Gen. v., were the first people after the Fall with whom God, in His great grace, condescended to enter into Covenant. This furder appears from Gen. vi. 2, &c., wher ther is a plain distinction made between the Sons of God (a term appropriate to those in Covenant with Him) and the daughters of men, the descendants, viz., of Seth and those of Cain; and then, verse 3, God tells them His Spirit, which was given to these sons of God, should not alwayes strive with man, for that he also is flesh; therefor threatens the breach of this Covenant by the removal of His Spirit, Who was resisted and contended with by these unhallowed mariages with persons without the Covenant.

Inference 1st. Thus, then, reconciliation with God, and consequently a title to the blessings He is pleased to promise, can be pleaded by none save such as are in Covenant with Him. God cannot hence be thought severe or partial, seeing His promised blessings are acts of grace, and which He is not bound to bestow on any offending creature by any obligation of strict equity, seeing all have access to His Covenants who know them, and are willing to enter into them, seeing that in order to the attainment of these acts of grace promised in this Covenant, it is but reasonable that He should limitt and fix the conditions, and that they should not be left to the choice of the creature, thô his reasonings were never so specious. Perhaps the not attending to this is the cause of all these deplorable divisions and subdivisions that are among Christians. Some think it reasonable that God should deal with them on their performance of such conditions. The Deist, if he worship God and doe righteousness, reckons himselfe intitled to God's favour; the Socinian, if he believes in the Man Christ, obeyes his moral precepts and imitates his example; the Latitudinarian, if he lives holyly, righteously, and soberly in any or in no communion; the Enthusiast, or he who pleads inspiration, if he love God, and be so resigned as that (as he conceits) in all things he follows the dictates of the spirit within Him. Thus the reason of these scandalous divisions is grounded on this mistake, that they fancie the blessings and priviledges which God hath promised are not acts of pure grace, and arbitrary in God to give antecedently to His promisses; that ther is a proportion between the merit of the creature and these benefites and priviledges; or that these benefites which God hath promissed are none other than the resultance of their performance, by way of natural efficiency. Here I own that the mortification of our animal bents, and the Love of God and goodness, are indeed necessary dispositions for the influences of the Divine Spirit in this life, and for the vision and enjoyment of God in the other; yet I cannot think that either of these, especially the latter, doth

necessarly result by way of natural casuality from the other. I am sure the Scripture proposes both, especially the latter, as a reward. The Scripture supposeth both as the gifts and acts of God's free grace. Those who goe on the principle of the reward being a natural result of our duty, have no more than a mere presumption for what they conclude; and on this supposition Epictetus or Porphiry can bid as fair for the Kingdom of Heaven as S. Peter or S. Paul—all which is contrary to the whole tenor of the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament, and to the general beliefe and practice of the first Christians. And if it be once granted that God is the donor of the Spirit in this life, and of Glory in the highest Heavens (which must be granted if He is considered as a free agent, acting alwayes by ane infinite perfeit reason), then His essential equity obleidges Him to act by proportion; and between our utmost mortification and these great rewards, ther is no proportion—the very common blessings and favours wee enjoy being adequate to all we can doe. After ye have done all these things, reckon yourselves but unprofitable servants.

Inference 2nd. Hence it is probable that the terms Elect and Reprobate, mentioned in Scripture, in their primary signification, import no more than those within and without the Covenant. It's plain ther is a preterision of some, and ane election of others. That God hath not so much as made knowen to many of the sons of Adam His intention to enter in Covenant with them, but that these who thus live in invincible ignorance are damned from all eternity to the fire unquenchable, is not reasonably reconcilable with the Divine Attributes, and doth not appear from Revelation. It is very true that these to whom the Gospel is sufficiently revealed, and yet reject it, are in the Scripture condemned to this dreadfull punishment. These also who, haveing imbraced the Gospel and yet live in wilfull and habitual sin, are, as the former, supposed to preferr the service of the Devil to that of Jesus Christ, and consequently are deprived of the benefitts purchased by Him, and are condemned to share in the fate of that master whom they have chosen.

But, then, [thô] these who never had the Gospel sufficiently revealed to them be not adjudged to the place of torment prepared for the Devil and his Angels, yet inasmuch as they are not called but are past by, therefor they are Reprobate; as on the other hand, these within the Covenant are in Scripture called Elect. This not on the account of any decree from all eternity, but indeed on the account of that illustrious state into which they are exalted, as being in Covenant with God. These termes Elect, Sons of God, given out of the world, being terms borrowed from the usage of these times, and appropriat to those who have the honor and happieness of being initiated in the Christian Covenant. In the meantime the Elect, in a strict and proper sense, doth indeed signifie those who sincerely live up to the terms of that Holy Covenant; as, on the other hand, these who renounce the Faith, haveing once embraced it, Hereticks, Schismaticks, and these who impenitently continue in their sins, or who reject the Gospel after it hath been sufficiently declared to them, are also Reprobate in the most true and proper sense. These are the goats on the left hand, the withered branches that are lopt off and condemned to the fire; these are they who, according to S. Jude, are like to the Angels who left their first habitation, have forsaken that holy, happy, and honourable state into which they were exalted. Judas, in common with our Lord's Disciples, is said to be given out of the

world, and this is that very thing with Chosen or Elect. All the Corinthians, indiscriminately, are called Saints and Sanctified, thô many of them were guilty of hainous sins, and expressly they are called carnal, on account of their divisions, their prophanations, and other immoralities; so that all within the Covenant, in a large sense, are Elect, and these without are Reprobates. All who live up to the terms of the Covenant are Elect, in a strict sense, and those who wilfully refuse to enter into it, or, having entered, do break the same, either by totall Apostacy, by Heresie, Schism, or obstinacie in sin, are Reprobates. The ground of all the mistake in these disputes, is the not considering ane interest in the Christian Covenant as a sublime and distinguished state, far exalted above the very highest dignities here on earth.

Inference 3d. But thô none have a title to the promises of God save such as are in Covenant with Him; thô all these who are thus in Covenant are Elect in a large sense, notwithstanding of unmortified evil habits; thô these who, being in Covenant with God, and live up to the conditions of the Covenant, are Elect in a strict sense; yet it doth not follow that such pious persons as are not within the Covenant are Damned. God forbid: nay, they are saved on the head of God's uncovenanted goodness; provided always that this defect be the effect of invincible ignorance, and not of negligence or willfull obstinacy against the truth when clearly proposed to them. And in case, also, of insuperable prejudice (as when one is terrified to change from what he is to that which is really and in itselfe better, thô worse in the conceit of the frighted person, through fear of sinning against God), Mercy is patent to such, and Charity should presume strongly in their favours, since invincible ignorance still excuseth. And then these labour under such prejudices as arise from a mistaken fear of God, are not free agents in this respect, and therefore their error is not voluntary. In the meantime, these cannot exculpate themselves who allow themselves in willfull negligence in opposition to the truth, through bitter zeal, love of party, or worldly interest; or these who trust to this extraordinary uncovenanted goodness in God, when the ordinary way is at hand and in their offer. A Monarch may confer these favours on a well-deserving forreigner, to which he hath no title in Law, but which are peculiar to his native subjects; but if this forreigner willfully contemne Naturalization when profer'd, proudly insists on his merit, and is not under any mistaken terrors of the displeasure of the Monarch if he should change his state from that of a forreigner to that of a naturalized citizen, then neither he himself nor any other person should presume charitably in his behalf. I thought fit to remark these things as to Divine Covenants in general, and which more specially concern the great and everlasting Covenant through Jesus Christ.

Of the Covenant with Abraham.

When God had destroyed by the Deluge the whole old World, the descendants of Seth, His offending Church, as well as the wicked posteritie of Cain, and saved none alive except Noah and his family, we read not of any Covenant made between God and man till that with Abraham. It's true God assured Noah that He no more would destroy the earth by water; and the unbeliefe of this promise being the reason of building the Tower of Babel, as a fence against any future Deluge, inferred the dispersion of the then

numerous posterity of Noah; but then we hear not of any formal Covenant made with men as a body politick. It is also true that ther were heads of families who, with their subject descendants, worshiped the true and liveing God, without regard to the demons worshiped by other Patriarchs, and these who were descended of and subject to them. Such were Melchisedeck, Abimelech (King of Gerar), and, according to the judgment of the learned, Job and his friends. But then it is plain that God entered into Covenant with Abraham and his posterity by Sarah; and because his seed was included in that Covenant, therefor the Sacrament of Circumcision, which was that of Initiation, was instituted. By vertue of this Covenant, God obleidged Himselfe to confer ample blessings on him and his posterity, such as their being His peculiar people, that they should be under His immediate care and protection, that afterward He would Consecrate the whole Land of Canaan, and give it them for ane inheritance; but chiefly, that the Messias, promised from the beginning, should descend of his seed as to His human nature. Abraham and his posteritie were, by virtue of this Covenant, taken obleidged to worship and serve the true and liveing God, and Him alone, exclusive of all other Deities; and this Covenant was solemnly struck by Sacrifice.

Here it will not be amiss to observe, that Demons, whether Lucifer and his subordinat Angels, or the Ghosts of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, did imitate the true God in entering into Covenant with the respective votaries by Sacrifice and other Mystical Symbols, which is evident both from Sacred and the most ancient profane History. This is so true, that ther was no Nation then known on the earth which was not in Covenant with their respective Deities—entering into Covenants being then so essential to all Religion, good and bad, and the opposition among their Deities being the chief ground of their mutual hostilities.

But to return. The first formal Covenant between God and men after the Flood, was that with Abraham and his seed by Sarah, not including the descendants either of Hagar or Kethurah, otherwise than what concern'd their single persons; thô, as descended of the Father of the Faithful, they had a title to temporal blessings. The posteritie of Ishmael became a mighty nation, and that of Keturah indeed did worship the true God, and in the wilderness were admitted into Covenant, being represented by Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and are allwayes called the Kenites. But this Covenant with Abraham had, besides the literal, a mystical signification also; for the Apostle S. Paul assures us that this Covenant with him derived blessings on two sorts of his posterities—these of his flesh, and these of his faith. These of his flesh were the Jewes who did not imbrace the Gospel; these of his faith are all such Jewes as became proselytes to Jesus Christ (Gal. iii. 16, &c.); yea, and all such Gentiles as are listed under the banner of Jesus Christ. Our Lord descended of him as to His human nature; and all such as are entered into the Christian Covenant by Baptism, partakeing of the Divine nature derived from Jesus Christ in this sense, are the childrein of Abraham, and were included in that Covenant made with him.

Of the Covenant with the Children of Israel by Moses.

Thô God, as supreme Lord of the world, might by vertue of His absolute empire, exact what worship and service He pleases of all men indiscriminately; thô He permitted the generalitie of men to enter into Covenants

with Demons, and yet did overrule and keep them in subordination to Himselfe; yet He hath been pleased to distinguish some people in all ages to be peculiar to Himselfe; and this peculiarity or appropriation hath ever been made by way of Covenant. This was alwayes reckoned the chiefest priviledge and choicest blessing; and God, in pursuance of His Covenant with Abraham, was pleased to bring the descendants of this and the other Patriarchs which came of him out of the Land of Egypt, and on Mount Sinai, in Arabia, did, after a most solemn and astonishing manner, enter into Covenant with that people.

Anent this august Covenant, two things are to be considered—First, the priviledges and blessings which God obleidged Himself to conferr on them. 2dly. The conditions by which they were to qualifie themselves for the actual reception and application of these benefites.

I. The priviledges and blessings which God obleidged Himselfe to conferr on them; and these were either of a spirituall or of a temporall nature.

1. He obleidged Himselfe to be their God in particular, and this exclusive of the interposition of any of these Deities which other nations did worship. Again, the Eternal Word, the Son of God, was to be their President, Protector, and Patron. Hence their fathers are said by the Apostle to have tempted Christ in the Wilderness; hence He is called the Spiritual Rock, out of which the waters issued that refreshed them in the Wilderness. He was that Cloud which skreened them from the heat of the day, and that Pillar of Fire which fenced them from the injuries of the night. He was to them that Angel of the Covenant (Mal. iii. 1), Who visibly appeared to them in their exigencies; that Shechinah, or the Glory of God, which was often manifested after a sensible manner in their Tabernacle and Temple, particularly in the Holy of Holies. He it was Who gave responses in arduous cases by the Urim and Thumim (Acts vii. 38) of their High Priests. He it was Who directed the Angel that delivered the Law on Mount Sinai, and inspired their Prophets with the knowledge of future events. By this interposition all their Sacrifices were accepted, and became available to the ends for which they were offered. Indeed He was the Patron of all the people that were in Covenant w^{t} God from the beginning; hence, such people are called Sons of God (Heb. i. 6); yea, gods themselves, by way of eminency above all other people. If ye call them gods to whom the Word of the Lord, or the Eternal Son, came, &c. He was Patron, consequently, of the Childrein of Israel. I own that all this was not clearly understood by the body of the people, but by these of more eminent pietie; by their Prophets, and by those of them who, sometime before the comeing of the Messias, began to studie the spiritual meaning of this Dispensation by Moses. Besydes these spirituall advantages, it was a very great one that our Lord, the promised Messiah, should, as to His human nature, be one of their Nation; that conseqently the first tender of the Gospel should be made to them. This priviledge was that which most of the Prophets harped on, as that which enhansed the dignity and happieness of their Nation above that of all others, and stated it the fountain of the amplest blessing that ever was derived to mankind. These were the spirituall priviledges to which they were intitled by their Covenant.

But then, besides, they had also assurances of temporal blessings; and it is very plain that the body of the people had no furder views than these.

Such were their protection from enemies, or deliverance when at any time they were oppressed, enslaved, or under deportation; such were plentifull crops, wealth, ease, and long life, particularly victory over their enemies in time of warr; and these victories were often obtained by wayes preternaturall, yea and supernaturall. God stated Himselfe their King. As such he choosed their rulers and generals, at least till the time of Saul. Such also was the holieness of their Land of Canaan, of their persons and posterities, of their Priests and Kings, of their Temple and Altars; holyness in this sense signifying that which is separated from that which is common, and which is dedicated to God, and therefore ought not to be encroached on without the guilt of a peculiar crime.

These were the priviledges and benefits which God obleidged Himselfe to conferr on His ancient people, by vertue of this Covenant. And now, in the next place, the conditions required on their part are to be considered.

God hath ane indisputable right to our Worship and Service, as he is the Almighty Creator, the Gracious Preserver, and Supreme Lord and Proprietor of His creatures. Hence it follows, that thô He condescends to enter into Covenant with men, yet He hath a full faculty of prescribing and fixing the terms and conditions to which they are bound. To enter into Covenant with men is ane act of chiefest favour and condescention: it is what God in no way stands in need of. The conditions He prescribes are but necessary qualifications for the reception of the benefits which He obleidges Himselfe to bestow on His part, and which are acts of pure grace, which He was not bound to vouchsafe by any antecedent obligation of equity. Besydes, He is perfeitly wise, and knows exactly what is fit for us to doe. Was our duty left to our own contriving, as we could not possibly know that it would be acceptable unto God, so we would never fix on it, but would alter and innovate eternally, according to the various vicissitudes of our condition and the temper of our bodies, yea and the incessant turns and reelings of fancy. Wherefor, as it is most just, so also most prudential, that God should determine the conditions of these Covenants into which He condescends to enter with men, and that they should be thoroughly consenting to these terms.

Thus the Children of Israel were thoroughly consenting to these conditions; they voluntarly cursed themselves from Mount Ebal, and invoked the Divyne vengeance on themselves in case of non-performance. And, indeed, this their entering into Covenant with God is interpreted a marriage to Him; hence their idolatry is called whoredom, in the uniform style of the Prophets.

This premised: The first condition God prescribed to them, to which they were consenting, and which was fundamental to all the rest, is that they should love the Lord their God with all their heart, &c., and their neighbour as themselves. This implies a resignation of themselves to God, not only as He is the infinitly perfeit Being, the Almighty Creator, Sustainer, and Lord of His creatures, but as He is a God in Covenant with them, imply'd in that word, The Lord their God. And then, since all and each of them were interested in this Covenant, therefor they were to love one another with ane affection and sympathie like to that which the members of the same bodie bear to one another. Their other Lawes are commonly ranged under three heads—The Levitical, the Moral, and the Judicial.

The Levitical are those which respect their Religious Worship; and

they who consider them with a judicious eye, will find them to be indeed worthy of that infinite wisdom which did institute them. The great God Who graciously had stoop'd so low as to enter into Covenant with that people, behooved, as such, to keep communion with them. This He choosed to doe by separating a whole Tribe, even that of Levi, to interpose and mediate between Him and them; to exact in His name the tribute of their worship and service; and then, as personating Him, to apply unto and conferr on them the blessings promised by God. This Tribe of Levi was, by God's own appointment, divided into three Orders—The Levites, the lowest rank of these Sacred Orders; the Priests, the superior; and the High Priest, the most supreme, who was allowed to enter into the Holy of Holies (the place of God's speciall presence), as that eminent person who was priviledged more near, direct, and immediat access to the great and awfull God. This wise institution conciliates that fear and reverence, that faith and dependance, which is due from the creature to the Creator, from the subject to Him the King, from the one covenanting party to Him the other infinitly more illustrious and exalted party. And seeing Religion, generally considered, supposeth God to be a King, with respect to His votaries, therefor very reason itselfe shewes the necessity of Ministers, or Officers of State. It is in very rare instances, particularly since the first apostacy, that He directly applys to men; it is by the interposition of His Ministers, Angels, or men. The former are too awful for our flesh and blood, and there are few whose strength of mind is proportioned to such ane intercourse. It's ane effect of God's goodness and wisdom that He keeps communion with us by the intervention of creatures of our own kind. Their Consecration to these Sacred offices animates the people of God to draw nigh to Him, even as subjects approach their Soveraigne with greater assurance when introduced to him by their familiar friends and acquaintance; as, on the other hand, when people are obleidged to use the mediation of Officers and Ministers of State, in order to the reception of favours from the Prince, this elicites reverence to his person, and that is the mother of duty and obedience. The assurance which men have of receiving blessings from God, is founded on His Covenant with them; their own reasoning can amount to no more than a presumption or a doubtful uncertainty. Now, with the same breath He is pleased to make His Covenant, He also obleidgeth His people to receive His promised favours through the ministrie of His commissioned servants. Corah and his company broke in upon this Divine establishment, the event of which was fatal to a prodigie. The Kings Saul and Uziah were remarkably punished for attempts of the like nature. Many subjects are capable to know that such a crime meets with such a capital punishment as the Law defines; and in questions of right many may know to which of the competitors it doth appertain; yet none can interpose decisive and valid sentences, save the authorised judges.

The institution of the Priesthood was the prime Levitical Law; the other Lawes anent Religion and Worship plainly suppose it. Their Fasts and Feasts, their Sacrifices for commemorating Mercies received or impetrating such as they wanted, for averting impending or incumbent judgements, or secureing these benefites they enjoyed, were admirably well fitted to the particular genius of that people, and their situation among their neighbouring nations. But chiefly they were exactly suited to the grand design of them, even their mystical signification under the far more sublime

Dispensation which was in view, and of which this of Moses was but a figure and a prelude to it. Such were also their various purifications, and their restraints from such particular meats.

The next set of Laws to which they were obliged, were the Moral Laws, so called because founded on prime equity. The First restrains religious worship and service to the true and living God, and to Him alone, so that no other God was to share in their worship. This the rather, because that people was most prone to worship other gods in conjunction with the true God, on the account of the assistance, protection, and influence which these other gods had on their respective votaries. The true and liveing God did expressly discharge this impious practice, as derogatory to His transcendant excellencie, and interprets it alwayes to be idolatry. This He did, thô they believed these gods to be subordinate to Him, and that they held no other room than that of prevalent intercessors with Him, the true and supreme God. Hence, as being in Covenant with Him, they were allowed immediat access to Himselfe, without application either to good Angels or to their pious deceased ancestors.

The Second of these Commands forbids any sensible representations of God by any thing created, that being what would derogate from His transcendant excellencie. And here it may be remarked, that this Command doth not discharge all ingraveings and paintings in religious houses or books, seeing it is evident that in the very Temple there was plenty of these; yea, and the very Mercy-seat itselfe was overshaddowed with the two Cherubs; so that the chief importance of this Command strikes directly against any visible representations of the great God, and the worship of Him by such similitudes or any creature.

The Third obligeth to the profoundest reverence of the name of God, and to reverence things and persons which bear any relation to Him; and, particularly, that we should so stand in awe of His Omniscience and intimate knowledge of our inmost thoughts and intentions, as never to avouch Him to men as witness of the sincerity of our outward professions when really we think otherwise; or swear by Him to doe that which we never intend to perform.

The Fourth seems to have been a positive Institution from the beginning, as was Marriage, thô founded on ane high reason; and that it might have bein renewed to the Childrein of Israel, as to worship and serve the great Creator of the Universe, so to ascribe to Him, and Him only, that wonderful work, exclusive of all the gods of the heathen, who so far might have abused their deluded votaries as to make them believe that they were the creators of the world. I also think that by this Command all in Covenant with God are bound to observe all other select portions of time which God hath enjoyned, or which are injoyned by lawful authority; even as the Commands of the Second Table comprehend all the vertues and vices that are subordinate to the grand vertue enjoyned or the great vice condemned in each of them.

The Fifth obligeth to honour parents. Honour, in its primary notion, implies not only reverence but also obedience; yea, and maintenance, if circumstances require it. This Command obligeth to all duty to superiors of all sorts. Dominion is peculiar to God, and is no otherwise competent to angel or man but as it is derived on them from God; therfor, all trespasses on duty to them rebounds on God, the fountain of dominion.

The Sixth respecteth the body of our neigbour, and comprehends all injuries that may be done wittingly and willingly with a bad intention. Life belongs to God, and cannot be taken away without His order.

The Seventh strikes against all uncleanness in general, particularly that with the wife of the neighbour, she being, in the sense of the Divine Law, appropriated to the husband indeed, by a hallowing or consecration.

The Eighth respecteth the goods of our neighbour, these being that portion which God hath assigned to him; and therefor to break in upon it without the justêst claime (in which case it is not his, notwithstanding of possession), is to invade the order of God.

The Ninth respecteth the fame of our neighbour. Our neighbour has a title as such to our love, esteem, and assistance; and to spoil him of his good name is to rob him of all these things which are so useful and necessary. It, as his goods, is his portion from God; and therfor to spoil him of that, is to encroach on God's assignments.

The Tenth reacheth the very heart, and rebukes the very inward desires after that which belongeth to another; for covetousness is a plain proof of a debauched mind and will, and is the sin itselfe in desire, thô not in fact.

The last class of Laws is that which concerned them as a civil politie, independent of and remarkably distinguished from all other civil societies. All interchange of mutual offices among themselves are most just as well as prudential; but here it is needless to descend to particular remarks. Their Laws concerning their intercourse with other nations have some singularities about them, agreeable to the very great sacredness of their Nation, and its separation from all other people then on the earth.

Ther was one Law, that of the Zealots, which, because it is abused by some even at this time, deserves some consideration. God had most signally declared against Idolatry; insomuch that it, committed by any individual, inferred a judgment on the whole body of the people. This sin could not be expiated otherwise than by the death of the offender, after ane ordinary way. It's true God could, and actually did, pardon this sin upon Repentance; but then He extraordinarily declared His will upon the subject by His Prophets. But ordinarly all and sundry who were guilty of this behoved to be put to death, otherwise the penalty of the Law affected the whole societie. Wherfor, God priviledged some privat persons, without waiting the common form of Law, to kill idolaters. Whence some Christians have settled it as a maxime, that any particular person, or body of men, may, yea and are obleidged in duty, to destroy Idolaters. This doctrine hath been maintained and practised by some within the Roman Communion, by the Anabaptists in Germany, and some among ourselves.

Now, in the first place, this faculty should be assumed by none till the fact which is the object of this zeal be really, and by common suffrage, owned and confessed to be the very Idolatrie which God condemned among the Jewes, otherwise the Zealots not only susurp the Magistrate's office, but also are guilty of Murder.

2dly. If this Law was peculiar to the Jew (as were many other Laws), and only concerned their own Nation, then all their other Civil Laws are as much in force still and as binding as this; but this even these men will by no means allow.

3dly. These Zealots insist much on the abrogation of many of the Jewish Laws, and therefore they should condescend on the reasons why this should subsist.

4thly. This Law seems to be expressly annulled by our Lord when he rebuked the Apostles James and John, for calling for fire from Heaven to destroy the inhospitable and malignant Samaritans, telling them that the spirit of the Gospel was designed not to take away but to save men's lives.

5thly. The kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world, particularly in this respect, that His servants are not allowed to fight for it. The weapons of their warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, and yet mighty to pull down the strongholds of the Devil.

6thly. The utmost punishment which the Church of Christ is allowed to inflict is Excommunication, w^ch^ is a thorough deprivation of the benefites purchased by Jesus, and a consignation of the delinquent to the Devil. From which reasons it appears that this Doctrine is purely Jewish, and indeed Antichristian.

Here occasion may be taken to consider another subject, which hath been the ground of much trouble amongst Protestants. It is anent the abolishing of the Jewish Laws. Some, and even these among ourselves, alledge that all the Jewish Laws are rescinded by God, save these of a moral nature, and which are contained in the Ten Commandments. Now this seems not to be true, seeing it is plain that the Apostle S. Paul reasons from the obligations under the Old Testament to those under the New, as in the maintenance of Christ's Ministers, from the like obligation under the old. So expressly 1 Cor. ix.; and against Christians marrying those of another Communion, 1 Cor. vii. 14. This was most likely to be done by the Apostles, considering their education, their zeal for the Law, and their not admitting innovations without evident revelations. There is no testimonie in the New Testament that all Ceremonial precepts of the Law were to be abrogated under the Gospel, or that Christians might not resume these Rites if they thought them edifying in their circumstances. The great thing the Apostles insist on with respect to the Mosaick Law is, that the Gentiles were to be admitted into the new Church of Jesus Christ, without any obligation to observe the Law of Moses as imposed on the Jewish Nation, and without incorporating themselves into the particular Nation of the Jews; and consequently that ther was no necessity of Circumcision, Baptism being sufficient to admit the Gentile Cornelius into the Christian Church (Acts x. 11); that they were no more to depend upon the Temple Sacrifices and Service, or to abstain from the meats forbidden to the Jews, never to the Gentiles. Whoever will read attentively the reasonings of the Apostle S. Paul upon this subject, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, will find that he insists against nothing else than the abrogation of such things in the Laws of Moses as did hinder the coalescence of both Jew and Gentile into one new Church, founded by Jesus Christ. Circumcision, Bloody Sacrifice, Dependance on the one Temple of Jerusalem, reckoning Meats forbidden the Jews unlawful, the Law concerning the Zealots already mentioned; in short, incorporating into the Jewish Nation ere they could be Members of the Christian Church, are what the Apostle disputes against, and all that's implyed in that shakeing, Heb. xii. 26, 27; for the observance of such things wherin Jews and Gentiles did not differ, could not have made any breach among them.

Inference 1. From all which it is plain, that all things will still obleige as Laws whyle the same reason continues for which God was pleased to impose them.

Inference 2nd. That the Governours of the Christian Church may impose Rites used by the Jews, or any other Rites no where forbidden by

God, and which are of ane indifferent nature, antecedently to their imposition; and which derive their obligation to observance, not from their nature, but from the authority that imposes them, provyded they be for order, decencie, and edification.

Of the Christian Covenant.

Our first parents by their sin haveing forfeited their sublime priviledges, particularly the Divine Image or the Spirit which dwelt within them, and was so powerfully assisting to their reason in the government of their senses and animal appetites, they fell under the dominion of these fallen Angels who left their first habitation; whence it came that their posterity were under all these disadvantages. They, antecedently to the coming of Jesus Christ, had strong bents to carnal and earthly satisfactions, and placed all their happiness in these, contrair to the designs of their Creator. Their reason, now left unassisted by the Divine Spirit, could no more manage the animal appetites; yea, became so debauched by them, as to invent, or rather to imbrace, these false maxims which the Devil and his Angels suggested to them. Their will, which before stood in ane equal ballance, and had no byass in favours of carnal satisfactions, is now prejudiced, and hath a strong tendencie to earthly and sensual gratifications, together with ane aversion to God and to that felicity which is spiritual. In the other world their undisciplined appetites will become fixed; and yet no possibility of satisfying them. They will become indisposed to celestial pleasures and conversation with good spirits, and have congruity of inclination with cursed spirits, which must give them a more absolute power over such impure souls. This woful deprivation, together with their falling in with the Apostate Angels, could not but put them in a state of enmitie with God, and lay them open to the punishments due to offending creatures. Besides, the sin of their first parents derived pollution and obnoxiousness to punishment on the posteritie, which in the case supposed was not done away by Repentance.

Our first parents and their posteritie haveing fallen into this most wretched state, it pleased the Eternal Word, the Second Person of the Glorious Trinity, the increated Wisdom of the Father, the Son of God, by Whom the worlds were made, Whose delight was with the sons of men, and after Whose Image the first man was made, to take compassion on this once favourite but now disgraced and condemned creature; and in pursuance of this His most generous and exuberant compassion, to treat with the Father Almighty in favour of man. Offended Justice behoved to be satisfied, and this after such a manner as that the honour of the Divine Authority should be preserved, and yet man be terrified from venturing on sin. Wherfor, He covenants with the Father to take on Him the compleat human nature, to unite it personally with the Divine, and substitute Himselfe with greatest willingness in the stead of man; and since Heaven had decreed Death to be the punishment of sin, and that without shedding of blood ther could be no remission therof, therfor He condescended to suffer death in the human nature, personally united with the Divine nature of Him the Eternal Wisdom; which death of the human nature, so dignified by this union, should be a perfect satisfaction to the Divine justice, exactly preserve the honour of the Divine authority, and of all other was to be the most terrible guard against relapsing into sin. For if sin could not otherwise be expiated

than by the death of the Son of God, then it must be of a very malignant nature, and its releasment from punishment cannot be easily procured. This was so acceptable to God the Father, that He agreed His Son, when God and Man in one person, should become the Mediator of a new Covenant, perfeit in its nature, and equal with the world in its duration.

We have but imperfeit Accounts of the first Covenant after the Fall. It's plain Cain and his posteritie were passed by; and then it was but temporary, and broke up by the Flood. There was no Covenant w^t^ any after the Flood, at least such as comprehended posteritie, till God called Abraham. The Covenant with him and his seed contained promises temporal and spiritual; but these later were very distant, and all of them centered in the Messiah. The Covenant with Abraham had a direct aspect on that which was transacted by the mediation of Moses; and it again had an aspect to this better, more perfeit, and everlasting Covenant. That by Moses was a shadow in comparison of this, which is the body of that shadow; it was the type of this antitype; it was the literal, this the spiritual Israel; it was the figure of the evangelical, as this again is that of the celestial state; it promised temporary favours in this life, and their most pious persons could attain no more happiness in the after life than what is found in the separate intermediate state. This overlooks earthly felicity, and that of the intermediate state, and hath in prospect the most sublime and consumated felicity in the highest heavens. The hope of the Jew reached no farther than the Kingdom of the Messias. The Kingdom of the Messias being come, comforts its subjects with the hope of the most glorious immortality. The Jewish Covenant was dark; its spiritual things were hid under the veil of burdensome Ceremonies and costly Sacrifices; the light they had was by their Prophets, concerning the Dispensation of the Messias, w^ch^ was to come. This is easie, clear, and bright, and the full accomplishment of all foretold by the Prophets. The Jew had no more than the transient visits of the Spirit, ceasing [*seizing*, perhaps] sometimes their Priests, Prophets, and Kings. This promiseth the Spirit to dwell within every Member of the Christian Church, as an abiding and living Principle. By these hints we may come to have some view of the vast honour and happiness which redounds to those who are within the Christian Covenant, and its far greater excellencies than any of the former. And now we may consider the terms stipulated between God and men by virtue of this most august Covenant.

On God's part, the first thing stipulated is Pardon of Sin by Baptism.

It is already observed that Jesus Christ, by His generous undertakeing for man, and voluntary substitution of Himselfe in man's stead, did merit, upon the actual discharge of His engagement, to be the Mediator of this new, good, and everlasting Covenant between God and man. In this quality he stipulates between them, that God should vouchsafe the free pardon of the sins of all those that enter into this Covenant, on condition of their repentance. This pardon is the same with Justification, which is a term of Law signifying the guilty person's absolution from the penalty of the Law due to the crimes committed; and Repentance, the condition on man's part, in the original signifies a change of mind, even a conversion of the thought and will from error and sin unto God and goodness. Hence it is plain that, antecedently to Baptism (the mysterie of initiation, or entering into this Covenant), all these of age were obliged to renounce the Devil, their former master, and voluntarly to list themselves in the service of God and His Christ; to forgoe their

former bad principles and maxims, and embrace the doctrines of God taught by Christ and His Spirit in His Apostles and Prophets; and then no more to act by the false maxims of the world or the flesh, but by the Laws and example of Jesus Christ. On the sincere profession of all this, persons of age were Baptised; and this is Repentance in the true and proper sense of that term. It is true that in all ages too many have sinned after Baptism, and that wilfully, heinously, and habitually; and such is the exuberant goodness of God, in and by that Covenant, that He admits them to pardon on a second repentance. Such as are admitted by Baptism to the priviledges of this Covenant, are said to be come to the City of God, to the Heavenly Jerusalem, &c. (Heb. xii. 22, 23.) And in the Book of the Revelations, the Society made up of Members so admitted, or the Church, is called the New Jerusalem, descending from Heaven (Revel. xxi. 10). The Citizens of this Kingdom are said to have come to the Mount Zion that is above, &c.

The term Justification is much used by S. Paul in his disputes with the Judaizing Christians, signifying, as is said, remission of sin, or ane absolution from the penalty of the Law, and consequently a restoration to the favour of the Sovereign, and to the priviledges of a dutiful subject, a title to which the criminal was supposed to have forfeited.

The next thing promised by God is His Holy Spirit, and that to abide and dwell with every member of the Society, as a living and assisting principle. The giving of the Holy Spirit thus to dwell within us, is that by which we are made partakers of the Divine nature; that which constitutes our new birth and denominates us regenerate, or born again, or sanctified. It's true there is a relative and external sanctification beside the real one. All circumcised Jews are such, and all the Members of the Church are called such indiscriminately. The Apostle calls the Corinthians Saints, thô afterward, on the account of their divisions, he calls them carnal. But by this inhabitation of the Spirit we are truly sanctified, after a true and proper manner. This Spirit is said to be given to Christ (the head of that body which is the Church) above measure. He communicates this to all His mystical members, as the vital spirits flow from the head of the natural body to each member; or as the nourishing juice from the root of the tree to its branches. All acts of Christian pietie are the fruits of the Spirit; such as are unfruitful in these are dead members, or withered branches. It is this Divine Spirit which unites us to Christ the Head, and to one another, therefor called the unity of the Spirit. It is He that denominates us the Sons of God, and states us the adopted children of His family. It is It which so qualifies our Prayers that they become acceptable; yea, and He, the Spirit, makes intercession for us to Him Who knows the mind of the Spirit. His gifts and operations are of two sorts. One, of those freely given—*gratia gratis data*, as the Schools speak; and such were the miraculous powers shed abroad on the Apostles and the Primitive Christians, all designed for the increase and edification of the Body, the Church; for the conversion of those without and the improvement of those within. His other sort of gifts are these which render us good and wise. This He doth by presenting pious thoughts to our minds, and setting them in such a light that our will may take in with them; and they are not resisted without inward reluctancie, and a kind of violence done to our minds. The Spirit is the seal by which we ourselves, and those who see our good works, know us to be the children of God. He is the Author of all inward consolation; hence it is called the

joy of the Holy Ghost. He is also that Earnest of Heaven, that Pledge by which we are assured of it; hence called the Earnest of the Spirit.

Thirdly. Pardon of sins of relapse after Baptism, mentioned before. These are of two kinds: 1st. Such as are the effects of weakness, surprise, or inadvertency, and in the commission of which the will is not thoroughly concurring. 2d. Are deliberate, premeditate sins, which one commits wittingly and willingly. The Ancient Church distinguished them into venial and mortal. According to S. John there is a sin unto death, and a sin not unto death. The Holy Spirit is provoked to depart by the wilful sins, but not by the other, unless they grow into habits. The wilful sin lays open to Excommunication, which implies a total deprivation of the priviledges and benefits of the Societie; the other obleiges to penitence, but does not infer ane obnoxiousness to the dire penalty of Excommunication. Nevertheless, such is the grace of God in this new Covenant, that all sorts and sizes of sins are forgiven upon penitence, and the sincerity of it duly signified (Heb. viii. 8, &c.; 1 Jo. i. 1; Ps. lxxxix. 33, 34).

4. The fourth thing stipulated is—Acceptance of our imperfeit duty as if it was perfeit, on supposition of sincerity. God is not obliged, in strict equity, to accept of any performance but what meets exactly with the Law, far less to reward it; but such as are interested in this Covenant have a title both to acceptance and reward, on supposition of a willing mind, a sincere endeavour, and ane upright intention. Voluntary defects of these is hypocrisie; but when our will doth not exactly concur with the will of God, through involuntary weakness, then God accepts according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not.

5. God, by this great and everlasting Covenant through Jesus Christ, hath bound Himselfe by promise to bestow on those interested in it everlasting honour and happieness, and that on the soul and body, reunited in the third Heavens. This is a reward wholly supernatural, due neither to our nature or our works. A pious or a virtuous heathen may be rewarded with temporal blessings. He may also be favoured with that happieness in the separate state which results from a victory over the animal passions, and a sense of haveing done good in this life; and if he hath not resisted the Gospel, but acted according to his light, then it is reasonable and charitable to think that he shall find a reward proportioned to his virtue. But the glorious resurrection of the body, and the exaltation of both, thus reunited, to the third Heavens, that place where the glory of God is most conspicuously manifested, and ther to enjoy the infinitly perfeit Being and His Christ in the most intimate manner, is peculiar to Christians—a reward by no means due to the utmost pietie, or competent to our rational nature, but is purely owing to the grace and generous favour of God, purchased by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ.

These are the priviledges and benefits which God hath promised by the Covenant of Grace, in consideration of the merits of Jesus.

Now, as to the conditions required at our hands, and to which we bind ourselves by our admission into that Covenant.

1. The first of these stipulated on man's part, and which is fundamental to all the rest, is Faith. "Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Faith in the Scriptures signifies three things—(1) The Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ; even these sublime truths which He taught, the Laws He enjoyned, the promises He made, and the punishments He hath threatned.

(2) That act of our minds by which we thoroughly assent unto and firmly believe all these propositions; and this because the God of infinite and essential truth hath revealed and declared them, and doth peremptorly require us to believe them under the highest pains. (3) Faith often signifies the state of the Gospel, as it stands distinguished from the state of the Heathen and Jew.

Faith, in the first and second sense—that is, the knowledge of the sublime doctrine, preceps, promises, and threatnings of the Gospel, together with a full and hearty belief and assent to all and each of these propositions—is absolutely necessary ere any person of age can be received by Baptism into the Christian Covenant. This Faith was the effect of the Holy Spirit's preventing grace in the beginning of Christianity; and, being absolutely necessary, is still required, antecedently to admission to the Covenant. "None cometh to me (saith our Lord) unless the Father which sent me draw him." And then, after any one was baptised, they were said to be in the Faith, and were denominated faithful; and ever therafter, to the end of their life, were obliged to abide in the Faith, till their very death. Renouncing the Faith in general, or any article of it, was the sin of Apostasie, which was punishable by Excommunication, the which deprived the excommunicate of all the benefits purchased by Jesus, and consigned the person to the Devil. Thus Faith behoved to be equal in length with the life; and the Christian, at his admission into the new Covenant by Baptism, is obliged to own the Christian Doctrine by a publick avowed profession, and to suffer martyrdome in the strictest sense of that word; that is, losing all that is dear to us, the life of the body not excepted, ere we renounce the Faith or any part of it.

2. The next condition of the Covenant of Grace is Repentance. Wher true Faith is, this will follow of course, as a practical inference from its premisses. Now, Repentance, in its primary sense, doth signifie a change of mind, of thoughts, desires, and intentions; and when the interior habit of the mind is changed, the outward reformation of the life will issue from it, as good fruits from a good tree. This Repentance was required, in the beginning of Christianity, of all those persons of age who were to be Baptised; not that it was compleat in its kind till they received the Baptismal Spirit, but they behoved to have it in view, that is, in firm purpose and resolution, and this qualified for entrance into the Covenant by Baptism. Nor had Penitents a title to, or was Justification (that is, remission of sins) actually applied till Baptism. Hence were they charged to Repent and be Baptised, that they might receive Remission of Sins (Acts ii. 38).

This Repentance, at first initiation into the Covenant of Grace, or into the Church or Christian state, is the Repentance which is primarly intended by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament. Now, I said before that such is the exuberant grace of God through Jesus Christ, that He doth promise pardon to such as fall into sin after Baptism, if they repent of the evil of their ways, and turn unto God after the way which He hath appointed. Such was that of S. Peter, of the Corinthians, of the incestuous person in particular, and of the Churches in the Revelations; and generally of all lapsers into deliberate and habitual sins after Baptism. This Repentance is occasioned by motives of fear, and these of hope; but the great effect of it is Contrition, or a hearty sorrow for having offended God, and then a thorough resignation to Him, to love His excellencie and to do His will.

3. Mortification. To this we are bound by Baptism, we then being buried with Christ. The Devil, the World, and the Flesh are supposed to be the masters we serve antecedently to our engagement in the Christian Covenant. These, therfor, must be renounced when we enlist ourselves under the banner of Jesus, and take allegiance to Him. Ther is nothing more plain in the New Testament than that the Devil is the god of this world; and the great thing he proposes on men is to inspire them with inordinate and immoderate desires after carnal and earthly satisfactions. Hence the first Pastors of the Church exorcised the evil spirit out of those whom they were to Baptize, and obliged them who were of age to strict discipline, in order to the attainment of a victory over the flesh and the world, and this ere they were Baptized. Mortification is therefor then attained when reason hath obtained a masterly command over the carnal and earthly desires and bents; and this from Christian motives, and with Christian views and intentions. I say with Christian intentions, otherwise it comes to no more than a Philosopher's severitie, which may meet with a proportional reward if the persons were such as were under a moral incapacity of knowing the Gospel. Such were the Philosophers of old, and the Bramans and Dervises at this time. But if these austerities be of such as may and actually know the Gospel, and yet do not intend them to the end it proposes, then their Mortification hath no title as such to the benefits purchased by Jesus, because in the case supposed Jesus intends one thing and they another (Coloss. ii. 18, &c.)

4. Charity. This comprehends the love of God and of men. Charity, as it signifies the love of God, implies two things—(1) That He should be the great object of our esteem and love, and that all other things should be beloved in subordination to Him; that is, with these degrees of esteem and love which He permits and approves of. Nothing more clear than that He makes His creatures the instruments of our support and comfort. These, therfor, whether reasonable or unreasonable, are by His order the object of our love and regard. If reasonable, we owe them, by the order of God, the returns of gratitude; if unreasonable, whether animate or inanimate, they call for our care and industrie, both which imply love. Thus, a temporal degree of love to the creatures, in subordination to God, that is, for His sake and in obedience to His command, is by no means inconsistent with the love of Him. Neither is a just regard to our temporal and eternal happieness in any way inconsistent with the love of God. As for our temporal happieness, it never must be purchased at the rate of any known sin. It must be chearfully offered up as a sacrifice to God when He requires it. It must frankly be parted with, either for His sake or in submission to His will. As for the spiritual and eternal happiness, it is what He requires us to pursue. Our Lord Himself is said to have endured the Cross and despised the shame for the glory that was set before Him. The love of God and the happiness of a Christian are inseparable, and He standeth in no need of our love; therfor wills us to love Him, that we may find a consummate felicity in that love of Him. Moreover, God hath implanted in all rational creatures, Angels and men, ane invincible desire of happiness, and ane equal aversion to miserie. This is what makes them the subjects of the Divine Government, and without this I cannot conceive of their obligation to dependance. It is scarcely possible to conceive of God, but He must be supposed good; that it is in Him which commends Him to our love; and

that attribute of His goodness cannot be conceived without a regard to ourselves. Praise and Prayer are acts of Religious Worship, and a disinterested love of God, pretended to by some, supersedes both, at least the last. In truth, Prayer on this supposition is impertinent; and as to Praise, He may be extolled and loved on the account of His other perfections; but not (consequentially) as He is good and beneficent, with regard at least to this disinterested lover. Yet thô it is scarce conceivable how God can be loved so very disinterestedly, as is affirmed by some pious persons—goodness, and that as it respecteth the votarie in particular, being one, if not the chief, motive of Charity—yet certainly the love of God is the noblest and highest virtue. This on the account of His infinite excellency, it being impossible (acting rationally) not to love that which is most perfeit, or which is apprehended as such. It argues a strong perverseness of nature not to love that which is beneficent in the highest degree, particularly to the beneficiary. Charity should be so much cultivated, that all created things should be despised, in comparison at least, so farr as that it superat all inordinate and immoderate affections; that is, that the love may not fix on any forbidden object, or bend with excessive vehemencie toward that object which God allowes us to love in a proportionate and inferior degree. Charity should be so predominant in the mind as that evil should be refrained, and all good should be done from this noble motive of the love of God, and not chiefly from subordinate and selfish considerations. It should so farr have the ascendant as to determine the choice, even in things that not only are inconsistent with, but contrary to our interest, which is supposed to be the case of all such as suffer for Righteousness' sake. This Charity should the rather be laboured after, because it is the grand business of Saints and Angels in Heaven; and, therfor, without it ther cannot be any felicity in the other world, seeing otherwise our mind can never be in any disposition for fixing its delight on the Supreme Good, God blessed for ever.

The fruit of this Charity or Divine Love is obedience to all God's Commands, without exception or reserve, thô it should bear never so hard on our carnal and earthly desires. It should be voluntary; and such it will be if the love of God hath the ascendant. Obedience also must have the publick good chiefly in view. This I take to be the moral perfection so much insisted on in the New Testament. This regard to the publick is the closest imitation of Jesus Christ, and of His Father in Heaven; and is very far preferable to a solitary abstracted pietie, which, how exalted soever, is more selfish and less beneficent than the study of the public good. And this leads me to the second sort of Charity, which is that to men.

This is twofold—(1) Universal Benevolence, that respecteth all men as such, without distinction, and should be extended to all men, our temporal and spiritual enemies not excepted. This love of men was that generous principle which so fully abounded in our Lord, and moved Him to undertake and achieve that grand work of our Redemption. It therfor must dwell in the breast of every Christian, and express itself on all occasions. We should therfor study the conversion, not the destruction of God's or our enemies, and nothing should provoke us to do them any harm, save incorrigible obstinacie; yea, and even then none should execute vengeance, save the Magistrate who personates God.

(2) The other, Charity to men, is that which is among the Members of the Church—those who have one Faith, one Baptism, one Lord, one Spirit,

one Hope; who are linked together by the sacred cords of spiritual relation. This is that Charity which is chiefly insisted on by the Spirit of God in the New Testament. In truth, not that latitudinarian, novel Charity so much abused at this time, to the utter breach of Christian unity and the subversion of the beauty of order. He who will be at pains to attend to the Revelations of the Gospel on this subject, will find that this is the great thing laboured by the Holy Ghost, especially by the Apostles S. John and S. Paul. These who are without the Church may lay claim to the benevolence already mentioned, but not to this Charity, properly so called. This is that which is so much celebrated 1 Cor. xiii., and in the First Epistle of S. John. In truth, it's it which corresponds to and effectually disposes for that great branch of perfection and blessedness that is in Heaven among Saints and Angels. The chief design of this Charity is edification; that is, the improvement of one another in knowledge and pietie, even as all the members of the body conspire in promoting the health and strength of the whole.

This Charity, the bond of perfectness, is violated by want of sympathie with the fellow-members of the Church, either in good or bad circumstances; for, saith the Apostle, if one member rejoice, so should the rest; if any suffer, the rest should also. It is also violated by withholding supply, comfort, and assistance from suffering members of the same body, when it is in our power to afford these. Thus at the Day of Judgment our Lord interprets all these omissions as neglects of Himself, who is the Head of the Mystical Body. It is violated by factious maintenance of groundless opinions. This plainly is censured in the Christian Corinthians, insomuch that the Apostle calls them carnal on the account of their divisions. This Charity is yet more signally violated by resisting and separating from spiritual governors; hence such are likened to Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian Magicians, who withstood Moses (2 Tim. iii. 6, 8), to Cain and Koreh (S. Jude, 11); and they who have no fellowship or communion with the Apostles, and consequently with their Successors, are said to have no fellowship with the Father and the Son, but to be in darkness, to lye and not to do the truth (1 S. Jo. i. 3, 6). This yet more fully appears from the First Epistle of the Apostolical S. Clemens to the Corinthians.

5th. The next condition of the Covenant of Grace, is the devout observance of the primitive Institutions of the Christian Religion. These are the Ministrie, the Sacraments, and the Ordinances.

(1) The Ministrie. It is plain from what hath been already observed, that since the apostasy of our first parents, God hath positively instituted and revealed that Religion to men which is acceptable to Him; so that ther is no trusting (in order to the favour of God) to Natural Religion, or that which we conceit to be right and rational, even thô approved by natural conscience. The Will of God must be the Rule, and its uniform, constant, and universal prescribing Law to all men, and not allowing every one to go by his private spirit. That conscience is but deluded which inquires not after the will of God, and frames not its practice to the common standard of it, but trusts to its own private and personal conceits. One may as well, and with infinitely more safety, trust to his own particular apprehensions with respect to civil right and wrong, to the neglect of the Laws of that civil society of which he is a member, as to his own notions in Religion. Since, then, God hath revealed and instituted Religion; and since this Religion hath instituted a

Ministry, therfor this Ministry must be religiously observed. It's plain our Lord did commissionate His Apostles, and promised to be with them to the end of the world; therfor never to expire, but be perpetual. It's plain that our Lord was sent or commissionated by His Father, and the like authority He derived on His Apostles: "As my Father sent me, even so send I you," &c. (S. Jo. xx. 21, &c.) This commission the Apostles exerted by ordaining, authorizing, or sending others; and so on still to this present time, and henceforth to the end of the world, even as light kindleth fresh successive lights. This could not be otherwise, considering that according to the Prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messias, and the many and luculent Revelations of the New Testament, Christ was to be a King, Who should found a Society and State, Himself being King and Governor of it; consequently He behoved to have Officers to act in His name, whose sentences, agreeably to His Law, He would ratifie in Heaven, and without whose interposition no legal deeds could be of any validity. This should be diligently considered; for all those who go on the latitudinarian novel ground consider our Holy Religion, not as it is indeed a Society, and that infinitely transcending in real excellency all the Kingdoms and Commonwealths in the world, both on the account of its glorious Sovereign, and of its object, which is the rectitude of our minds and our peace with God in this life, and our everlasting felicity in the other; whereas our civil societies have at best but weak, corrupt men for their supreme governours, and a sorry fugitive temporal happiness for their object. Not only hath God revealed and instituted our Holy Religion; not only is Jesus Christ a King and Founder of ane excellent Society, and as such hath ordained and authorized men to act in His name; but He hath entered into Covenant with us, by which He hath stipulated for favours to be conferred on His part, and men are bound to terms and conditions on their part. In this Covenant stands all our security, insomuch that we can have no assurance either of grace or glory without an interest in it; no more than a charitable presumption, founded on the uncovenanted goodness of God. Now every Covenant must have Seals, without which it is not of any legal validity. These Seals cannot be appended but by commissioned persons, and these are the Ministers of Religion. Moreover, we having to do with ane invisible King, it is rational that His visible Ministers should be judges of the qualifications of those who are to be admitted into this Covenant; and when entered, who are worthy to be keeped within it, or who have forfeited the benefits of it. This is the import of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven that are given to them, and of their faculty of retaining or remitting sins. Finally, all within the Christian Covenant are obliged to retain unto and live in communion with the Ministers of Religion. S. John, in the place above cited, professeth that his communion was with the Father and the Son; consequently that they were in the light; consequently the Schismaticks of these times were in darkness. What was obliging on the Christians of these times, continues to be obligatory on their successors to the end of the world. Nothing can excuse separation from the authorized Minister of Religion, save Heresie and Schism; and this imposed as terms and conditions of Communion; no personal immorality or negligence—for this they are to answer to their great Constituent. Still men should distinguish between the office and the personal qualities of the officer. The legal validity of their deeds (in which alone the people are concerned) depends

on their commission, not on their personal endowments or moral qualities. The Ministers of Religion are as principles of unity by which the people are knit to Christ the Head. This is the import of our Lord's saying, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me"—a remarkable gradation, and founded in order, and that of persons, according to the principles of government in general. This should be seriously pondered by two sorts of persons: those who usurp the room of God and His Christ, by thinking (and practising their thought) that Church Government and Governours are alterable by secular powers. It's strange that the sin of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, doth not deter them from a practice so audacious. It should also be seriously considered by such pretenders to personal perfection as makes them conceit themselves above all Ordinances.

(2) The next Christian Institution is Baptism. Our Blessed Lord having proposed to form a Society, and in order to that having ordained a Ministrie to officiate in it, He in the next place appointed Baptism to be a sacred door or solemn mysterie, in and by which all these who are well qualified should be admitted or received into the same. It is plain that none could have any interest in the Covenant made with Abraham, or in that with his posterity through the mediation of Moses, till first they were Circumcised. It's also plain that ther was not any religious Society even among the very Heathens, without both their initiatory and perfective mysteries. This was most agreeable to the principles of Government in general, with respect to ane invisible Supreme Governour. Moreover, water being of a purifying nature, simple also and uncompounded, was the most apposite symbol could be chosen for admission to a Societie which, of all others, in the intention of the Founder, was to be the most pure and furthest removed from what is carnal and earthly, and which is dispositive for what is sublime and celestial. This Ordinance being once established and fixed by its great Author, He admitted none therby into His new Society, while He was bodily here on earth, save Jews, these of that Nation being so far priviledged as to have the first tender of the Gospel offered to them. But after His Resurrection from the dead, and when He was to ascend into Heaven, then He enlarged the Apostles' commission, commanding them to goe teach, that is, to proselyte all Nations, and to baptize them, &c.

Baptism is not only a Rite or Mysterie of Initiation into the Covenant of Grace, but also a Seal of it, which gives it legal validity; even as in naturalizing of foreigners, ther is not only ane act of naturalization, but that deed must also have the Seal appended, and it must pass the ordinary solemnities; yea, and at that time the mutual stipulations must be struck, wherby both parties are solemnly bound to one another for mutual performance—God being one partie and the admitted Christians the other.

It is needless here to repeat the acts of grace which God obliges Himself to perform, in consideration of the merits of His Son, these being already condescended on, as are also the terms and conditions to which the party admitted is bound, these being already mentioned. Only here it will not be amiss to observe, that in the beginning of the Gospel (as the Apostle words it), the first fruits or converts were persons of age; and these behoved to be qualified—First, by Faith; 2dly, by Renunciation of the Devil, who was supposed to be the head and King of all who rejected the Gospel after conviction; 3dly, by Repentance, which implies a change of thoughts and

principles, as well as of moral habits, and which was the effect of God's preventing grace, as is already said. This shews the necessity of an interest in the Sacraments, notwithstanding of antecedent Faith and Repentance. Ther were at that time many pious Jews, particularly the Essens, mentioned by Josephus; ther were also many virtuous Heathens; and it was then supposed that the pietie of the one and the virtue of the other was the effect of this preventing grace, called the Tranient [transient] Visits of the Divine Spirit. Yet all this did not supersede the Sacraments, or gave them any title to the benefits of the Covenant. This is yet more plain from luculent instances in Scripture. Cornelius hath a high character bestowed on him; yea, the Holy Ghost had extraordinarly descended on him; yet he must be Baptised. S. Paul had lived in all good conscience ere he was a Christian, while yet a Jew, and was extraordinarly converted, even by a vision of our Lord in His excellent glory, which was reckoned a great privilege; and for all this was Baptised. The like we find of all other converts, both in the sacred text and in Church Historie.

Thus, the persons of age who believed and repented were qualified for Baptism. But then, God at Baptism performed His part of the Covenant.

The first act was that of Justification, or a full remission of all the sins, original and actual, whereof they had been guilty, antecedently to their admission into the Christian Covenant. 2dly. A thorough purification from these pollutions which by sin cleave unto the soul. 3dly. A Consecration to the Holy Trinity. 4thly. The Collation of the Holy Ghost, and that to abide with them as a living principle. By means of this they were partakers of the Divine nature, and became the sons of God; hence regenerated and born again of the water and of the Spirit; yea, and to have their name written in the Book of Life.

Thus it was with those who were exalted to the privilege of Baptism in the beginning of Christianity; and thô the time in which the Scriptures of the New Testament were wrote was extraordinary, ther then being instantaneous and miraculous changes wrought on the moral habit of the mind upon the beliefe of the Gospel; yet in the 2d and 3d Century, and some ages after, these who believed the Gospel were not admitted to Baptism, but were kept in the state of Catechumens, and under discipline, not only till they were fully instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, but also till their vicious habits were reasonably presumed to be mortified, and their perseverance both in their Faith and Holyness secured; and indeed lapses into wilful, deliberate, and habitual sins were then very rare, much more apostacy from ye Faith.

As for the children of Christian parents, they were supposed to be of the holy seed, and therefor had a title to Baptism; and thô they were not predisposed by actual Faith and Repentance, as these of age, yet were in a negative preparedness, upon the account of their descent and the want of actual guilt, the original defilement being done away by Baptism, and utmost provision being made by the Ministers of Religion for their instruction and good behaviour for the future, by taking Sponsors who represented them, and who were to take care to keep parents to their duty of education, and to supply their room in the case of death.

The next Institution to Baptism is Confirmation. The inhabitation of the Holy Spirit, as a new and vital principle, is so very necessary for the ends which Jesus Christ would serve on the souls of the faithful, that after

Baptism He hath ordained His Ministers to lay their hands on the growing members of His mystical body, and to confer on them yet greater measures of His Holy Spirit, by which their faith and piety may be strengthened, and the young beginners fortified in their spiritual conflict with the Devil, the world, and the flesh. This holy Rite of Confirmation was practised by the Apostles (Acts viii. 14, 16, xix. 6, Heb. vi. 2), no doubt in consequence of a Divine Revelation, and ever after by their successors the Bishops, the Ministers in chief of Christ's Religion. This was done after a solemn and pious manner, with prayer and faith, and in the primitive times the effect followed the performance of the holy Rite; for the Confirmed party did visibly grow in faith and in all manner of pietie and virtuous practice, insomuch that Holiness was not only voluntary but delightful. They lived by faith and not by sight; yea, choosed severities, nay and martyrdom itself, when these were found to be proofs of their faith and charity; they trampled on the earth, despised death, and disdained the soft solicitations of the flesh; they reckoned Heaven their true home, this life but a journey thitherward in the road of the commands and example of Jesus, and were not much affected with their temporal circumstances, whether good or bad, no more than a hardie traveller is with the quality of the weather or the way. That this blissful effect doth not now accompany this, and indeed all the other Ordinances, is owing to the utter decay of faith and pietie, both in the performers and recipients, to the formal and pageant way of administration, and to the neglect of the very Ordinance itself, God not being obliged to vouchsafe His promised favours on [un] qualified persons, no more than to make uncultivated ground fruitful of good grain. There is a wise Providence or a Divine order in grace, as ther is in the beautiful disposition of material things. The effect doth not follow without antecedent dispositions.

This Rite of Confirmation was performed in the Primitive Church by the symbol of Oyle, wherewith the forehead of the Confirmed party was Anointed, that being the visible symbol whereby Kings, Priests, and Prophets among the Jews were Consecrated; the Divine Spirit, for the right discharge of their offices, being supposed to be given by the solemn intervention of Anointing. Now, Christians being Consecrated anew to God by Confirmation were Anointed, to signify their being indued with the Holy Spirit. Hence, in the judgement of the best Criticks, that Unction by the Holy One is Confirmation, and the Antients interpret our Lord's being Anointed with the Oyle of Gladness above His fellowes, to mean His deriving the Holy Spirit upon His Disciples, by which He eminently, and they in Him, were distinguished from the common rout of mankind.

The Christian Institution next to this is the Lord's Supper. It's plain that all religious persons had their Mysteries from the beginning of the world. In and by these Mysteries ther was a communion between the Deity and the votaries. The Deity vouchsafed favours on the votaries, and they payed unto him the highest acts of worship and service. Some of these Mysteries were initiatory, at what time they resigned themselves to the Deity, and were dedicated to him; some progressive, respecting their improvement; and yet others perfective. It is not questioned but these Mysteries were instituted by the demons themselves, and that in this they imitated the true and living God in His manner of dealing with His peculiar and covenanted people. All the Divine institutions which God enjoyned His people from the beginning, were figures of and directly respected that

most intimate, most perfect, good, and everlasting Covenant, which He was to make with men in and through the Messias, and this sublime Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was specially regarded. It is plain that these Covenants were transacted at first, and afterward ratified by Sacrifice. Without blood ther was no remission of sins. Hence the expiatory Sacrifices were substitutions of the thing sacrificed, in the vice and room of the party sacrificing. All the Sacrifices offered up by the people of God from the beginning were but types of that Sacrifice which Christ was to offer up, and were accepted meerly on account of it; they being but acts in view, were figures and types of what was to be fulfilled, were therfor imperfect, and behoved to be often repeated. Our Lord offered up His body a Sacrifice for the sins of the world; and it being highly dignified by its personal union with the Divine nature, was of infinite value; and as it fulfilled the intention of all Sacrifices, so it henceforward superseded the use of all bloody Sacrifices, it being a constant and universally received maxime that ther was always a proportion between the dignity of the Sacrifice and the degree of its merit. Hence the abused heathenish custom of offering up human sacrifices. This is not all, but moreover the party sacrificing was priviledged to eat a share of the offered Sacrifice, to denote that God and the Sacrificer were at such perfect accord that they feasted together on the same common viands and at the same common table, the meat and the Altar or Table being that of God hallowed and consecrated to Him; so that God was the inviter and entertainer, the meat and table being His, and the people the guests or the party invited and entertained. Finally, the meat became the support, sustenance, and strength of the eater, by which he was enabled to do his work, particularly the service he owed to God, and by which his life was prolonged. Now, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a Commemorative Sacrifice of thanksgiving for that great Sacrifice of Christ's Body once offered upon the Cross. Thus it was universally believed by the first Christian Church; hence called by them the Eucharist, the Eulogie, and often the Liturgie or Service, by way of eminence. They thought it was prefigured by the Bread and Wine which Melchisedeck, the King of Salem, and Priest of the Most High God, brought forth to Abraham (Gen. xiv. 18). They thought it was predicted by the Psalmist (Ps. l. 6, 14). They thought it was the pure offering which, with the incense of prayers, was to be offered up by the Gentiles, foretold by the Prophet Malachi. They thought that as our Lord did institute and administer that Sacrament to His Disciples, so he enjoyned them, and in them their Successors, to administer the same to the Church to the end of the world: "Doe this in remembrance of me;" which in the original signifies a priestly act in sacrificial functions. They believed our Lord to have spoken of this Sacramental Bread in His long discourse with the Jews, Jo. vi. 31 to 42; and it is obvious that of this Sacrament the Apostle discourseth, 1 Cor. x. 15 to 32. Thus they understood the Altar, whereof these had no right to eat which served the Tabernacle, viz., the Jews and their Priests. In short, the breaking of bread, and eating with one accord in the religious Assemblies, so often mentioned in the Book of Acts, is the very same thing.

The first Christians, therefor, thought and believed that the Christian Priest, in name of the people, offered up to God Bread and Wine as the Lord of His creatures; this when the Elements were laid on the Altar or Table of God. 2. When He pronounced the words of the Institution, and

made the Prayer of Consecration, then they became the Body and Blood of Christ mystical or spiritual, not the natural Flesh and Blood of our Lord transubstantiated, as the Church of Rome would have it. 3. When the Christian Priest invited the people to partake, then both Priest and people did offer up to God the Consecrated Bread and Wine, now the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ, made such by the contact of the Spirit (as the Ancients worded it), as a commemoration of the great Sacrifice once offered up on the Altar of the Cross, in virtue of which they begg'd the pardon of their sins, and further assistances of the Divine Spirit, which was actually applied to them, on supposition of their faith and charity. 4. By partaking of meat coming from the Table of the Lord, they believed their mutual renewing of their Covenant with God, that they keeped Communion with Him, were at perfect accord with God and with one another, exactly agreeable to 1 Cor. x. 16, &c. 5. They believed that this eating the Bread and Wine, now the Spiritual and Sacramental Body and Blood of our Lord, did nourish their souls to life everlasting, agreeable to our Saviour's own words, Jo. vi. 32, &c. They believed ther was a Spiritual Body as well as a Natural, according to the express words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 40, and 1 Cor. x. 3, 4, and elsewhere.

This Account of this great Ordinance I doubt nothing they had from the Divine Spirit in the Apostles, and therfor infinitly preferable to the novel, fanciful whims of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, or Socinians. And this rule I set to myself, to goe by true and credible authority in matters of mystical and supernatural nature, and not by Philosophical uncertain notions, which are turned into varietie of forms, as men would serve their respective favourite schemes of things against one another in their eternal and scandalous wrangles.

Ther is yet one thing remarkable in the Ancients, that they thought the Angels present in their religious Assemblies, more especially at the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It's plain that the Angels are ministring spirits to the heirs of salvation (Heb. i. 14); 'tis plain they rejoice in the conversion of a sinner (Luke xv. 7); it's plain that our Lord affirms them to be guardians of little children; it is also plain that women were commanded to have their heads covered in the publick Assemblies, because of the Angels; it is plain that they are tenderly affected with the miseries of the Church here on earth, [which] should joyn with them in such Angelick Hymns as are made known to the Church (Ps. ciii. 20, 21). To join with them *in* these known choirs, hath nothing of Popish Idolatrie in it; it seems on the contrary to be commanded. This argues no omniscience in them, seeing all the above cited places prove them present with us, if not at all times, yet habitually. Doth not this give us some deeper impressions of the invisible world, and shew the relation they have to us?

From this it nowise will follow that we may pray unto them, because it is expressly forbidden, as derogatory to the honour due to God, and Him alone. It is the priviledge of these in Covenant with God, particularly Christians, that they are allowed direct access to God, their God in Covenant, and that through no other Mediator than Jesus Christ. Whence, as it was criminal in the Jew, so it is much more in the Christian to apply [to] the Most High by any other intercessor. The Members of the Church are expressly commanded to pray with and for one another; but no such command for addresses to or through Angels. Our fellow Christians are visible,

men of like passions with ourselves; therefor, no fear of rushing into Idolatry by imploying their intercessions; nor doe we pay them any religious worship when for this end we apply to them. The case is otherwise with Saints and Angels; they are invisible, they vastly excel us, and are of more power; therfor prayers unto them, even for no more than intercession, may fairly lead into Idolatry, from which we should stand at the greatest distance.

Ther was yet another practice among the Ancients. It was of giving this Holy Sacrament to the faithful in perilous and afflicting circumstances, such as these of personal or publick calamities, in times of persecution, on a sick bed, particularly when death was reasonably presumed to be approaching. They thought this Bread of Life and Wine of Consolation did mightily support the faithful under their conflict, and inspired them with noble fortitude, as to bear their burden so to resist all the temptations of the Devil to infidelity, distrust, impatience, or murmuring under the rod of God. Nay, if the afflicted party had been a heinous sinner, and was penitent, and if death was reasonably feared, then the Minister of Religion absolved him, and then administered to him the Holy Sacrament, on condition still, that if he recovered he should signify his repentance for removing the scandal by such ways as the Governours of the Church judged most expedient. The sum of the whole is this. Man, thô in all respects ane innocent creature and perfect in his kind, yet is obliged to worship and serve his Creator. This worship and service must not depend on the contrivance and choice of the creature, but must be instituted and appointed by Him the Creator. If this be reasonable with respect to ane innocent rational creature, much more so with regard to ane offending and sinful creature. This worship and service which this offending and sinful creature owes to his Creator, must be manifested to him, and he must be assured that it is the will and mind of the Creator. This assurance is from supernatural acts of the Creator, attesting that the worship and service is really that of the Creator, and not that of any impostor, either bad angel or man. This worship and service thus attested is the rather necessary, that the reason of man, ever since his Apostasy (which chiefly lies in his falling in with his animal bents against the dictates of the Divine Spirit), is both weakned and debauched. The manifestation of the worship and service which the Creator requires is yet the more necessary, that his reason being prone to sensible things and averse to those of a moral and spiritual nature, he would not apprehend or believe moral or spiritual propositions, unless he were convinced that they were propounded and injoined by God. This revelation or manifestation of the Divine will is yet more necessary, that God intends all men who know it should submit unto it, as a common and uniform standard, and that every individual should not be at liberty to conceit and act his conceits as he pleases; but that all men, having the same common nature, should be uniformly determined by the one common rule, which is the will of God, and not that of any impostor. This, if adverted to, cuts off all pretensions of freethinkers and latitudinarians, who abandon to their own conceits, not regarding the will of God as the general standard to which they ought to submit their judgements.

The propositions declared and enjoined in Holy Scripture are these which God hath propounded and attested to be His, and not of any creature, as is clearly proven by many facts, and for which we have as much evidence as we have for unquestionable history for distant countries in which we

have not been ourselves; yea, and for charters on which our properties are bounded.

The true sense and meaning of these propositions revealed by God, is what was that of those to whom they were at first revealed, since it is impossible that God could deceive them, seeing every one, the most rude not excepted, understood the language, the terms and notions alluded to by the Holy Ghost; seeing they were perfectly good, despised all things in comparison, and sealed the truth of them, when called, with their blood.

This sense of these first Christians is infinitely preferable to that of those who live and have lived at a vast distance; who have the language, the idioms, the terms of art, and the notions alluded to, to acquire; who are also interested, divided, and eternally subdivided.

These Divine Revelations, thus understood, give us ane Account that the way which God took to oblige man to pay Him that worship and service which should be acceptable to Him and render God propitious, hath been always by entering in Covenants with such men as for whom He designed that priviledge.

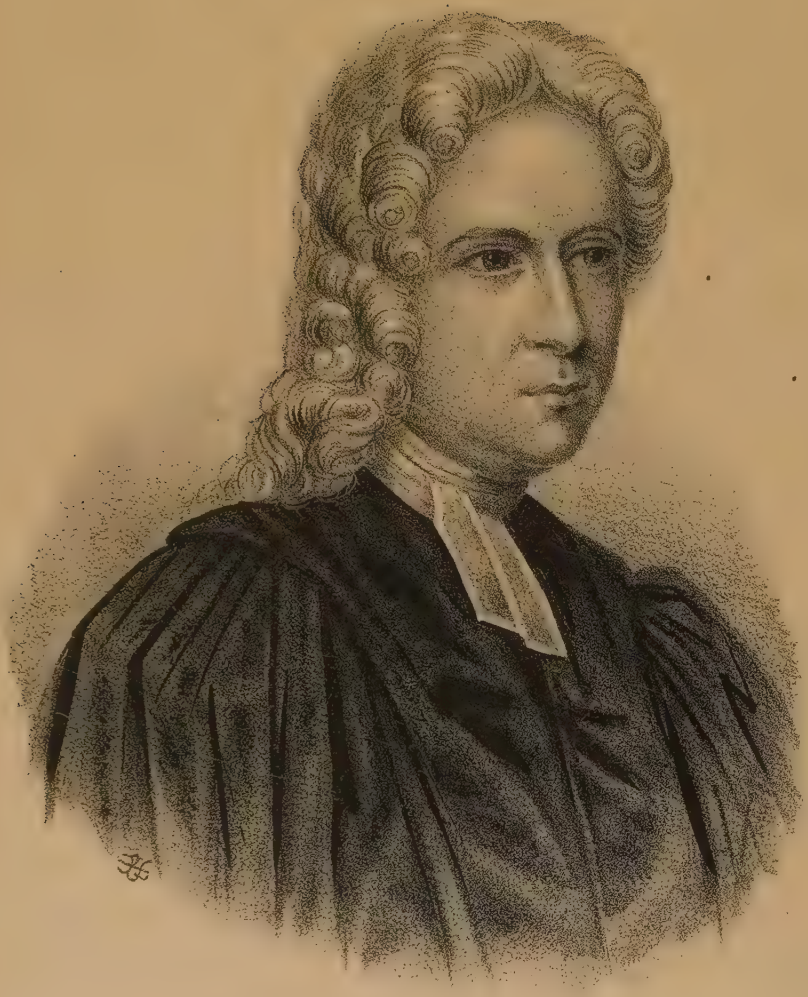
By these Covenants God obliged Himself by promise to vouchsafe such particular favours; and the covenanting persons were obliged to fulfil, on their part, such terms and conditions as required and prescribed.

All the Covenants, since the apostacy of our first parents, were but preparatory, and had a direct reference to the great, the better, and everlasting Covenant through the mediation of Jesus Christ. The favours which God promises to such as are w'in this Covenant, are—Remission of sins; acceptance of ane imperfect duty, if sincere, as if it were perfect; forgiveness of relapses into sin after Baptism, on supposition of true repentance; the Holy Spirit's inhabitation, and everlasting happiness in the highest Heavens.

The terms and conditions to be performed by the covenanting persons are of two kinds—1. These of a moral; 2. these of a positive nature. These of a moral nature are Faith in the doctrines, precepts, promises, and threatnings of the Gospel; Charitie, that is the love of God and man, expressed by a free, voluntary, and cheerful obedience to all His commands—the which includes sincerity, improvement in pietie and Christian virtue, and perseverance in well doing to the end of the life; Repentance in cases of wilful lapses into sin, of the commission of any heinous sin, living in any one or more vicious habits, and even negligence, or spiritual sloth and stupidity. This Repentance includes Mortification, which consists in a victory over our carnal and earthly bents, and generally all our animal appetites, as far as they are inordinate or immoderate; and this constitutes the virtue of Temperance and Sobrietie.

These are the conditions of a moral nature, called such because they are enforced by prime reasons. The other are of a positive nature, because they are founded only on Divine authoritie and God's positive institution. These are the Ministrie, Sacraments, and Ordinances. God hath peremptorly enjoyned the observance of them, and that by Sanctions strong as these by which He hath inforced the moral precepts. Nay, He hath more signally manifested His displeasure against such as brake in upon them than against trespasses on the moral precepts, because His authority is only that which supports them; wheras strong cogent reasons command the other.

This should oblige all to inquire accuratly into the commission of



THE RIGHT REV? ROBERT KEITH.

Ministers of Religion, since on that the validity of Sacraments depends; and unless the Sacraments we receive be valid, we can can have no assurance of salvation after a legal ordinary way, particularly when the ordinary way is at hand and in our option, and nothing to deterr us from it but some earthly inconvenience, or perhaps that which is worse, some whim, conceit, or caprice of our own. It must in that case be a matter of extreme danger to trust to an uncovenanted extraordinary way. I know the Socinians and their favourers, the Arminians, the Calvinists also, the Independants, and the Presbyterians, have erected schemes of Divinity different from this; but this is that which was once and first delivered to the Saints by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, and I will trust to no other in such important matters as are the Glory of God, the Honour of Jesus, and Everlasting Salvation.

LV. Robert Keith. A.D. 1733-43. *(No Seal.)*

In regard to his Birth and Family, we are supplied with some well-authenticated facts, furnished by himself, in two different forms. A few years before his Death he was induced to yield to the importunity of a Clerical friend, and to commit to him certain Particulars relative to his early history, for which we should have looked in vain to any other quarter. This little piece of Autobiography begins as follows:—

I was Born at Uras, in the Mearns, on Monday, February 7, 1681, and named Robert, after the Viscount of Arbuthnot, in the Shire of Kincardine, who was a kind friend to my father; and suckled by my own mother, Marjory Arbuthnot. My father, Alexander Keith, Died Thursday, January 25, 1683; and I have been told that, in the course of his fever, he took me in his arms, dandled me, and said, "If I die at this time, O! that my keen cockie would go with me!" Besides my eldest brother Alexander, who had been Married in the end of the preceding year, I had three sisters, &c., &c.

N.B.—The occasion of writing the above, says Bishop Forbes, was this: Upon Bishop Keith's informing that he had, at the particular desire of Dr. George Garden, Translated a part of Dr. Forbes's Diary, I said that was a thing not at all known, and therefore it ought to be recorded in some proper way. He answered, "That I might note it down on a bit of paper, in any shape I pleased." "No, Sir," said I, "it would be far more advisable that you should leave some short account of yourself to posterity, under your own hand." He thanked me for the hint, and said he would think of it. This happened after 1752, when he had left Edinburgh, and was living at Bonnyhaugh, near Leith.

Much about the same time, too, he entered into a Controversy with the late Mr. Keith of Ravelston, in regard to the

comparative proximity of their several Families to the noble Race of the Earls Marischal; and in pursuance of the claims which he there urged in behalf of his nephews to the honour of a Lineal descent, he thought proper to draw up a short statement of facts, to which he gave the title of "A VINDICATION of Mr. Robert Keith, and of his young Grand-nephew, Alexander Keith, from the unfriendly representation of Mr. Alexander Keith, Jun., of Ravelston, one of the Under-Clerks in the Court of Session." This is Printed at the end of Lawson's Biographical Sketch of Bishop Keith, in his Edition of the "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland," Published in 1844 by the *Spottiswoode Society, p. lxxvii.*

Uras is in the Parish of Dunnottar, a small estate of which his Family possessed either the *Fee-simple*, or what in Scotland is called the *Wadset*. Having lost his father while only two years of age, he was indebted for the knowledge of letters, and for the still more important lessons of early virtue and religion, to his mother; who, when he had arrived at the age of seven years, removed with him to Aberdeen, where, on a very limited income, and chiefly by means of her own industry, she procured for him a good education both at school and Marischal College, which was founded by his collateral relative, George, fifth Earl Marischal, in 1593. His excellent mother was the daughter of Robert Arbuthnot of Little Fiddes, in Kincardineshire, and her prudence and affection appear to have left a deep impression on the mind of her son. Alluding to her unceasing exertions in his behalf, he says, in the Notes dictated to Bishop Forbes—"For these and many many other obligations I owe her memory, I do pay her much acknowledgment." "She Died at Aberdeen," he adds, "on Saturday the 6th December, 1707, about the 69th year of her age, after she had the comfort of seeing me Preceptor or Tutor to my young Chief, the Lord Keith, from the month of July, 1703; with whom and his brother I continued seven full years, till July, 1710."

The Bishop alludes to a report which had reached his ears, that he had likewise been Tutor to Mr. Alexander Garden, of Troup. "This," says he, "is not correct. I was indeed a good

acquaintance of theirs at College, and no more. During my long abode at Aberdeen, I had the happiness to be much acquainted with the worthy and learned Dr. George Garden, Deprived Minister of that City; from whom I had the opportunity to receive many internal good books, for which I bless God to this day. And as the Doctor was employed about that time in a new Edition of the excellent Works of the very learned Dr. John Forbes of Corse, he was pleased to desire me to Translate into Latin the last seven years of "Dr. Forbes's Diary, or *Vita Interior.*"

In the Life of a Scotchman, however meanly born, the article of Pedigree, in the Seventeenth Century, was, in all cases, a consideration of some weight; for, if he had not to tell of hereditary wealth or Family honours, he was pleased with the assurance that his parents were virtuous, and perhaps with the tradition that their blood had been improved by some illustrious connexion. But, in this respect, Bishop Keith had more to boast of than Scottish Churchmen usually have in modern times: and no one ever valued more highly his relationship with the Noble and the Great than did this humble Pastor of a poor, depressed, and calumniated Branch of Christ's Catholic Church. He was a Cadet of the celebrated Family of Keith, Earls Marischal of Scotland, being lineally descended from Alexander, the youngest son of William the third Earl. In 1513, this Nobleman conferred upon the ancestor of the Bishop the Lands of Pittendrum, in the Shire of Aberdeen; which Grant is vouched by an attested copy of the precept of Sasine, inserted in the controversial Pamphlet alluded to. After the lapse of little more than a Century, we find the Laird of Pittendrum in possession of the Estate of Over and Nether Cowton, in the Parish of Fetteresso, adjoining Dunnottar; for which acquisition also the Instrument of legal investment is produced at full length from the Register of Sasines. But the Lands of Cowton passed away from the Bishop's Family in the person of his immediate ancestor; who, having "denuded himself," as the phrase is, of that Property, in 1672, purchased the Estate of Uras, in the Parish of Dunnottar and Shire of Kincardine. As an apology for this alienation of

the Family inheritance, the good Bishop thinks it necessary to add, in a Note, that "this hasty denudation did not proceed from a squandering temper in my father, but from his having enlisted himself a volunteer in that expedition under King Charles II. (which ended in the unfortunate battle of Worcester) whilst a mere strippling only of about eighteen years of age; and although he had the good fortune to escape out of prison by the means and contrivance of two English ladies, yet the difficulties he was exposed to, and the incumbrances which naturally came upon his small Estate during the long continuance of the Rebellion, stuck severely to him all his days after, and do stick to his offspring to this day."

Having mentioned the misunderstanding which arose between the Bishop and the late Alexander Keith, of Ravelston (a beautiful Property at the foot of Corstorphine Hill, about two miles west of Edinburgh, on the road to Glasgow), respecting the relationship of their Families to the ancient Race of the Earls Marischal, it may be stated that the superior claims of the Bishop in behalf of his nephew were well founded; and so long as the Uras branch of the Pittendrum Keiths existed in the male line, the Keiths of Ravelston were not entitled to the honour to which they have since succeeded.

About a month after he retired from the situation of Preceptor to his noble relatives, he was admitted to the Order of Deacons on the 16th of August, 1710, by the Right Reverend George Halyburton, the Deprived Lord Bishop of Aberdeen; and in November following, he informs us, he became Domestic Chaplain to Charles, twelfth Earl of Erroll, and his mother the Countess, who was Lady Anne Drummond, only daughter of James, third Earl of Perth. In June, 1712, he accompanied his Lordship to the Baths of Aix-la-Chapelle; and in passing through Holland he was greatly delighted with an opportunity of enjoying the acquaintance and conversation of the celebrated Peter Poiret, famous for his mystic and speculative Writings, who attacked Des Cartes, Locke, and Spinoza, and Published both an Apology for Madame Bourignon, and a complete Edition of her Works in 21 Volumes. In the course of their Journey he

was also gratified with a short residence in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dort, Leyden, Utrecht, Nemuegen, Cleves, and Cologne: and leaving his Lordship at Aix, he returned homewards through Maestricht, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Neuport, and Dunkirk. "At this last place," says he, "I took ship; but we were soon obliged to put into Calais. Next day we set sail again for England, but met with a most prodigious storm of wind, insomuch that some ships were lost just in the passage near to us. However, it pleased God that I landed safe at Dover, S. Michael's Day, 1712, where I remained a long time very tender through the wet and cold during the storm. I set out in the stage coach for Edinburgh, February 2, 1713."

The Bishop seems naturally to have possessed that peculiar turn of mind which leads to the investigation of Antiquities, and which appears to derive the most exquisite gratification from ascertaining even the minutest relations of a Genealogical Table. In his "Vindication," accordingly, the Reader will find the most precise and regularly authenticated statements of all such transactions in which his Family were concerned, as might in the least degree illustrate the purity of their descent, and the respectability of their connexions. For instance, after furnishing a Copy of the Contract of Marriage between his grandfather and grandmother, and having specified that the latter was the daughter of Gawn Douglas of Easter Barras, he adds in a Note —"This Gawn Douglas was a son of that Laird of Glenbervy who became Earl of Angus about the year 1588, and by this Marriage Mr. Robert Keith *(himself)* and his nephew have the honour to be related to the Dukes of Douglas and Hamilton, and to all the branches of these most honourable Families since that Marriage." Alluding again to the kindred of his mother, he remarks that, by her marriage into the Family of Keith, their posterity "are related to all the Arbuthnots and Burnets in the Shire of Mearns."

He concludes his "Vindication," too, in the same spirit of Family love, and with a just sense of the importance which attached to the discussion in which he had been so successfully engaged. "Mr. Robert Keith hopes that all his friends, and

every unprejudiced person into whose hands this Paper may chance to fall (for he has only Printed some few Copies to be privately given away), will have him excused for vindicating his own and nephew's Birth; for although he himself, now in the close of the 70th year of his age, and having only one daughter, might be pretty indifferent about any thing of this nature, yet he suspects his young grandnephews (for there are no less than three of them, Alexander, Robert, and John), when they came of age, might reproach the memory of their uncle, and justly perhaps, for his not endeavouring to set their Birth at rights against so flagrant an attack, seeing the one was capable, and the others might not have the same means of knowing, or the same abilities to perform it."

Keith, as has been already stated, was Ordained a Deacon on the 16th of August, 1710. On his return from the Continent, after his engagement with Lord Erroll, he was invited by one of the numerous small Congregations then in Edinburgh to become their Pastor; and accordingly he was raised to the Priesthood by Bishop Halyburton, on the 26th of May, 1713. It is worthy of remark that he continued in the same Charge till the day of his Death.

Number 18 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue in the Episcopal Cabinet.*

12. (Original) Deed of Diaconate to Mr. Robert Keith, by Bishop of Aberdeen, August 16, 1710. "Secundum ritus et morem antiquæ ecclesiæ."

16. (Original Deed) Mr. Robert Keith, Presbyterate, by the Bishop of Aberdeen, May 26, 1713. "Secundum," &c., as above.

The talents and learning of such a man could not fail, even in the miserable times wherein his lot was cast, to procure for him a certain degree of influence in the Church to which he had attached himself, and even to establish his character among those of a different Communion, as an able Scholar, Historian, and Antiquary. He is, accordingly, found taking an active share in all the measures that were proposed, either for restoring Purity of Worship, or for propping the pillars of that Ecclesiastical System, in the Divine Institution of which he believed, and for the maintenance of which he spared no labour and grudged no

sacrifice. There remains a number of Letters which passed between him and Bishop Smith of England, respecting the affairs of the two Non-Juring Churches.

Number 12 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

1. An exact List of Bishop Smith's Letters, according to their Dates, in the handwriting of Bishop Keith.

2. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Gillan, Michaelmas-day, 1732, requesting a Correspondence giving an Account of his Book, then Published, in Order to promote an Union among Nonjurors in England; that an agreement had been accordingly made on 3d instant, one Bishop excepted; but that Mr. Lawrence had virulently Published against it, being mainly encouraged by Bishop Campbell, &c.; and that these two were thinking of applying to Scotland for Consecrations, but he hopes they will meet with a repulse; and last of all begs a particular Account of the precise terms of Union in Scotland.—The following, having reference to the above, are also in the Catalogue:—

34 of Number 4. (Holograph) Bishop Campbell to Bishop Rattray, Aprile 10, 1733, about ye Consecrating Mr. Lawrence a Bishop by Bishop Campbell alone, craving Bishop Rattray's consent and approbation, w^{t} Bishop Rattray's Answer tacked to it (holograph), May 4, 1733, refusing to give any opinion w^{t}out consulting the other Bishops of Scotland.

12 of Number 9. (Holograph) Bishop Rattray to Bishop Keith, Decr. 6, 1732, wherein of a Letter from Bishop Campbell, craving assistance or consent for Consecrating a Bishop, &c.; which Bishop Rattray not only declined, but dissuaded Bishop Campbell from any such attempt; and that Bishop Ouchterlonie had wisely dropt his formula.

35 of Number 4. (Holograph) Messrs. Clarke and Pierce to Bishop Rattray, Aprile 10, 1723, hoping for his approbation of the Consecration of s^{d} Mr. Laurence by Bishop Campbell, *solus*.

36 of Number 4. (Holograph) Dr. Deacon, of Manchester, to Dr. Rattray, April 20, 1733, extremely earnest for his encouragement in and approbation of the above-mentioned Consecration.

3. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Gillan, Octor. 17, 1732, congratulatory on the Concordate, and thanking for so particular an Account of it, and informing very particularly about terms of Union in England from first to last. Herein these remarkable words, viz., "I leave you to judge whether those who have the chief authority in the Church, and the sole right over the Discipline thereof (the Presbyters by the Laws of the Church of England having no power in such matters, but in a due obedience and subordination to the Bishops), ought not rather to exert their authority in such a case as this, than to suffer it to be despised, &c."

4. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Decemr. 31, 1732; that some Presbyters, who had sought the Episcopate with eagerness and ambition, were much

incensed at Bishop Smith s Promotion, who had been Diaconate, Presbyterate, and Episcopate, in the space of 18 days; and that Messrs. Campbell and Laurence either have sent or design to send to Scotland for a Commission to continue their Succession, as above.

5. (Holograph) Do. to Do., June 26, 1733, condoling upon the Death of Bishop Duncan, and requesting a Catalogue of the Bishops in Scotland since the Revolution.

6. (Holograph) Do. to Do., September 11, 1732, wherein he assigns the reason of their fatal disorders, by giving a quotation out of S. Cyprian as to the ambition and pride of Presbyters; that some Presbyters in England, because not called to the Episcopate, have turned rebels against it, and openly enough declared for a Presbyterian Parity; and y^{t} Bishop Doughty of England was Consecrated in Ed^{r} by Bishops Fullarton, Miller, Irvine, and Freebairn.

4 of Number 11. (Holograph) Mr. Robert Keith to Dr. Rattray, March 31, 1725, informing that one Mr. Doughty, an English Divine, was in Ed^{r}, and had been Consecrated the day before, to make a competent number of Bishops on Mr. Spinckes' side.

7. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Gillan, Michaelmas-day, 1733; very desirous that the Bishop of Scotland would declare for them, and ag^{t} Messrs. Campbell and Lawrence.

8. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Janry. 18, 1733-4, taking it in good part, that the Bishops of Scotland care not to make any Declaration according to his desire.

9. (Holograph) Do. to Do., March 31, 1734; still very desirous the Bishops of Scotland would make some Declaration, &c., giving two instances of the Bishops of Scotland enabling them in England to continue a Canonical Succession—1mo, two assisting Bishop Hickes; and 2do, Mr. Doughty having been sent to Ed^{r} for Consecration: branding Bishop Campbell with Heresy and Schism; telling of Mr. Gandy's Death, &c.

10. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Aprile 4, 1734, mentioning Letters from Bishop Rattray to Bishop Campbell, "for which," says he, "we are extremely oblidged to him; he has said what is abundantly sufficient to persuade our dissenting Brethren to unite with us, &c."

11. (Copy) Do. to Do., May 10, 1734, shewing that the Church of England has a competent provision for the Christian Sacrifice.

12. (Holograph) Do. to Do., July 24, 1734, giving an Account of Dr. Deacon's new Prayer Book, &c., and saying, "I grant our Book [Liturgy] might be mended in some few things, &c."

13. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Decemr. 29, 1734, about Mr. Clark's getting a woman with child; "for which," says Mr. Smith, "he ought never to have been in Orders; for being guilty of what deserves Deprivation, he can't Canonically be Ordained; and if he is Ordained, ought not to be suffered to perform the Office of a Priest, &c."

14. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith, Janry. 31, 1734-5, condoling upon Bishop Gillan's Death, and declaring Mr. Clark, or any man guilty of fornication, incapable of Holy Orders.

15. (Prima Cura, in his own hand) Bishop Keith's Answer, Aprile 12, 1735, to ye preceeding of Janry. 31.

16. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith, Aprile 18, 1735, declaring the Bishops in England will not stretch beyond their line in meddling in Scottish affairs.

17. (Original) Do. to Do., Febry. 8, 1736, congratulatory upon Bishop White's Promotion; and saying that he had been reading Burnet's History of his own times, and found him what he always took him for, a rank Presbyterian.

18. (Holograph) Do. to Do., July 15, 1736, highly commending Bishop Keith and his History, &c. "Such a Book," says he, "will stand the test of ages, and will always be valued, because no fact is related but upon the best authority, &c."

19. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Septr. 17, 1737, wherein "I asure you I set a great value upon your Correspondence and Friendship, &c.," and that Bishop Mawman had been Consecrated in preceding July.

20. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Septemr. 4, 1738, wherein a Copy of Bishop Campbell's Act of Consecration, and requesting the Scottish Bishops to keep a Register of these Acts of Consecration.

21. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Janry. 26, 1738-9, proposing, with all respect and humility, the use of the English Liturgy *only* in Scotland, and useing several arguments for that purpose, &c.; but declaring, if the proposal does not take, he shall not be at all discontented about it; for y^t^ the Church of Scotland, being a National and Independent Church, has an undoubted right and authority to use a different Service Book, &c.; with Bishop Keith's Answer (Feby. 15, 1739) tacked to it, that the proposal being a matter which concerns the other Bishops, he could not well declare his opinion till he had theirs, &c.

22. (Holograph) Do. to Do. (Febry. 23, 1739), promising never to pretend to intermeddle in Scots affairs any other way than by counsel and advice, &c.

23. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Septemr. 27, 1739, heartily acquiescing in the Resolution of the Scottish Bishops not to enjoin the use of the English Liturgy only, but to leave it and the Scottish on an equal footing, as in ye Concordate, 1731; "uniformity with us," says he, "not being necessary at all."

24. (Holograph) Do. to Do., March 30, 1739, strong and pointed against intermeddling in the affairs of another Province, which he terms "a vile and wicked thing," particularly in that of Consecration of a Bishop, &c., together with a Copy tacked to it of that Letter, March 24, 1739, from Bishop Keith, concerning the Consecration to be of Mr. Ogilvie, which occasioned said Letter from Bishop Smith.

25. (Holograph) Do. to Do., Novemr. 29, 1740, wishing the English Liturgy had not been altered from what it was at the first composure in K. Edward 6th's time; "it would, I assure you," says he, "have pleased me better."

26. (Holograph) Do. to Do., July 7th, 1743, sincerely condoling the Death of Bishop Rattray, and highly commending the Design of Publishing St. James's Liturgy, and promising his assistance. Herein he is a favourer or defender of Lay Baptism, in the cases of Mr. and Mrs. Hewett, in Newcastle, &c.

27. (Two Holographs) Septemr. 10, &c., 1743, Bishop Keith his Account of a conversation between himself and Bishop Smith of England in Ed^{r}, concerning the Deposition of Mr. Fife in Dundee by Bishop Raitt.

28. (Holograph and Copy) Bishop Smith his very long Letter to Bishop Keith, Octor. 9, 1743, concerning Mr. Fife's Deposition; owns that Fife's intrusion was an act highly provoking and schismatical, and deserving the highest censure; but, considering the number concerned, better a milder course had been taken, &c. Bishop Raitt sufficiently provock'd to take the severest course. Bishop S. still acknowledges the Scottish Book to be preferable to the English, and yet would abolish the former and entirely establish the latter in Scotland, as a happy expedient for peace and quiet, &c.

29. Several Copies of Bishop Keith's short and pertinent Answer, Decr. 13, 1743, to ye forsaid very long Letter from Bishop Smith; that it is the opinion of the Bishops of Scotland not to go into Bishop Smith's proposal of laying the Scottish aside, and assuming the English Liturgy in its place, nothing being more imprudent, as there are about 125 Presbyters in Scotland, and not 5 without Ed^{r} who minister by the English Liturgy, and not above 3 in Ed^{r} who minister by it without addition or transposition; and then refers to Bishop Smith's own judgment what he would find advisable to be done in a like case; that differences arise from other sources, &c. As to the affair of Dundee, he will not enter any more into that, but refers Bishop Smith to Bishop Raitt for better information; and y^{t} Mr. Fife never received any molestation upon account of using the English Liturgy, which he might have still used to the day of his Death in a regular manner. Some small difference in the conversation in Edin^{r}, a Copy of which transmitted at same time to Bishop Smith.

30. (Copy) Mr. Robert Lyon to Bishop Gordoun, Octor. 31, 1743, concerning the use of the two Liturgies in Scotland on an equal footing; that no Liturgy, thô written (as Bishop Smith says) with the pen of Angel, would have done in Scotland in K. Charles 1st's days; that very few in Scotland use the English Communion Office w^{t}out variation; that some use no Liturgy at all, &c. Never did the Bishops in Scotland, by any overt act, condemn the use of the English Liturgy in any shape; but, on the contrary, allow the English, as to point of authority, to stand upon an equal footing with their own Liturgy, &c.; *ergo*, surprized at Mr. Smith's saying otherwise.

31. (Holograph) To Bishop Keith, Bishop Smith's short but very

magisterial Letter, June 4, 1744, owning receipts of Papers, viz., excerpts out of his own Letters, and insisting upon a close adherence to an Ecclesiastical Constitution, and that proposals of Peace are to be tendered from him and his Colleagues to the Scottish Bishops.

32. (Copy) Bishop Smith to Mr. Andrew Gerard, June 4, 1744, protesting, in name of himself and his Colleagues, against all Consecrations of Bishops in Scotland, but by either English or Scottish authorized form; and to do otherwise is no less than schism, &c.!

Number 13 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

1. Letter of Bishop Keith, July 12, 1744, in his own Holograph, to ye other Bishops of Scotland, concerning proposals of Peace (already mentioned) by Bishop Smith, of England, June 26, 1744, to ye Bishops of Scotland; that Bishop Smith has talked of late in such a magisterial strain—"You ought," "you should," "you must," &c.—and w^t^ such an air of superiority, as if all in Scotland were his petty suffragans, &c.; that he now sees his error, and acknowledges it, in corresponding at all with Bishop Smith, contrary to ye advice of Bishop Rattray, who always suspected him to be a dangerous man, &c., &c., &c.

2. (Holograph) Bishop Smith's long Letter to Bishop Keith, with two Copies of it (June 26, 1744) longer than the very long one mentioned in 28 of Number 12.—N.B. This important Letter, given in full, will be found at p. 200.

3. Several Copies of said Excerpts, &c., as sent by Bishop Keith to Bishop Smith for the refreshment of his memory. Originals in Number 12.

4. (Copy) Bishop Smith to Mr. John Mackenzie, Aprile 2, 1744, dogmatically affirming that the Bishops have no authority during the Vacancy of Ed^r^ to encroach upon that Bishoprick, &c., assigning two reasons why Canons of Synod, 1743, in his opinion, are not binding, &c. "We must desire," says he, "that they [the Bishops] will, with all convenient speed, permit the Presbyters of Ed^r^ to proceed to a new Election, &c.; the supposed genuine Liturgy of S. James, &c.; the sole use of the English Office, without addition, transposition, or diminution, w^ch^ is the only Office has any title to an Establishment among you;—universally received among you, and had the first settlement in your Church, &c.;—by the English Office, all their Clergy [Scots] have been Ordained ever since the restitution of Episcopacy, &c.;—I still look upon Mr. Fife as a Presbyter of our Communion, &c., &c., &c.!!!"

5. (Copy) Bishop Keith to Bishop Smith, May 22, 1744, upon seeing Bishop Smith's said surprizing Letter to Mr. John Mackenzie, of Aprile 2; that ye suppositions framed by Bishop Smith, of Synod 1743, are altogether groundless; no alteration intended in the Public Worship; even the seditious of Ed^r^ will not venture to declare solemnly that ye two Liturgies, Eng. and Scot., are the true cause of their quarrel with us; as they, all and every one of them, have administred the Holy Eucharist by the Scots Liturgy

only, or by some addition, diminution, or transposition in the English, and this of their own accord, &c. No person has suffered the smallest frown for using the English Liturgy; that Bishop Keith has in possession just now an Original Act of Ordination, performed at Ed^{r}, 1680, *secundum ritum et morem Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which he is to put into ye Royal Register, &c.

6. (Copy) Bishop Dunbar to Bishop Keith, May 26, 1744, declaring his opinion of Bishop Smith's first long Letter of Octor. 9, 1743, proposing a public Declaration, and giving the heads thereof, both from Bishops and Presbyters.

7. (Copy) Bishop Alexander to Bishop Keith, May 26, 1744, immediately after seeing Bishop Smith's astonishing Letter to Mr. John M'Kenzie of Aprile 2. See above, particularly that he [B. A.] had offered to recall Mr. Fife to his former Charge, there to use the English Liturgy as formerly, and proposed to the Dundee gentlemen to pitch upon any other who would officiate by the English Office, &c.

8. Copy of a Letter, in 28 pages 4to, anonymous and without Date, but strong and pointed, and appears to be from Bishop Alexander to Bishop Keith, reviewing the conduct of Bishop Smith as to Scots affairs, upon seeing Bishop Smith's extraordinary Letter to Mr. John Mackenzie, *ut antea*.

9. Draught, in the handwriting of Bishop Falconar, of a Paper (June 1, 1744), by the Clergy of Murray, against the Usurpation and Intrusions of Bishop Smith, as contained in his Letter to Mr. John Mackenzie, in a Letter from Bishop Falconar to Bishop Keith, Augt. 10, 1744. N.B.—Said Paper had been drawn clean out, and Subscribed by said Clergy, but was unluckily miscarried in its way to Edin^{r}, and was never recovered.

10. (Prima Cura, in his own hand) Bishop Keith to Bishop Smith, particularly anent Mr. Harper, Senior, his affair with a certain Lady, July 14, 1744.

11. (Holograph) Bishop Smith's Answer to Bishop Keith, July 19, 1744, still upon ye matter much the same, and in the old tune.

12. (Prima Cura, in his own hand) Bishop Keith to Bishop Smith, Augt. 11, 1744, of another Letter, particularly and minutely anent Mr. Harper's affair, *ut supra*.

13. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith, Augt. 21, 1744, wherein he acknowledges Bishop Keith to have given strong evidence against Mr. Harper, which he is sorry to see, &c.; but as to other things, still as peremptory and stiff as ever. To this Letter Bishop Keith gave no return.

14. (Holograph) Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith, Septemr. 10, 1744, calling all the Scottish Bishops schismaticks, and threatning to Print, with Copy of Bishop Keith's Answer, Septemr. 15, 1744; that he knows his character better as a gentleman and a Bishop than to repay him in kind, and desiring him to address no more Letters to him, for he will not relieve them out of the Post Office; and very easie whether he Prints or not.

15. Two Copies of a Declaration, Aprile 7, 1744, sent into England by Bishop Keith about an intention, falsely spread, of introducing *Liturgia*

Jacobi into the public Worship. Both Copies authenticated by Bishop Keith's own manual corrections.

16. Copies of three most excellent Letters—1, one to Bishop Smith, June 14, 1744; 2, one to Sir Robert Cotton, June 4, 1744; and 3, to some one friend or other (perhaps Thomas Bowdler, Esqr.), June 17, 1744, all by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Cotton, concerning Bishop Smith's angry and turbulent intermeddlings in Scottish affairs.

17. (In the handwriting of Bishop Alexander) A true Narrative of what passed at Dundee, relating to the Conference 'twixt two of the Bishops and two gentlemen of the Sea-gate Meeting, Augt. 31, 1743.

18. Copy, in Shorthand of Bishop Keith, of part of a Letter from Mr. Hary Edgar to Mr. Robert Lyon, July 4, 1745, concerning the woeful affair of Mr. D. Fife, and the Minutes of Synod, 1743.

19. Two Copies of a Letter, Bishop Smith to Mr. D. Fife, after Deposition, Septemr. 13, 1744, owning him still as a Clergyman; all whose hearers (about 3 or 4 excepted) called a qualified Clergyman after the Troubles in 1746!

20. (Copies) Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Cotton to Mr. Robert Lyon (most excellent), Octor. 15, 1744, anent "Mr. Smith's last violent Letter to Bishop Keith, in which grieved at Mr. Smith's resolution to Print; that he seems blinded with passion; and giving the substance of a Letter he (Mr. Cotton) had written to Bishop Gordoun upon the subject—viz., the fatal effects of Printing, which gives the Romish Emissaries a handle to draw off persons, by charging us with being a Parliamentary Church, as they did before, assigning the true reason for refusing the Primitive Usages to be (whatever else might be pretended) the supposed want of power to alter any thing settled by Parliament, &c. Then the uselessness of Printing at any rate, as proceeding from vanity, &c. He then informs he had got a most agreeable Answer from Mr. Gordoun, &c., to which he had made a Reply, that it was a very difficult point to decide how far the coalition of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Power could bind Bishops from exerting Powers allowed to be in them, when for the good of the Church; for that ye ancient Bishops, makeing Constantine a kind of Supreme Ordinary, proved of fatal consequence to ye Church; and that had the Bishop of Alexandria been allowed to censure his own Presbyter Arius, that Heresy had been stop'd at once; but appeals to the Emperor, and intermeddlings of Courtiers, made that Heresy take deep roots, &c. At last the notion of two independent powers became in a manner lost, &c.; so that the Romish Bishops, instead of endeavouring to resume their just rights, gave up all the power of the Church to Henry 8., under the blasphemous Title of Head of the Church.—Queen Elizabeth seemed to give up those powers; but then the Court of Delegates (the last resort) may be Laymen, &c.—Under so good and pious a King as Charles 1st, this might have been remedied, and the Church restored to its Rights; but the Bishops, thô good and great men, finding him ready to support the Church, exalted his power to such a degree, that there are to be

seen Printed, with approbation at the end of Archbishop Laud's Life, Letters of King Charles 1, written with the air and stile of a Supreme Ordinary, demanding an Account of the Bishops of the Government of their Dioceses, &c. It looks extremely odd for one of the Flock to undertake to govern the Shepherds. K. James 2 set up an High Commission Court, and named Archbishop Sancroft one of the Commissioners, who refused to act, saying the whole power given that Court was already in him as Archbishop. Had he gone farther, and forbid his Suffragans to act there, he might have been guilty of '*præmunire;*' but would he have been guilty of Schism? Would that have justified the Scots Bishops to have broken Communion with him? &c. Suppose that by prorogations, Convocations are hindered from sitting, and that the Bishops thought it their duty to sit, and actually do, they are certainly guilty of '*præmunire;*' but can it be said they are guilty of Schism, or that it would be lawful to break Communion with them? In Scotland the breaking off from Rome was in a tumultuous manner; and when King James 1 settled Episcopacy, Scotland was so much inclined to Presbytery that he rather did what he could than what he wished to do. Even the Act of Parliament in K. Charles 2d's Reign, which Bishop Smith builds upon, was rather a temporary expedient to prevent a National Presbyterian-like Assembly, than a fixed settlement of the Church. And now that Presbytery flourishes, and the Church is in distress, and the people have juster notions of Church Government, can the Bishops be guilty of Schism for exerting some powers for the good of the Church, &c.? I dare say misrepresentations have not been made of Mr. Smith, but to him, &c."

21. (Copy) Bishop Smith, Novr. 12, 1744, to Mr. David Fife, Deposed Clergyman in Dundee, wherein that ye Bishops of Scotland are guilty of Perjury, Schism, and Rebellion, and therefore not rightful Bishops, and no Confirmation to be asked of them, &c.

Bishop Smith's Letter to Bishop Keith.

Referred to in 2 *of Number* 13.

R. R. Br.,—It is great grief and vexation to me that I should have the misfortune to be engaged in a dispute w^{t} you and my o^{yr} Colleagues in Scotland. But in my judgement and conscience I'm persuaded your late proceedings can by no means be justify'd; and since I was called upon to give my opinion of y^{m}, I think I am not much to be blamed if I did it w^{t} a freedom w^{ch} the occasion seem'd to me to require. I must confess I am still much of ye same mind I was before, and see no convincing reasons to alter my sentiments in the Papers you were pleas'd to send me, w^{ch} I shall now give you my sense of in the clearest manner I can. I have no Copies of my Letters except of the last I sent you, and y^{t} not perfect; but doubt not ye several particulars you have extracted from y^{m} are faithfully Transcrib'd; and having carefully consider'd y^{m}, I cannot understand of what use they will be to your cause, and how I now act inconsistently w^{t} q^{t} I have there said when ye matter is thoroughly examined, ye case, in my apprehension, being much alter'd from q^{t} it was when most of those Letters were written. As to the passages about the Union which was made here, they can be

nothing to the purpose; for we made no new Canons, or Offices, or Rubricks. We did nothing contrary to the Laws either of our Church or State, but agreed to what was perfectly conformable to y^m. We did not attempt to alter one word in our Office; and since mix'd Wine is Wine, as well as unmix'd, the placing Wine beforehand privately mix'd upon ye H. Table cannot be repugnant to the Rubrick, which prescribes placing Wine there. And the last clause of ye Preface to ye Book of Common Prayer, giving ye Bishops power to interpret ye Rubricks, and put an end to all doubts and disputes about them, by taking Order for ye quieting and appeasing the same, so that the same Order be not contrary to anything contain'd in ye Liturgy. We did no more than use our just power, and interpreted the Rubrick to mean mixt as well as pure Wine, as many other Bishops and Divines of our Church had done before us. We have thus kept w^in the due bounds of Law, and unless you can shew y^t you have done the same in your late proceedings—which I am confident you cannot—it is very easy to discern your case and ours are not paralel. We have not in this affair departed one hairsbreadth from ye Constitution of our Church; we have exercised no power but what y^t has given us; and if you had acted in the same cautious manner, it had been much happier both for yourselves and the Church. When I say y^t ye Bishops of the Ch. of Eng. have the sole right over the Discipline thereof, I don't mean they have the sole right to make new Canons about Discipline, or new Offices or Rubricks; for I know very well y^t such things can't be done but in ye two full Provincial Convocations, composed as well of certain Presbyters as Bishops, and that when once such things are establish'd by this full authority, no lesser authority can alter them. And this was the very reason we gave why we could not admit the least alterations in the Communion Office, when those who were for the Usages requir'd it of us. All I meant by y^t expression was, y^t by the Laws of our Ch. ye Bishops have the sole right of interpreting ye Rubricks already made, and of directing the execution of ye Canons already settled; and that all ye inferiours are to pay a due obedience to such lawfull directions. If, therefore, some Presbyters of ye Ch. of Eng. would not allow ye Bishops in all such matters an authority over y^m, it can't be denied y^t it look'd very like setting up for y^mselves, and advancing themselves to be either above, or at least equal, to their Bishops.

The Mixed Cup.

Provincial Convocations.

Well, what of all this? Will it follow y^t ye Bishops *may* assume the sole right of doing things, when ye Laws of ye Ch. in certain cases have enjoin'd they must have ye concurrence of Presbyters? Will it follow y^t ye Bishops alone can make new Canons and compose new Church Offices, or do even any act of Discipline, when the Constitution of your Ch. gainsays and directs they shall have ye consent of some Presbyters? In some Ch. ye inferiour Clergy have more privileges than in others, and particularly they have more in Scot. than in Eng.; because the Bishops there can do no momentuous act of Jurisdiction without them. Now, it was never my intention to say anything ag^t the Canonical and Legal Rights of Presbyters: this is what I am very sure I never so much as dreamt of. All I design'd was to speak against Presbyters assuming liberties to themselves which ye Law had not given them; which you can't pretend to be the case of those Presbyters who now oppose you; and therefore unless you can prove y^t ye Presbyters of Scot. refuse to obey the authority of ye Bishops, exerted according to ye Laws, it is in vain to imagine that they are now in rebellion

Bishops have no *sole* rights.

ag^{t} their rightfull superiours. For q^{n} Bishops transgress the Laws and act ag^{t} ye superiour authority y^{t} made y^{m}, in y^{t} case they cease to have any authority—the greater and higher authority of a National Synod, ratified by ye Prince, invalidating the lesser and inferiour authority, proceeding contrary to it; and consequently they are not ye rightfull superiors, and all their illegal acts are null.

I was informed both by Mr. Gillan and you y^{t} some of your Presbyters were raising disturbances in your Ch., ag^{t} ye just and lawfull authority of ye Bishops, who had, as I presumed, done nothing repugnant to ye Laws either of your Church or State. I relied entirely upon your testimony in y^{t} matter, as being both of you persons whom I doubted not I could very well trust. For this I scrupled not to condemn all such schismatical practices; and upon your intimation that there was a design to desire me to concur in the Consecration of a Bishop, in order to promote such schismatical purposes (an overture which yet was never made to me or any o^{yr} of my Colleagues, that I know of), I gave you assurances y^{t} none of us would ever come into such unwarrantable measures, upon supposition y^{n} that you adher'd strictly to your Constitution, as I hop'd and then believed you did. I told you we knew our duty better than to stretch ourselves beyond our measure, or to extend our authority to your Province, where we have no right (that is, no ordinary right) to exercise any Jurisdiction; and that 'tis a wicked thing to intermeddle in the affairs of ano^{yr} Province w^{t}out the consent of that Province, such a practice being the way to entail perpetual Schisms upon ye Church.

Mr. Gillan and others.

These were my sentiments then, and are so still. But ye case appears now very different from q^{t} I believed it to be when I wrote those words; for upon your representation of ye matter, w^{ch} I gave full credit to, believing you understood your own Laws better than I did, I doubted not the truth of what you told me, that some of ye then Presbyters were of a factious disposition, and of a seditious and schismatical humour, and had no regard to y^{r} superiours behaving themselves like worthy men, and acting in a lawful and regular way. But those Presbyters who now desire us to assist y^{m}, are not ye factious persons who raise new disturbances; they are guilty of no designs which will not admit of a clear justification. They have done no more than to insist upon y^{r} Canonical rights and privileges, and entreat us to defend y^{m} ag^{t} your manifest encroachments upon both; and, therefore, thô we ought not *needlessly* to transgress our line, yet when we are called upon by persons in our Communion, who are oppress'd for supporting ye Laws and Canons of ye National Ch., to defend them ag^{t} the Bishops, who are openly, by y^{r} inauthoritative proceedings, overturning ye frame of it, it can't be justly entitled "needlessly transgress our line," to use y^{t} extraordinary power God has intrusted us w^{t}, in order to give some check to so flagrant an usurpation upon ye rights both of ye Church and State, w^{ch} we are verily persuaded you in your late Synod have attempted.

Two ways of telling a story.

I confess I was very much a stranger to your Constitution, till I read your Minutes and ye Presbyters' Paper ag^{t} them. But I now find by looking into ye Account thereof given us by the Ch. Historians of both Nations, that ye indiction of all National Synods of your Ch. belong to his Majesty, by ye prerogatives of his Crown, and all Convocations of y^{t} kind, without his License, are merely unlawfull; and y^{t} ye said Assembly shall consist not only of Bishops, but of Deans, Arch-deacons, and such of ye Ministry as

The King supreme in N. Synods.

shall be Elected by ye rest. This you can't but know was Synodically establish'd by ye highest Ecclesiastical authority in 1610, as appears from Spotiswood's History; and at ye restitution of Episcopacy by K. Charles ye 2d, Mr. Collier, p. 887, tells us his Majᵛ had nominated and presented Archbishops and Bishops to yᵉ respective Sees, to exercise and enjoy the same authority with which ye Prelates governed yᵗ Church in ye Reign of his Royal grandfather; and, p. 892, he gives us ye Act of your Parliament for ye establishment of a National Synod, by which it was enacted that it, for ye lawfull members thereof, shall consist of ye Archbishops, Bishops, and Deans, of Archdeacons, Moderators of Meeting for exercise, and of one Presbyter of each meeting, &c.; that this Synod is to meet when and where his Majesty shall appoint, and unless his Majesty or Commissioners be present, no National Assembly shall be kept. 'Tis farther enacted that no Canon, Order, or Ordinance shall be own'd as an Act of ye National Synod, except yᵗ which shall be agreed upon by ye President and major part of ye Members above specified. This is ye Law both of your Church and State, which, wᵗout any manner of necessity, you have transgressed, and by the violation of which ye principal disturbances have been occasioned. This is the Law which all their Predecessors, both before and after ye Revolution, till a very few years since, have observed, particularly ye late excellent and prudent Bishop Ross, who never set about to make new Canons, &c., but believ'd it most for ye peace of ye Church to see to the execution of the old. This another of your Countrymen, Mr. Sage, who well understood the Constitution both of the Primitive Ch. and of your own, in his "Vindication," &c., p. 177, calls ye only true and genuine Constitution of your Ch.; and, p. 178, he says that National Synods, by ye Constitution, consist always of Presbyters having definitive voices as well as Bishops; and in p. 349 he asserts yᵗ by ye Scotish Constitutions, Bishops are limited to act, with the advice and consent of Presbyters, in making of Canons and performing Ordinations, and all other momentuous acts of Jurisdiction; and, p. 350, "that the Scotish Bishops are limited by the very Constitution to do nothing of consequence by themselves, and by consequence there is not now yᵗ hazard of arbitrary Government in Scotl." In which words is couch'd a most severe reflection upon your late proceedings. Here we have ye judgement of ye wisest men of your Ch., even after it fell into a persecuted state, expressly agᵗ you. You will then do well to consider upon what grounds you will be able to vindicate your late enterprizes, and prove them consistent wᵗ your Ecclesiastical Constitution; whether they are not a direct encroachment upon ye just rights and privileges competent to secular powers in Ch. affairs; and whether your declaration yᵗ you don't intend to encroach upon ye said just rights, is not a manifest protestation against fact, and consequently altogether ineffectual to excuse you from such encroachment. And give me leave to ask these plain questions: Can those be rightfull Bishops, or even true Members of a National Church, who persist in thwarting the Constitution of it? And is it anything less than Rebellion in Bishops to persevere in disobeying the just Laws of the Land, and Schism in acting countre to ye Constitution of your National Ch., and in raising factions and seditions to enforce obedience to ye inauthorized Commands? This is what I'm afraid you will never be able to answer.

Collier.

Bishops Ross and Sage.

Queries.

It is plain, then, who those are yᵗ have been the authors of ye new disturbances; who they are that forward and encourage schismatical designs,

and are bringing things to confusion and ruin. I therefore cannot but highly commend those who courageously stand in the gap, who oppose such desperate courses; and I am clearly of the same opinion with the meek and
Kettlewell. pious Mr. Kettlewell, in his Book of Christian Communion (see his Works, vol. 2, p. 595)—"It is just ground (says he) to brake of from Bishops, if they make unrighteous usurpations and encroachments upon ye terms and conditions of y^{r} Communion. Both Bishops and Churches may turn tyrannical and arrogant usurpers upon y^{r} Brethren's liberties, not admitting y^{r} own Members to y^{r} Communion without acknowledging and submitting to their unjustly and illegally assumed powers. And when they will allow Communion to none, unless they are content to purchase it at such rates, good Christians may pass them by, and unite themselves to o^{yr} Churches, where they will be more justly and fairly dealt with. The Communion of Christians is a Communion of Brethren upon brotherly terms; not of captives who must submit to any terms, or bear q^{t} hardships and encroachments are put upon them by their conquerors. They are not bound to purchase unity by enslaving themselves, or any Brethren's Communion, by receiving their yoke, or giving up their own rights and liberties." If then you still insist upon your Clergy's paying obedience to your illegal Canons, and resolve, against Law and Justice, to bind these fetters close upon them, as plainly
M'Kenzie. appears you do, from your Letter to Mr. M'Kenzie, and your late amazing separation from him, you plainly perceive who they are that have already commenced ye Schism, and at whose door all ye sad consequences of so unjustifiable a step must ly. In such a case as this, the persons aggriev'd have a right to seek a remedy from o^{yr} neighbouring Bishops, if they can't find a cure for their troubles at home. And thô it be true that no Bishops ought to invade the rights of their other Brethren, acting in a regular and Canonical manner, yet it is as true that all Bishops are not only to attend ye government of ye flocks peculiarly committed to their charge, but ye care of the whole flock, in extraordinary cases, does likewise belong to y^{m}, when ye interest of Religion is at stake, and the peace of ye Church broken by their Colleagues. "For," as S. Cyprian says, "the Episcopate is one, part of which each Bishop shares, so as to have a right in ye whole; and thô we are many Shepherds, yet we feed but one flock, and are obliged to gather together and cherish all the sheep which Christ has purchased with His blood and passion. And if any of our College make a Schism, and endeavour to tear and waste the flock of Christ, let ye rest come in to y^{r} rescue. If then your late Synodical proceedings, so plainly repugnant to ye Laws, have occasion'd a rupture in your Church, ye pastoral care being common to all who have ye office of Bishops, it is our duty to assist and support those who have been compelled to make their complaints against you; and, in the first place, to admonish you in a friendly way to rescind and annul your too violent measures, which we hereby request and exhort you to do; and if y^{t}
Serious threats of Schism. shall not have the desired effect, then to provide for ye injur'd Members of our Communion in ye best manner we can. And if hereby a Schism is entail'd upon ye Ch., you will remember that we are not the persons that cause this mischief, but you, who throw off all love and regard for those faithfull sons of your Ch. who adhere to her Constitution, which you forsake and do all you can to subvert. But I hope you will, by resolving to return to your duty, and to a dutifull obedience to ye Laws of your Church, and to ye unity of it, which you have violated, make up the breach. This is what

we most heartily wish and earnestly beg of you. For, as it has been our endeavour hitherto, so 'tis now by this present Letter, to promote peace and compose your differences as much as lies in our power. This alone is what we aim at by our interposition, and we trust the God of peace and love will so melt your hearts that it will not be fruitless. Recommends Harmony.

In one of my Letters to you, I say that if a perfect harmony and unanimity among ye Bishops of Scot. could once be brought about, the ill humours of their inferiors would have but small influence. But here, good Sir, I did not mean a harmony and unanimity of any sort or in any thing that was bad, but only such a harmony and unanimity as was agreeable to, and would conspire in supporting, their Constitution. I little imagin'd such an unanimity was endeavoured after as would entirely unhinge it, as I with sorrow find now to be the case. It was allways my avow'd principle, which I have taken the best care I can to pursue, that Bishops should studiously adhere to the Constitution of their Church, and obey all the just Laws of the State about Ecclesiastical affairs. This you can't but know was the very plan upon which we proceeded in our late Union. But you will not endure your authority should be thus shackled. Both Church and State must give way to it. It resolves to be free and absolute, and will not submitt to be regulated either by Canons or Laws. But while it thus disdains to own any subjection, methinks it is somewhat unreasonable to challenge obedience from others, and loudly to complain of the ill humours, faction, and rebellion of inferiors, who disobey it on no other account but because itself is so ill dispos'd as to be guilty of that very fault which it unjustly accuses them of. If the things commanded by this inferior authority were lawfull, it were another case; but how can they be lawfull when they are clean contrary to the Laws of a superior authority—those of a National Synod and of the Prince; both which powers conjoyn'd have expressly limited the Episcopal authority, so that it cannot act in that absolute manner which you with so much vehemence contend for. Laws and Canons.

You insinuate as if I was as much to blame for setting up and heading a Communion opposite to the Bishops in Scotland, as Mr. Campbell was for doing so to the Bishops in England; but still you must prove the two cases alike. You must shew that the English Bishops, as you have done, made Canons, or did something not warranted by the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil; and that Mr Campbell for that reason thought himself bound, for the good of the flock, who believ'd it their duty to obey those Laws, and consequently to disobey those Canons, to preserve them in the true Com^{n} of the Church of England. Now, you cannot but be conscious the reverse of this is the truth; and therefore Mr. Campbell's practices will not admit of any defence, unless you are of the same opinion with him, that the Church of England itself is schismatical, by having, through some pretended defects, separated itself from the Primitive. In the next place, this insinuation supposes that there is in fact a Communion opposite to the Bishops in Scotland. If there is, then the question will be, which is the true Communion there and which is the schismatical. Now, this may easily be resolv'd by considering which side sticks to the Constitution, and which has deserted it; and then the result will be, that the side which sticks to it must be the true Com^{n} of the National Church, and that the other is an entirely new, and consequently a schismatical Church, set up in opposition to the National. If, then, there is indeed a Schism, the Bishops who head Bishop Campbell in England.

Who are Schismatics?

this new Church or Com^{n}, and their adherents, must be the Schismaticks; for, as the learned Dr. Hickes, who understood the nature of Church Com^{n} as well as any now living, says very pertinently, in his Book of the Constitution of the Catholic Church, p. 200—"Obedience neither is nor can be due to Bishops which overthwart the local Customs and Constitutions of the places where they pretend to be Bishops." What, then, must the true and faithfull Members of a National Church do, who, through the defection of all their Bishops from the Com^{n} of it, are deserted by them, and are left, as it were, in a state of widowhood? Most certainly they have no other choice left but to apply to other Bishops of their Com^{n} to aid them in their calamitous circumstances. Their own Bishops, by becoming *strangers* to the Constitution of their Church, are become strangers to them, whose call and voices they are not bound to hear; and therefore they naturally come under the more immediate care of other Bishops of the same Com^{n}, who, thô they are strangers in a Civil, yet are not so in an Ecclesiastical sense, in a case of this nature. But we have not yet headed a Com^{n} opposite to yours. We are willing to hope you will return to the same Com^{n} your Predecessors were of, and will not finally leave it. We wish you to reform your past mistakes, and then we shall with joy and all fraternal affection again acknowledge you to be true and lawful Bishops of the Church of Scotland; otherwise our heading those of our Com^{n} among you will at length become absolutely necessary, and will not be a crime but a duty; and this in the case now before us will not be stretching ourselves beyond our measure, or needlessly transgressing our line. For upon such an occasion, when the quiet of the Church is disturbed and its unity broke, we, as Catholick Bishops, ought to administer comfort and succour to the Flock committed in common to us, which is left without lawfull Shepherds, and implores our help against those who seek to enslave it. To act thus is not to act anything against just authority, but against an usurp'd power, against rebellious and schismatical practices, against a violation of the Laws both of Church and State, against an invasion of the rights and liberties of your Brethren—things you will never be able to clear yourselves of; which, therefore, I heartily pray to God, that both for your own and your Church's benefite, you may speedily ammend.

Bishop Smith's Defence of his threat.

Synod of 1738.

You tell me that in one of my Letters, I applaud everything done in your Synod in 1738. What was done there I don't remember, neither have I the Minutes to consult. If there were any new Canons made by the Bishops alone, however I might applaud them then, when I had, I own, a very lame and imperfect notion of your Constitution, and charitably imagin'd the Bishops would never attempt to break the laws of it—I give it you under my hand that I utterly disapprove of them now, being clearly convinc'd you have no more authority than we in that particular, which is none at all. The Bishops of the Church of England, during the time of the Rebellion, in the Reign of K. C., &c., when they were under much greater distress than the Bishops of Scotland have been for many years, did not think themselves at liberty to do any thing contrary to the Laws still in force, notwithstanding their Repeal by the usurping powers; and the Bishops of the same Ch., who have followed their example since the Revolution, have all along believ'd the Laws both of Church and State still retain their power of obliging the conscience. The same may be said of your own Bishops who were ejected in K. Wm.'s time; and how you came to fancy you are delivered

from this obligation is, I confess, beyond my comprehension. Bishops are undoubtedly subjects as well as other men, and they ought not to infringe what has been regularly establish'd both in Synod and by the Laws of the State confirming the Synodical decrees; and the Commission they have received from Christ will not warrant them to contraveen such superior authority, unless they can shew that such an establishment is contrary to the Laws of God, or that some urgent necessity requires something extraordinary should be done for the publick advantage of the Church. In such particular cases, which very rarely happen (and such I take that of introducing a Liturgy to be, to prevent the nauseous tautologies, the rashness and confusion, not to say blasphemies, that cleave to extempore prayers), I grant it may be justly presum'd that it is the intention of Lawgivers to dispense with their Laws; and then in the like circumstances as your Church is in, the care of it naturally returns to the Bishops and Pastours, to whom Christ committed it. But unless you can make it evident that all, or even any of your transactions in the late Synod, come under the case of Necessity, the Laws will have their due force against them, and render them of no validity. Let me then, I beseech you, ask—Are any of your new Canons necessary? Nay, was not your Church in a much more peaceable state before the enacting of them than since, and consequently are they so much as expedient?. Is it necessary for you, by your sole authority, to draw up farther catechetical instructions than are contained in the Liturgy? And have not the youth both in your Church and ours been sufficiently instructed by the use of the present Catechism, being diligently explained by those whose duty it is to instruct them? And will you affirm there is any manner of occasion for a new Ordinal? Please to answer these plain questions, and then I will no longer oppose but vindicate you.

Extempore Prayers.

Piquant Questions.

There is one of your Canons which I cannot but particularly take notice of, as it concerns you rather more than any other of your Colleagues, and that is the 9th, about the Exemption. By virtue of this Canon you have, during the vacancy of the See of Edinb., exempted your Congregation from that See. Now, besides that the exemption of a parcel of a Bishoprick, made by the remaining Bishops alone, without staying for the consent of the future Bishop and his Clergy, and also that of the State, seems a manifest injury to that See, I must put you in mind, and I wish you had before considered it, that such exemptions are against the Laws both of your Church and State; since, as appears from Archbishop Spotswood, p. 514, these have taken all possible care to remove and prevent them in the following words:—"Whereas there be in sundry Dioceses some Churches belonging to other Bishops, that care be taken to exchange the Churches one with another, that all the Dioceses may be contiguous, if possibly they may be performed." Perhaps you will in defence of your Canon say that some few of the Bishops of England have exempt Chappels in or near London, and therefore why may not you? But to this I answer—That the English Bishops have not this privilege merely from an Episcopal Canon, but from the consent of all parties concern'd, viz., that of the Bishop in whose Diocese the Chappel is, and that of the Pope also, and of the King; for you can't but know that these Exemptions were first made in Popish times; and since the Reformation, they have been confirmed by Act of Parl. in Hen. 8th's time. When you can shew such authority for your Exemption, nobody will dispute that privilege, thô there is no footstep of it in the primitive ages. But if you

Canon of Exemption.

can't, will not those you call Rebels be apt to say that you exalt yourselves above Popes and Kings, and the Pontifical and Regal authority must yield to yours? I am afraid, notwithstanding your Canon, Mr. Mackenzie will have a very strong plea against you, and I can't but be concern'd to find you have parted with him upon this account. This your separation from a faithfull Presbyter, who abides by the Establish'd Constitution of your Church, seems to amount to a publick declaration you have left the Communion of the Establish'd Church; and then yours is a schismatical assembly, and no one who has a regard for his spiritual interest ought to join in it. This is the learned Mr. Falkener's judgement in his *Libertas Ecclesiastica*, p. 51, where he says that one of the conditions requir'd in any particular fixt Assembly, embracing the Christian Faith and Worship in the place of our residence, to make it our duty, upon account of the Christian unity, to joyn therein, is this—that the Assembly we joyn in doth not maintain an *unwarrantable separation* from the Communion of the Established *Church;* for here to joyn in Communion is to joyn in separation, and is like Barnabas and the other Jews joining with S. Peter, who all walked contrary to the truth of the Gospel, in withdrawing from the Communion of the Gentiles at Antioch, and the Communicating with such a separating Assembly would be a breach of that Apostolical Command of avoiding those who cause divisions. And we may observe that the joining in *needless* separations, being a sin against the commands of Christ, which require Christian Unity and Connection, cannot be warranted *by any authority upon earth*."

M'Kenzie; Falkener.

You have cited several passages out of my Letters, wherein I have given the preference to the Scottish Liturgy; but 'tis obvious to observe that I don't mean it is better than ours in things of any moment. It is only in circumstantials, not in the substance or essence of the Ministration, it is a little fuller expressed in some particulars, which yet are sufficiently provided for in ours. But at the same time I allow it to be better in this respect; yet I assert that ours is better with respect to the present circumstances of the Church, it being a better instrument of preserving the strict union of both Churches, and also of maintaining peace and unity among yourselves. And this I have not only asserted but proved in mine of Octr. 9, and it is my opinion my arguments cannot be answered: this, however, I am sure of, that you have not answered them. For which reason I cannot but complain of your partial citations out of that Letter, with regard to the Liturgies; whereas, if you had fairly quoted all that relates to that business, every Reader, I am persuaded, must be convinced of this truth, that it would be much happier for both Churches if no other Com. Office but ours were, during our present situation, used in them. I expect, therefore, from your candor, that you will do me so much justice as to send Mr. Lyon, to whom you have sent the Excerpts, a Copy of the most considerable part of my Letter, Dated 9 Octr., beginning with these words—"I thought once here to have made an end, but since I know you expect to be informed," &c. And this necessary request I make because I have not an exact Copy of that Letter, and that Mr. Lyon may communicate the whole to my worthy friends, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Bowdler, to whom he has shewed the scrapes, in order to prejudice them ag^{t} me. Let this be honestly done, and then they will, it may be, see things in another light than you endeavour to put them in. What I have strongly pressed in that Letter is, that there might be an universal uniformity in the Publick Worship. And do not you desire the

Scottish Liturgy.

Cotton and Bowdler.

same? Are not these, good Sir, your own words:—"Is there any person, either within or without this Kingdom, so envious as to be sorry to see any *Liturgy* received with universal approbation? Ought not every true Christian, instead of obstructing, to wish for such an happy event (*i.e.*, for a Nation to be fully united in one mind and voice), and when it comes, if ever it shall come, to hold up his hands and say, *Praised be the Lord?*" Now if it would be envious in any person to be sorry to see any *Liturgy* received with universal approbation, pray what sort of people must they be who, I fear, would be right sorry to see the English so received? And if it would be happy for a Nation to be fully united in one mind and voice, would it not be a still much happier event if both Nations were so? Why then do some, who I hope are true Christians, use their utmost efforts to obstruct it? But this I know is a tender point, and therefore shall say no more about it. I shall only take the liberty to add that, notwithstanding the very weak objections made ag^t^ it, our Office is as agreeable to our B. Saviour's Institution, and also to the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church in all necessary points, as any Office whatever; and this we are, God be thanked, very able to demonstrate against all gainsayers. Defence of the English Liturgy.

But, however, to put an end to this part of the dispute, we are willing to compromise the matter. We shall not insist upon the sole use of our Liturgy, althô we think there is much to be said for it from its having the first and sole possession. We are willing to lay aside our fears and suspicions, and to hope it is your settled judgement that both Offices are in sense and substance the same. Now, in order to give us a full assurance of this, we desire that the Bishops will unanimously make a Declaration that they approve of the use of the Church of England's Office, as well as of their own, and don't refuse to Communicate where it is used; and to prevent and obviate the calumnies of the malicious, that they will promise sometimes (suppose once a year) to officiate by it; and that they will re-establish the 1st Article of the Concordate, wherein the English Office is put upon an equal foot with their own; and that they will strictly adhere to this Article, not deviating in the least from the Words or Rubricks of either Liturgy, or making any alteration in them, either by mutilating, adding, or transposing, otherwise it is manifest the Article of the Concordate is not observed; for if the Offices are any way altered, 'tis plain they are neither the Scottish nor the English, but other Offices of men's own devising; and if once a change is admitted, it is hard to tell where it will end. We are well informed what changes are made in both Offices, and particularly we know that the Office commonly used as the Scottish, is in several instances different from the genuine one Published in K. Ch. 1st's time. And besides, it is notorious enough that some interlard it with Dr. Rattray's additions, mentioned in Bishop Dunbar's Letter. Now, we desire that no such unauthorised practice be permitted for the future, since nothing but schism and confusion can be the issue of it. And if you will condescend to put the matter upon this foot, we shall then be satisfied there is a perfect agreement between the two Churches in this matter, for that you will thereby give full evidence there is no necessity for the alterations in either of the Liturgies; and you may depend upon it we will give you all the assistance we can in promoting this settlement. Compromise. Scotch Liturgy interlarded.

Bishop Alexander is displeased with me in supposing there was a design of extirpating our Office; but certainly to take away its establishment, which

Extirpating the English Office.

was the Concordate, looks extremely like such a design. For suppose the Engl. Parl[t] should declare the Act of Uniformity vacated, would not every man conclude the purpose was to extirpate the Liturgy, especially, too, if the Parl[t] should at the same time strongly recommend another; for this would demonstrate that thô the former might be tolerated for a while, yet the rooting it out by degrees was intended, in order to the establishment of the latter Liturgy. Unless, therefore, the 1st Article of the agreement be restored, we must believe the extirpation of it was in view; and then neither we nor your own Rebells, as you call them, will be able to forbear guessing at the reasons of it, and laying them open in the most publick manner, which the necessary defence of the Church of England will require us.

As to your intention of introducing St. James's Liturgy into the Publick Worship, our belief of it, I assure you, did not proceed from any injurious representation some people gave us, as Mr. Alexander supposes, but from what seemed to us the most obvious and natural sense of Bishop Dunbar's Letter and your answer to it, backed with your proceedings in the Synod, wherein you exactly follow Mr. Dunbar's advice. And this was not only my opinion, whom you may perhaps imagine to be prejudiced, but also that of my Colleagues, upon their careful perusal of your Minutes. Mr. Dunbar desires you to establish Bishop Rattray's Canons, and not *at this time* to enjoin the Scottish Liturgy, but only to recommend it, and that for this reason—because *one more primitive and excellent, which cost Dr. R. much labour, and which he has left in a very fair MS., may one day be Published and received with universal approbation.* You have exactly followed his advice as far as you could for the present; you have established those Canons; you have not *at this time* enjoined, but only strongly recommended the Scottish Liturgy. You likewise say in your Letter that his sentiments are *in all respects just in things touched upon by him*, and that he will find by the Minutes how just a regard you have for them. Now we know that a fair MS. of Dr. R.'s had been sent up to be Published; and not imagining there was any other fair MS., we, as any man would, thought we had good reason to infer that this, when Published, was to be made use of, especially since the only reason (as we verily believed from the wording of the Letters and your proceedings) why the Scottish Liturgy was not then enjoined, but only recommended, was because you waited for S. James's Liturgy, as Mr. Dunbar advised you, and as you seemed to us to intend by your saying his sentiments in things touched upon are in all respects just. You say in your Declaration—"That you have taken no notice of that expression of Bishop Dunbar's neither in the Canons nor your Letter; so far otherwise, that by recommending the use of the Scottish Liturgy, you have plainly shewn you intended no further alterations." To this might very well be answered that you have not taken express notice in your Letter of any of the particulars in Mr. Dunbar's, but have commended them all in the lump. Is it not then natural to suppose you intended to commend the particular of the fair MS. as well as any of the rest? And the recommending the use of your Liturgy is very far from shewing you intended no further alterations: it rather shews the direct contrary; because, as any one might reasonably collect, you recommended it only for the present till the other should be Published, in order to be recommended if not enjoined by you, as more primitive and excellent. Now, I will be judged by any one whether our construction of Bishop Dunbar's Letter, &c., considering all circumstances, is not very

Bishop Rattray's Canon.

Bp. Dunbar.

natural. But, however, since Mr. Dunbar himself, whose age we reverence, and who must know his own meaning best, solemnly affirms he was for no changes at present in the Publick Worship; and since you and Mr. Alexander declare that neither yourselves, nor any other of the Bishops, intended any further alterations, we hereby assure you we are fully satisfied with your Declaration, and are heartily glad you have no such intention; and thô, as you may perceive, we had not the least thought of injuring you by maliciously putting this interpretation upon your words and actions, yet we very willingly ask your pardon for it.

There is yet one passage in Mr. Dunbar's last Letter to you, which you may easily imagine we must be concerned at—"If you have not seen (says he) the MS. that I recommended, I now tell you it had two columns on each page. In the 1st was the Scottish Com. Office; in the other were such parcells of the Liturgies of S. James and S. Clement as he (Bishop Rattray) thought desirable or, it may be, *necessary* to be brought in at their proper marked places. And this, I think, but am not sure, was his practice when he administered the H. Eucharist in his own house." I am sorry to find this was that worthy person's practice; but, having a respect for his memory, I shall make no reflections upon it, and shall only observe that his example and, it may be, encouragement, has induced others to do the same, as I am well assured you will find upon a strict inquiry. Bishop Rattray's practice.

Thô you intend no further alterations in the Communion Office, yet your Minutes inform us that you intended alterations in the Catechism and the Ordinal. Now this gives some ground to suspect you design the same in other Offices; and most certainly you have as much right in the one case as in the other. This, methinks, savours too much of an innovating spirit; but you must be sensible this right which you assume will always be contested with you, and, I may venture to foretell, will never be able to prevail against your own Church Establishment, by the Rules of which you can compile no new Offices by your own authority. As to the Ordinal, 'tis plain you ought not to set the English aside, because it appears from the custom and practice of your Church, which you can't contradict, that it is authorized both by your Church and State. I grant your own Ordinal, having the same publick authority to warrant it, may likewise be used in the Consecration of Bishops. But how defective it is with regard to the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, appears from the following words in Mr. Collier's History, vol. ii., p. 768:—"Wederburn acquainted the Archbishops with some defects in the Scottish Ordinal, as, 1st, that the Order of Deacons was made no more than a Lay Office; and, 2dly, in the admission to the Priesthood, the essential words for conferring Orders were omitted. When the King understood their Book was thus remarkably short, he commanded Laud to give them the choice of this alternative: either to admit the Eng. Book, or else to rectify their own in these two important instances. And in the King's instructions, the Archbishops, &c., are required that in their Book of Ordination, in giving Orders to Presbyters, they should keep the words of the English Book without any change—*Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.*" Now it does not appear there was ever any such alteration made as the King enjoined, the Episcopal Government being soon after in a tumultous manner overturned. But it is very plain there was a necessity for this change, and therefore no question but the Bishops and Pastors, especially when enjoined to do so by the King, might provide for the supplying of such material Private Alterations. Defects of the Ordinal.

Severe hits as to Scotch Episcopal Ritual.

defects. Hence, when Episcopacy was restored, all parties concerned in giving authority to a Form of Ordination concurred in allowing the use of the English, but probably not so as to exclude your own Form in the Consecrating of Bishops, its sufficiency for that purpose being agreed to by all. Now, since you can't pretend there is a necessity for farther changes, it follows that upon all such occasions you must either use the Old Ordinal without any new additions, or else the English, these being the only Offices owned by your Church. If, therefore, you should use any new Office, you act contrary to the Publick Establishment, and whoever is Ordained thereby cannot be a Bishop of your Establish'd Church; neither can any of those who either Ordain him or allow of his Ordination. For by this unlawful act they would set up and make themselves Bishops of a new Church, distinct and separate from the Establish'd, and from the Church of England, which is in Communion with it. I beg, therefore, you will be content with your present Offices, and let not an itch of novelty hurry you on to undertake what you can never defend. I had not the opportunity, thô I saw it in the Lawyers' Library, carefully to examine your Ordinal; but as to ours, I believe it is as agreeable to the monuments of the remotest antiquity, as you or any other learned person can draw up.

I return you thanks for informing me that you have an original Act of Ordination, performed *secundum morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*. But you know, according to the Proverb, "One swallow does not make a summer;" and, besides, these words might be perfectly true thô it was performed by our Office, which your Church had naturalized and made her own; so that such an Act seems no convincing proof that the person was not Ordained by our Form. And, lastly, if this was the Ordination of a Presbyter, it is too plain the validity of it might be questioned, thro' the insufficiency of the Ritual. And, indeed, I do not much wonder at such an Act in 1680, since your Bishops and Clergy had, before the Revolution, very loose notions concerning Ordination, and admitted Ministers, merely Presbyterians, to officiate as Clergymen without an Episcopal Commission. But we need make no more words about this. Keep close either to the Scot. or Engl. Ordinal in the Consecration of Bishops, and to the Scot. or Engl. Com. Office, and nobody then will raise any objection.

Be either Scotch or English.

I don't understand for what purpose you cite a passage of one of my Letters to Mr. Gillan, about a Countreyman of yours (one Clerk, if I remember right), who fled out of the Kingdom for getting a woman with child; and being in Deacon's Orders, was afterwards a Curate at Jarrow, in this neighbourhood; and being recommended to the Bishop of Edin^{r} to be made a Priest, by some of our Communion at Newcastle, who knew nothing of his crime, was Ordained by him, and now acts under Mr. Campbell at London. I can assure you I had no hand in recommending him for Orders, and therefore how this affects me I can't imagine. If somebody has endeavoured to blacken me upon this man's account, I hope you will let me know, and give me an opportunity of clearing my reputation; for he is one I never saw in all my life, nor heard of till after he became Mr. Campbell's Presbyter.

Clerk's Fornication.

The affair of Mr. Fife is a point of some delicacy, and it will be a difficult matter to speak of it without giving offence; but I am obliged to say something, and therefore I shall touch it as tenderly as the nature of the thing will bear. And 1. You cannot but be apprized that, at the very time

when I was at Edin^r^, Mr. Fife's Censure was construed, both by the people of Dundee and others, to be a designed affront put upon the English Office; and you may please to remember, that when I asked you what was the ground of the quarrel, you told me in these very words, "it was about the Liturgy." Now, you can't imagine but such a seemingly, at least, contumelious usage of our Church is somewhat hard of digestion; and I believe, if it were your own case, you would be as impatient under it as I was. 2. I grant that Mr. Fife's intrusion (abstractly considered, without those alleviating circumstances which I gave you an account of in my Letter) was an act highly provoking and schismatical, and deserving the severest censure. But you know I gave you in my Letter good reason to believe there were mistakes and misunderstandings on both sides, and that therefore considering the bad consequences of such censure, it was much better to use tenderness than the utmost rigour. You have my words before you, and therefore I need not repeat them. This I am sure of, that if you had transcribed that part of my Letter as you should have done, and as I now request you to do, the passages you have extracted would not bear that invidious sense which you would insinuate. 3. If Mr. Fife's Intrusion was irregular, so likewise was your Censure, it being contrary to the very nature and end of Church Discipline, which is for edification and not for destruction; and also contrary to the sentiments and practice of the Primitive Church to come to extremities, where a multitude is concerned, which yourself was pleased to acknowledge. And, therefore, I take leave to answer to Bishop Alexander's question—What was then left for the Bishops to do other than what they did?—that the severity of Discipline in such a case was not to be exerted, lest the Church should be involved in a dangerous Schism; and such a multitude of offenders had better been tolerated than the Church be divided. 4. Before Mr. Fife's Deposition, the Concordate, upon which the Establishment of the English Office stood, was vacated, and the Scottish Office alone was to be recommended in the strongest manner. Now, this act of yours was enough to make any body conclude, with Mr. Fife and his people, that you had no very kind inclinations towards our Office; and the Deposition, coming upon the back of it, might reasonably enough induce one to believe it one of the *strong manners* of recommending the other, althô you may perceive it had a quite contrary effect. It is very plain by declaring it vacated you broke the Concordate, which was the Original Contract made by yourselves, and the very condition upon which the obedience of the Clergy and people was due to you. Now, this is at least as unjustifiable a step as Mr. Fife's Intrusion; and when you had thus by your own mouths given them a discharge from farther obeying you, the consequence must be, that any censure you should afterwards pass, could not affect those who were no longer under an obligation of duty to you. 5. In this Deposition you did not observe the regular course of proceeding. The Canon of your Church, relating to this affair, is this (see Sage's "Vindication," p. 178)—"In the Deposition of Ministers, the Bishop associating to himself the Ministers of the Bounds, where the Delinquent served, he is then to make trial of his fault, and upon just cause found, to Deprive." Now, the three Bishops ordered to attend the trial, were not Ministers of the Bounds; therefore, the cause was brought, *coram non judice*, before a Court which had no lawful Jurisdiction, and consequently the sentence passed there was invalid. 6. If before the Deposition in your Synod, illegally and uncanonically assembled,

Fife's Case.

His Deposition illegal.

Bishop Smith siding strong with Fife.

you, by taking upon you to make new Canons and Decrees, contrary to the Laws of your Church, shewed yourselves resolved to pay no farther regard to your National Constitutions, and consequently ceased to be any longer rightfull Bishops of the National Communion; it is a great question with me whether you had any right to inflict a Censure upon Mr. Fife, who was a Presbyter of that Communion, and whether he is not therefore still *rectus in curia*, notwithstanding that censure.

Now, put all these things together, and then consider if impartial people would not judge it at least doubtful whether you or he have offended most. It is certainly, then, the best way for all sides to follow the Apostle's advice —"Put on therefore, bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel ag^{t} any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye." But even suppose he is the only delinquent, it may, I hope without offence, be said others have been so in a like kind. Whatever measure, then, has been meted to you, let the same be measured to another. What has been done in your own case, even so do to your brother; if you have received gentle usage, it is but equitable you should return it. This seems to be good and Christian counsel, and we trust you will follow it, which we heartily beseech you to do, as one necessary means to re-establish the peace of the Church. And we hope you will have some regard to our intercession, which we are willing to believe would be sufficient for the saving both your honour and authority. Nobody doubts but the Church may assert or relax its Discipline as it sees cause. Ecclesiastical Law is not a Rule of indispensable obligation to the Church, but such as it may and ofttimes has receded from, on great reason and necessity. What Rules the Church makes, it may abate and go off from in particular cases, as need shall require, and as may best serve those ends for which it made them. To heal the division made by the Donatists, Melchiades and the Synod of Rome, as S. Austin relates, declared their readiness to send communicatory Letters even to those who were Ordained by Majorinus; and decreed that whereso-ever, by reason of the breach, there were two Bishops, he should be Confirmed who was first Ordained, which S. Austin applauds as an innocent and perfect, a providential and pacifick, judgement. And afterwards, in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, whereat S. Austin himself was present, concerning the reception of the Donatists into the Church, it was decreed that the Donatist Clergy, on their return to the Church, shall be received into their proper Honours or Degrees of Orders; like as 'tis manifest they have been received in Africk in the times foregoing. These are noble precedents for relaxing and making abatements in cases that will not bear the extremity or rigour of the Law; and as it becomes all pious, meek, and humble Bishops who have any regard for the Unity of the Church (the maintaining of which is the end of all Discipline), to lay aside all their passions and resentment, and charitably to follow them.

Pleading urgently for his reinstatement.

Proposals.

I now come to propose to you as the result of all I have said, the method which we conceive may be a proper ground for restoring perfect tranquillity and an universal good understanding, and leave it to your most serious consideration.

1. That you suspend *sine die* the execution of all new Canons, as being made contrary to your National Church Constitution, and that you never attempt the like for the future, but content yourselves, after the laudable

example of your Predecessors, with executing the old ones already canonically and legally enacted; and that in all your Constitutions for the time to come, you consider only of the best means of doing so.

2. That you re-establish the first Article of the Concordate, wherein the two Liturgies are put upon an equal foot; and that in order to the right and true observation of that Article, you direct all the Clergy not to deviate in the least title from the Words or Rubricks of either of them, neither adding to, mutilating, or transposing any part thereof; and for stopping all misapprehensions, that you, and all Presbyters using the Scottish Liturgy, shall at least once a year Officiate by the English, to demonstrate your perfect agreement and Communion with the Church of England, and that you will declare you will Communicate indifferently where either Liturgy is used; and lastly, that you will make no alteration in any other part of the Book of Com. Prayer, or in the Forms of Ordination, but will, in the Consecration of Bishops, either use the Scottish or English Form, and in the Ordination of Priests and Deacons the English only.

3. To shew your earnest desire of perfectly establishing the peace and unity of the Church, that you will please to declare, that either out of your own free grace and favour, or upon our request and mediation, which you please, you are willing to relax the rigour of Discipline, and to receive any Clergyman, in his proper character and station, and his people to Communion, who, having been guilty of no other crime but simply separating from you, or who being, under censure for such separation only, shall return to your Communion.

And now, dear Sir, I have laid open to you my whole mind about the momentuous affair, and hope what I have said and offered will not be altogether unregarded. You may depend upon it we have no other point in view but restoring peace upon the surest and most lasting foundation; and if we could once see any probability of that, it would be matter of great joy to us. I thank you for your kind admonitions, to which it will be your own faults if a just respect is not paid. Do but your own duty, and then it will be very true that we neither have just call nor title to mix in your Church affairs. We have not been yet called upon nor sollicited by any body to do what you speak of, whatever you may suspect; and I hope we never shall. For, besides that you may easily suppose nobody would be very fond of being engaged in such troublesome affairs, you may be assured it would be the highest satisfaction imaginable to see every difference composed, and all feuds and animosities extinguished; and I wish what is here said may contribute in some measure towards so desirable an end. And thô it must be confessed you have not given us any great encouragement to make any application to you, yet to show you how desirous we are of corresponding with you in an amiable and brotherly way, I give you my word that what is here said, shall be communicated to no person whatever in Scotland besides yourself, unless it appears there is no preserving your friendship upon just and reasonable terms, which I shall be infinitely concerned at; and even if that unhappy case should fall out (which God forbid), I shall give you notice of my intentions to Publish this as my vindication. In the meantime, for peace sake, I am very willing to bear with patience those aspersions which your spreading of these Papers, as I have cause to suspect, may occasion some to load me with. However, you must give me leave to send a Copy of this to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Bowdler, to whom Mr. Lyon has shewn the

Excerpts; for I must own I can't endure my reputation should suffer in the opinion of persons whose friendship I have so much reason to value. And thus, dear Sir, being well nigh tired, I conclude myself,

Your very affect. Brother and faithful Monitor in Christ,

G. Smith.

Copy of a Letter from Bishop Gordon of England to his Brother, Bishop Smith.

R. R. and Dear Brother,—I have perused the above Letter to Bishop Keith, and thô there may be some particulars in it wherein perhaps I might have chose to express myself differently; yet I do very readily and heartily assent to the three propositions at the close of it, which I could wish (for the sake of all parties any way concerned in these unhappy affairs) might be complied with, as the proper and solid basis on which to repair the breaches already made. For thus, in my humble opinion, might jealousies be extinguished, all unreasonable clamour stopped, and the due exercise of authority supported and preserved, which otherwise must be for ever crushed between the two extremes of haughtiness and contempt. And it is also my earnest Prayer to God, the Author of Peace and Concord, that Peace may speedily be restored to His Church, that we may ever be inseparably united with our Brethren of Scotland in the bonds of Love and Charity, and that we may always live and correspond with them as Brethren and Colleagues indeed.

That God would vouchsafe His blessing to these and all other laudable endeavours for the peace and edification of His Church, is, dearest Brother, the most cordial Prayer of

Your most affect. humble Servant,

Robt. Gordoun.

Copy of a Letter from Bishop Mawman of England to Bishop Smith.

R. Revd. Sir,—I have carefully read and considered all the Papers you sent me relating to the unhappy differences in Scotland, and own it gives me the greatest concern to find that our Brethren there have made many deviations from their legal Constitution. I hope by this time they may be sensible of the mischiefs that must necessarily attend it, and flatter myself that the brotherly advice you send our good Brother, Mr. Keith, may have some weight with him and his Colleagues, in order to put a stop to this impending evil. I would hope what you propose might effectually do it; and as for my own part (and in this I know you will agree w^{t} me), I should be content with whatever themselves would do, in the healing way, to preserve that harmony which should subsist among themselves, and with us their Sister Church. This is all we have in view; and that Almighty God would inspire all Governours with the Spirit of Meekness and Charity, and their subjects with Duty and Obedience, is the earnest Prayer of,

Dear Sir, your ever, &c.,

Timo. Mawman.

Stockton, June 16, 1744.

Follow in Bishop Smith's hand to Bishop Keith:—You will please to send these Papers separately to your Colleagues, with my respects and service, and communicate their sentiments as well as your own as soon as conveniently you can.

Bishop Keith to his Colleagues.

R. R. and D. Brn,—By Bishop Smith of England his Letter to me of ye 4th inst., you would see that he had taken it in his head to tender some proposals to us. I once thought to have desired him to send us none of his proposals; however, I forbare, as suspecting that nothing would have force to divert him from his favourite purpose. The proposals are now come to my hand, contain'd in the body of a very prolix and verbose Letter, and wt a request likewise that I may transmit ye same to you, together with two other Letters address'd to him from two of his Colleagues in Engl., one of them a native of this Kingdom, and both of them it appears men of a more moderate temper than himself. This Bishop, you'll perceive, expects to have returns from us; but, for myself, if I continue of the mind I am now in, truly he shall receive none from me; for I neither think we have given him any ground to make such proposals to us, nor do I conceive how I could give a return to his Letters without employing some observations and expressions which, among men of our Order, decency may rather require to be let alone. He has talked of late in such a magisterial strain—"You ought," "you should," "we must," &c.—and with such an air of superiority, as if all we in Scotland were his petty Suffragans, or that the talents of his mind were as far above ours as is the size of his estate. He deals so much in the art of quibbling, that any reply would not only be tedious but likewise furnish him with a new subject for filling up some more sheets of paper, of which on his part there would be no end. He makes and unmakes us Bishops; he directs, confirms, and annulls our sentences at his pleasure. The peal of *Constitution* which he rings continually in our ears, can be only intended to teaze us with the sound of saying something and yet saying nothing. He prides himself in being always on the healing side, and offers us his service for that good purpose. But we may justly say to him this Proverb—"Physician, heal thyself," for we are not ignorant of the sores in his own country. He brags as it were of his great influence to create peace to us. God be thanked, we are in profound peace thro' all ye nation, a few seditious persons in Edr excepted, and who are only supported and whetted on by this intermeddling stranger. I now see and acknowledge my error in corresponding with this person contrary to ye advice of our deceased dear Brother, the most excellent Dr. Rattray, with whom I never could prevail to exchange one Letter wt Bishop Smith, so far as I remember. He always said he suspected him to be a dangerous, and I now add a fashious, man. Therefore, as I now at last begin to know the man and his communication, I judge it adviseable for me to let him talk and abound in his own sense; althô what I here say is by no means intended as a Rule to you, my Brethren, how to comport yourselves in ye present matter; but each of you may follow your own inclination notwithstanding. And whatever you think fit to send me in answer to these Letters, which you herewith receive, I shall carefully send forward to this Brother. Meantime, I wish ye Divine conduct may ever be with us all; and I am, with great respect, Rt. Revd.,

Your most affect. Brother and humble Servant,

Robt. Keith.

Edinr, July 12, 1744.

I may perhaps afterwards give you my opinion concerning Bishop

Smith's asking our pardon, and his passing from his former peremptory demand of our using ye English Liturgy only in Scotland.

Bishop Campbell's setting up and heading a Communion opposite to ye other Bishops in England, is a phrase of Bishop Smith's in his Letters to Bishop Gillan, now in my custody.

Copy of Letter from Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith.

R. R. Sir,—I acknowledge you have given strong evidence against Mr. H., which, both upon account of his person and character, I am sorry to see. But suppose him as bad as your Letter represents him, it is nothing to the merits of the cause, which (whatever be Mr. H.'s case) still continue the very same, and must do so; unless, as you are bound in duty, you will please to subject yourselves to the Laws and Constitution of your Church, and stand by the agreement so solemnly made by you. You condemn Mr. H. for breaking through his solemn engagement; and whether violating the Concordate (Subscribed and Publish'd by you), by declaring it vacated, be not in like manner to be condemn'd, I leave you and the impartial to judge.

At the bottom of p. 467 of your excellent History, there is this Note—"We see men in power, be they of whatever denomination, are still of one mind, viz., to carry every thing with a high hand:" which observation your late proceedings have too much verified. But I hope you will at length begin to think more justly and pacifically, otherwise the necessary consequence will be a formal separation from you, as from Archbishops to your National Church and its Communion, and as from persons whom neither the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, nor your own personal engagements, can lay hold of and keep within due bounds. I hope that sad event will never happen; but if through your default it should, I don't at all question but I shall be able fully to vindicate myself as to the share I may have in it, and so demonstrate to all the world who are the truly seditious and extravagant persons, the mutineers against Laws, and consequently wanderers out of the way of peace and order.

By your manner of writing, I begin to fear you are resolved entirely to reject the advice my Colleagues and I sent you in our late Letters, which I am sorry for; but if you really design so to do, please to take notice we have done our duty in endeavouring to settle peace upon the only firm and lasting bottom, and we shall not be answerable either to God or man for any mischief that may follow upon your too stiff adhering to your present notions and practices.

You say very well, "Facts are sturdy things, and despise the most subtil arts of implication." Now, that such and such Laws and Canons, which limit your authority, were enacted and stand yet in full force, are sturdy, plain, and glaring facts, which your strongest assaults will never be able to overthrow.

That you may no longer wonder how it comes to passe that Mr. Robertson's queries and my words hit so exactly, please to be informed that I had a Copy of those queries long before the writing of my Lettre of June 26; and if I borrowed from them what I took to be very much for my purpose, I hope there was no harm in it.

You are displeased with me for saying the Minutes of your suppos'd Synod in 1738, are as useless Paper. Now, I must confesse I still think

them so; because that was not a lawfull Synod, but only a Conventicle, as the Title of the 12th Canon of the Church of England calls such Meetings. And the Canon itself censures the maintainers of Constitutions made in such Conventicles in the following words:—"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that it is lawfull for *any sort* of Ministers and Lay persons, or *either of them*, to join together and make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions, in causes Ecclesiasticall, *without the King's authority*, and shall submit themselves to be rul'd and govern'd by them, let them be Excommunicated, *ipso facto*." To this the Laws and Canons of your own Church, as I have shewn in my last, are very agreeable. Your Minutes, therefore, and all that pay any regard to them, are clearly condemned by both Churches; and nobody that thinks justly will be able to discern what such inauthoritative things are good for. For my part, to speak my mind freely to you, I can't but look upon those who make and defend and submit to such unlawfull Constitutions, to be what the Church of Engl. in her 9th Canon calls a *new Brotherhood*, and in her 10th Canon, *another Church not establish'd by Law*; and you know what censure is past upon such authors of Schism and maintainers of Schismaticks and Conventicles. Consider things impartially, and I trust you will not go on to act as you do. For, depend upon it, if ever the matter comes to be publickly canvass'd and clearly understood, your rash and lawless proceedings will not bear the test, and will inevitably meet with the just contempt they deserve, from all who have any regard for the Laws and Constitutions of their Ch. and Countrey, which you have attempted and do still attempt to set aside and subvert. It is an infinite trouble to me to speak in this manner, but the cause of truth requires it; and in such a case as this, either silence or mincing the matter would be altogether unjustifiable.

So again recommending to the serious perusal of you and your Colleagues the Letters and proposal we have sent you, and praying God to incline the hearts of all persons concern'd to embrace such measures as may produce a durable settlement, such a one as is agreeable to the Constitution of yours, and the principles and doctrines of both Churches,

I am, R. R. Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble Servt.,

Aug. 21, 1744. G. Smith.

What is the meaning of these words in your Letter—"I saw it observ'd in a publick Paper that inclination has a great power over judgement;. and this observation came from England?" I don't understand, and therefore can say nothing to them.

I hope Mr. Lyon got safe to his journey's end, and you will please to present my service to him.

[To this Letter Mr. Keith gave no return.]

Bishop Smith to Bishop Keith.

R. R. Sir,—By your Letter, Dated July 14, you told me that you had dispatch'd Copy of our Letters to your Brethren the Bishops, and no doubt they all of them receiv'd such Copy soon after. I have now by me an authentick Account that the Clergy in Buchan were by their Bishop appointed to meet at Peterhead, the 15 of August. He laid before them a Copy of my Letter to Mr. Mackenzie, with your Answer, as also some

Excerptions from my former Letters to Bishop Gillan, &c., whereby you would insinuate that I now contradict my former sentiments. But the Bishop, thô it is plain he had a Copy of my last long Letter, wherein I have clearly vindicated myself (without any possibility of a reply) from your intended reproaches, did not lay that before them, lest they should plainly discern the impertinence as well as malice of the Excerptor. I make not the least doubt but the rest of the Bishops combine in the same unfair and ungenerous method of proceeding. I therefore think myself bound, in my own defence, to Publish my Letter, and those of my Colleagues annext to it, whereby it will appear to all persons concern'd that we are not those Schismatical intermedlers in other men's affairs as you would pretend, but are only doing that businesse which properly belongs to us, viz., protecting those of our Communion from tyranny and oppression, and hindering as much as we can all the pious and faithfull Members of your Church from following you into a Schism; you, who have set up another new Church quite opposite to that which is by Law established in Scotland. However, I shall not take this step till after Michaelmas; nor then neither if you can clear yourself and your Colleagues from this dishonourable way of acting. But if you cannot, you must not blame me if ane exact Account of this whole affair be laid before the Publick.

I have been inquiring into the story you informed me of concerning Mr. Harper, and have great reason to believe there is more malice than truth in it.

I take leave to end this with the words of Gregory the Great—*Si Canones non custoditis, si majorum vultis statuta convellere, non cognosco qui estis.* I am,

R. R. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother,

Sept. 10, 1744. G. Smith.

Bishop Keith to Bishop Smith.

Sir,—I have your most rude Letter of the 10th current, but I know my own character better, both as a gentleman and a Bishop, than to repay it and your former of a like nature in their kind. However, I must advertise you to address no more Letters to me, for I do assure you I will not relieve them from the Post Office.

As I told you in my Letter of the 14th July, I did dispatch Copy of your long Letter, together with those of your two Colleagues (men I think of better temper than yourself), to my Colleague who resides nearest to me, and by him to be transmitted to the next Bishop, and so forward; but I have never had a line from any of my R. R. B^{rn} as yet on that subject, and even what you tell me of the 15th August is quite new to me, thô it be not plain enough that Bishop Dunbar was then in possession of your long Letter: he might indeed, but 'tis equally probable he might not.

Everybody is not of your mind; for very good judges here, and of very good rank, do but laugh at your vindication of the Excerptions: they say you outstrip the best Jesuit of them all. The Bishops here are incapable of any dishonourable way of acting: they leave that to others that chuse to do so; therefore they are quite easy whether you Publish any thing or not Publish. Nor do they doubt of their Clergy and People standing by them against the incroachments of every busy, officious intermeddler, a few turbu-

lent persons with sinister views excepted; and they as firmly believe and hope that the worthy Members of the Ch. of England do not, will not, approve of your unaccountable groundless late proceedings. If you set about the Publication of an "exact Account of this whole affair," doubtless you should take in our whole Correspondence since the 9th of October last; but if not, I will take care to give it a Supplement, without "addition,* mutilation, or transposition" of one single a, b, c, down to this present Date, which shall shut up the checquer twixt you and me.

If there be more malice than truth in that scandalous affair of Mr. Harper, he, you, or others of his friends will have the easyer plea against me, and any of you may try your skill when you think fit. Might I suggest to you to ask your Correspondent, if you please, how many years ago he chanc'd to hear of that crime, and what might be the ground of the malice at that time? I dare engage 'tis a dozen of years ago. Or whether Mr. H. would readily part with his money, in order to evite a malicious idle story? And that he has parted with it shall be made out. Facts will always remain to be sturdy things, unpliable to the wills or interests of one party more than another. I am, Sir, Your humble Servant,

Edinb., Septr. 15, 1744. R. Keith.

When the Bishops give me a return to your Letter, I shall direct it for you. Mr. Lyon can furnish a Copy of your Letter of the 9th Octr. if you still want it.

[* But this needs not hinder other things, if convenient, to be added.]

I. *Copy of Letter from Bishop Smith to Mr. David Fife, September* 13, 1744.

R. Sir,—When the Messenger came which you and the other worthy Gentlemen of your Congregation sent to my House, I was just taking horse for Newcastle, which occasioned my writing so short a Letter. I had not then time so much as to read over your Letters, so I hope you will be so good as pardon the hasty scribble I returned you; and believe that I was very much concerned I should seem so unmannerly where I cannot but acknowledge I owe so much respect.

It must needs make every good man's heart bleed to see disturbances raised by the indescretion of those whose chief business it should be to compose them; but so it happens that your Bishops have gone into measures which both necessarily occasion divisions in your Church, and have a natural tendency at least to dissolve the union between that and ours. They have made Canons contrary to your Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitution. They have vacated the Concordate, by which alone themselves have a right to be acknowledged lawfull Bishops. They have shewn their inclination for novelty by declaring they design to compose a new Ordinal and make additions to the Catechism; and they have manifested their spleen against our Communion Office, by annulling that upon which its establishment is founded. What farther lengths they may goe, themselves best know, but there is no great reason to rely much upon their promises and declarations, since so soon as they thought they had it in their power, they broke thro' those engagements which themselves had solemnly agreed and Subscribed to.

Upon the perusal of your Papers, I think it plainly appears you have had a very regular Call to officiate where you do, and that the Bishop

therefore ought to have admitted you, unless he could have shown you some just cause to the contrary. But I have very good reason to believe he could not, because Mr. Keith himself own'd to me in conversation in Edin^{r}, you were unexceptionable in your life and conversation; and it appears from Mr. Raitt's Letter, which I saw, that all that can be pretended against you is, you came in against his will, who, to exclude the use of our Liturgy, had projected an union between the two Congregations at Dundee; which, 'tis said, the heads of their Congregations at first consented to, but when they found out the drift of the project, soon after set themselves against it. And for my part, if that were the case, I cannot but commend them for not suffering themselves to be imposed upon by a piece of chicane, contrived to set aside that excellent form of Worship, in the use of which they had so long received much spiritual benefit. But it seems the other Office was to be recommended in the strongest manner, and therefore it was fit the most violent methods should be employed to establish it.

Your case appeared so hard, even to Mr. Keith himself, that he declared to me he commiserated it, and said the people could not now in honour desert you. And, moreover, if he had been at Dundee with his Colleagues, he would have been against the Deposition; although I find since that he had joined in the Decree at the Synod, a matter which he was wise enough to conceal from me. But now, if even he was so compassionate, much more may we, since you are a sufferer for our Liturgy; and therefore we have all the reason in the world to receive you and yours under our protection; and you may depend upon all the assistance and encouragement I am capable of giving you.

I had seen Mr. Dundass's Piece before, which shews him to be a person of good sense and learning, and courage too, so gallantly to bear up against the wrath of his Oppressors. I am very much of his opinion about Prayers for the Dead, as you will find by a Piece lately Published at Ed^{r}. As to the Mixture, I think the proof brought from Mr. Collier's Dictionary, that it was not practised in the Apostle's time, is very weak, it being taken from the *Liber Pontificalis*, written in the 6th Century, and therefore of no authority. I humbly conceive that Justin Martyr's informing the Rom. Emperor that the Mixture was then used universally by the Christians (for he makes no exception), is a very probable argument for the Apostolical practice. But then every Apostolical practice is not necessary, unless it be delivered in Scripture, which is the only rule to acquaint us what is essential either in doctrine or practice. 'Tis probable, likewise, our Saviour's Wine was mixed, because such sort of Wine was frequently used in these warm Countrys, and at the Paschal Supper; but the Fruit of the Vine is only mentioned, and therefore it alone is the essential matter of the Cup; and there is great difference between Probability and Necessity. 'Tis then, I imagine, a thing indifferent whether the Cup have pure or mixed Wine in it; and if people chuse the one sort of Wine rather than the other, I should think there need be no great dispute about it. As to the other points, you will see my sense of them in the piece above mentioned.

With my most earnest Prayers for you all, both Pastor and People, that God would defend you against all violence and oppression, and hap you under the shadow of His wings, untill this tyranny be overpast; and that you may with courage and constancy persevere (as you do) in the Orthodox Communion of your own National Church, as 'tis by Law established, the

faithful Members of which alone, and no others, are in Communion with the Church of England. I am, R. S.,

Your very affect. Brother and Servant,

(Signed) Geo. Smith.

II. *Bishop Smith to Mr. David Fife, November* 12, 1744.

Revd. Sir,—I received yours of the 2d October, and am oblidg'd to you for the Account you give of the irregular Promotion of severall of your Bishops, which is a piece of history I was not thoroughly acquainted with. You are pleased to desire my opinion in severall things, and first, with regard to Mr. Raitt, I think it is very clear that his setting up a Conventicle many years ago, in opposition to Bishop Ouchterlony, was highly schismaticall. But I'm inform'd that upon making the Concordate, or at least severall years before that worthy Bishop Died, he admitted Mr. Raitt to his Communion, and allowed him as one of his Presbyters. If this be true, I conceive that after his reconciliation with his Bishop, he could not be said to be in a state of schism; and consequently, he being thus *rectus in curia*, he might be lawfully promoted to the Episcopate.

2dly. It appears that there were severall Presbyters irregularly and schismatically Consecrated, such as Mr. Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith; but, as I take it, this breach was afterwards made up by the Concordate, and the irregularity discharg'd by those lawfull Bishops, who had, as I suppose, authority to do so, in order thereby to restore peace to the Church. And as to Mr. White's promotion, whatever irregularity there might be in it, or opposition made against it at first, yet I am told that afterwards his Episcopall character was acknowledged both by the Primus and Bishop Ouchterlony, or at least by the survivors of them; and if that were so, there could be no further objection against him. And with regard to the other Bishops, who were afterwards Consecrated, I don't see that any just exception can ly against their Promotion. What I have to except against them all is this—that by making and imposing new Canons contrary to the Canons and Laws of your Establish'd Church, and their own most solemn vows at their Ordination and Consecration, they have ceased to be true members of it, as lawfull Bishops thereof. They have set up a new Church of their own in opposition to the Nationall, and therfore are not in Communion with it, nor with the Church of England, which acknowledges no other Communion as lawfull but that of the Nationall Church, as it is established among you, both by the Canons of your former and regular Synods, and the Laws of the Realm confirming those Canons. Now, all your Bishops have unnecessarily, and without any colour of reason, broke the Constitution of your Church, and are therefore guilty of Schism and Rebellion—Schism in oposing the superior authority of a Nationall Synod, and Rebellion in violating the just Laws of the Realm. And since it also appears that they look upon those Usages as essential to the administration of the Holy Eucharist, and reject the Office of our Church, upon pretence of wanting them; and particularly, since Bishop Raitt declared he was not in Communion with our Church and had nothing to doe with it—this is a further demonstration of their Schism. These are the reasons that are of weight with me, to believe them not to be our Communion, and to have no farther commerce with such as have involved themselves in such notorious crimes.

On the 26th June last, I wrote at large upon this melancholy affair to the Primus, and sent a proposall for the composing your differences, in which two of my Colleagues joined with me. The proposall is as followes :—

1st. That you suspend, *sine die*, the Execution of all new Canons, as being made contrary to your Nationall Church Constitution; and that you never attempt the like for the time to come, but content yourselves with the laudable example of your Predecessors, with executing the old ones already Legally and Canonically enacted; and that in all your future consultations you consider only of the best means of doing so.

2dly. That you'll establish the first Article of the Concordate, wherein the two Liturgies are put upon an equall foot; and that in order to the true and right observation of that Article, you direct all the Clergy not to deviate in the least tittle from the Words or Rubrick of either of them, by either adding to, or mutillating, or transposing any part theroff; and for the stopping all misapprehensions, that you, and all Presbyters using the Scotish Liturgy, shall at least once a year Officiate by the English, to demonstrate your perfect agreement and Communion with the Church of England, and that you will declare that you will Communicate indifferently where either Liturgy is used; and lastly, that you will make no alteration in any other part of the Book of Common Prayer or in the Form of Ordination, but will, in the Consecration of Bishops, either use the Scotish or English Forms, and in the Ordination of Priests and Deacons the English only.

3dly. That to shew your earnest desire of perfectly establishing the peace and unity of the Church, you will please to declare that, either out of your own free grace and favour, or upon our request and mediation, which you will, you are willing to release the rigour of Discipline, and to receive any Clergyman, in his proper character and station, and his people to Communion, who having been guilty of no other crime but simply separating from you, or who, being under censure for such separation only, shall return to your Communion.

To this proposall, made by three of us, they never yet vouchsafed to return any answer, and I dare say never will—the consequence of which is that they resolve to persist in their Schism and Rebellion; and they being thus separated both from your own Nationall Church and from ours, which is in Communion with it, we cannot look upon them as rightfull Bishops, or believe that any obedience is due to them from the Clergy and people. You doe well, therefore, in opposing their pretended authority; and so long as you do so, and strictly adhere to the Liturgy and Communion of our Church, I doubt not but God will give a blessing to your administrations, and abundantly supply the defect of a lawfull Bishop among you, for which you shall never want my fervent prayers. You desire to know how to do with those who were never Confirmed, when they desire to Communicate at the Lord's Table. To this I answer, that the Rubrick at the end of the Office for Confirmation, gives a sufficient direction what is to be done in your circumstances. The Rubrick says that none shall be admitted to the Holy Communion untill such time as he be Confirmed, or be ready or be desirous to be Confirmed.

Now, seeing it is an act of Schism, and therefore criminall, to seek Confirmation from the hands of schismaticall Bishops, and you can't have this Holy Rite administred by a lawfull Bishop on account of your great distance from one, in this case of necessity, being ready and desirous to be

Confirmed is sufficient for admission to the Holy Communion; and there is no reason to doubt but God will graciously accept the will for the deed. You will please to return Doctor Colvill thanks for his kind Letter, and with my best respects to him and Mr. Dundass, and my hearty prayers that God would give you grace and courage to persevere in the truth, I am,

Revd. Sir,
Your very affectionate Brother and Servt.,
(Sic Subr) G. Smith.

III. *Bishop Smith to Mr. David Fife, 19th February, 1745.*

Reverend Sir,—I received yours of 29th January, and do assure you I am not under the least concern, upon my own account, at the rough treatment Mr. Raitt has been pleased to bestow upon me in such a plentiful manner. It is my opinion he has done himself and his cause more harm by it than me. He would gladly make it a National Quarrel; and he and his Party would fain have it believed, that my interposing in your affairs tends to overthrow the Independency of your Church. But he has not the least grounds to raise such a clamour, I having asserted it as strongly as possible in my late Letter Printed at Edinburgh; and done no more than the duty of every Catholick Bishop in such a case as this, when the Bishops in a Nation have unwarrantably made a breach in their own, and refuse Communion with their Sister Church; of which this is a manifest token that they clearly enough, in this very Pamphlet, declare that some Doctrines, intrinsic to the Holy Eucharist, are not so much as implied in her Communion Office; and that therefore it is not lawful to Communicate with her in the highest act of religious Worship.

The "dear Implication scheme," as Mr. Raitt is pleased to call it, is here apparently ridiculed, and is intimated to be contrary to the authentick Deeds of our Church, which he most untruly pretends I have set at open variance to promote it. I acknowledge he has acted more like an honest man than the rest of his Brethren, in not saying in his Declaration, as they have done in theirs, that he is in full Communion with the Church of England. He, indeed, as well as they, can, it seems, tolerate the use of our Office, though they will not Communicate when and where it is used. But whether tolerating an invalid Sacrament, or rather a sacrilegious mockery instead of a Sacrament, as these gentlemen must think it, can be so much as palliated, much less justified, I leave them to consider.

It is very well that the Narrative will soon be ready, and I hope thereby Mr. Raitt's Account of the case will be thoroughly confuted. I could wish to see it soon, that I may make a proper use of it in the Answer I am preparing to Mr. Raitt's Pamphlet. I presume Mr. Dundass will immediately set about a Reply, and doubt not but he will be able so fully to clear up the affair, as to satisfy all unprejudiced persons.

As to my Letters which Mr. Raitt has Published, I am not at all displeased at the event, but rather otherwise; because therein are contained, in short, the reasons why these gentlemen (notwithstanding the validity of their Ordination, which all schismatical Bishops have) have no right to the obedience of the Clergy and People; as neither being Bishops of your National Church, nor in Communion with ours. And I am so little solicitous about your keeping up my Letters, that you are very welcome to

show them to whomsoever you think fit; that Mr. Raitt, if he pleases, may Print them in his next publick performance.

Mr. Raitt, p. 99, complains that I did not communicate first to himself any impressions or informations I might have received to his prejudice about your affair. Now, he has no just reason to make this complaint; for on the 9th of October, 1743, I wrote to Mr. Keith, in order to be communicated to all his Colleagues, a Letter penned in the most humble and submissive Language, and therein interceded for you in the most suppliant manner; and proposed, as I imagined, a very proper and easy method to compose the difference. Soon after Mr. Keith had received my Letter, Mr. Alexander, at his desire, went to Dundee, and told Mr. Raitt what I had advised; but Mr. Raitt would not listen to it, although several of his friends there, as well as Mr. Alexander, endeavoured to persuade him. Is it not plain then, that my sentiments and advice, wherein I spoke the mind of my Colleagues here, as well as my own, were communicated to him; and although most civilly and candidly offered, were entirely disregarded? I therefore had all the reason in the world to believe it was to no manner of purpose to intercede with him in your behalf, or trouble either him or any body else any farther about it. And to let you see how little cause he has to quarrel with my conduct upon this account, I will here transcribe that part of my Letter which principally relates to this melancholy business.

"It is a great pity you were not with the rest of your Colleagues at the consult about this unhappy Deposition; for then a person of your pacifick temper, joining with the other two Bishops who were against it at first, might have been able to prevail with Bishop Raitt (who I readily acknowledge was sufficiently provoked to take the severest course), to set a noble example of a patient and forgiving disposition, and to despise this personal affront and injury, especially it being apparent the peace of the Church is so much at stake. I still have reason to hope, from the excellent character he bears, that upon a due consideration of all circumstances, and particularly upon a view of the very bad consequences which may ensue, he will be pleased, upon Mr. Fife's humble submission to his authority, and promise of a faithful obedience for the future, which you informed me he was ready to make, to take off, with the concurrence of his Colleagues, the heavy censure Mr. Fife now lies under, and then permit him to officiate in the Congregation he is possessed of, in the same manner as Bishop Ouchterlonie used to do formerly. This, I am sure, will gain our worthy Colleague the hearts of many, who now, I fear, think hardly of him upon this account, and will make his name reverenced by all good men, who will everywhere speak of him with the highest honour and respect, for sacrificing his own private resentment to the public peace and tranquillity. What I here request in Mr. Fife's behalf, is undoubtedly in the Bishop's power to grant; and since a person of his good sense and eminent virtue cannot but have an earnest desire to see unity entirely restored, which will be both a great comfort to himself and an infinite blessing to the Flock over which he presides; and which cannot, as far as I can discern, be effected any other way; I am willing to assure myself he will need little persuasion to do his part in making up the breach. And if he will be so good as grant this favour at the intercession of you and his other Colleagues, and upon my humble application to him, which I hereby make through your means, I dare say it will be no small pleasure to you, and it will be sure to meet with my grateful acknowledg-

ment. That it would be very acceptable to you, I conclude from your commiserating this unhappy man's case, when you discoursed with me about him, and from your saying that the people could not now in honour desert him, by accepting Mr. Raitt's proposal of having any other Minister they pleased set over them, and so leaving him destitute of all support and maintenance. This is a thing they cannot, now they have called him, in any reason comply with; and I question not but by this time your worthy Colleague is sensible of it. I had not spoke one word in Mr. Fife's behalf, but that you assured me he was in all other respects, a man of an unexceptionable character. I hope, then, his former merits, and present good qualities and capacities, may in some degree plead for him; and, considering your Church is not overstocked with Clergy, it would upon that account be well if he were restored to his station.

"I thought to have made an end here, but since I know you expect to have my thoughts concerning the principal parts of Bishop Raitt's Letter, I must beg your patience a little longer, being willing to make you a full discovery of my whole sentiments, as far as I can remember the contents of it. I speak to you as my friend, whom I highly esteem, with all imaginable frankness. If therefore I chance to say anything cross to your opinion, I persuade myself you will take no offence at it. As I said before, I here again declare, that Mr. Fife's conduct is by no means to be justified; but yet I cannot but conceive his fault will admit of some alleviation. I remember Mr. Raitt gives an account that there were two Congregations at Dundee, over one of which Bishop Ouchterlonie presided, who, I believe, always used the English Liturgy. In the beginning of this year, Bishop Raitt, who, I suppose, prefers the Scots Liturgy, endeavoured to unite both Congregations, to which Union a Meeting of the chief persons of both Congregations agreed. But upon second thoughts they perceived that the English Liturgy would be entirely excluded at Dundee; and this, as I take it, was the ground of the quarrel. Hereupon many of them applied to the Bishop, and desired they might be in the same state they were in Bishop Ouchterlonie's time, and have a Minister who would use the English Liturgy as before. But the Bishop, insisting upon the Union of the Congregations, asked them whether they owned him for their Bishop? To which they answered they were of the Communion of the Church of England, and rejected his authority, supposing, I presume, that he rejected the Communion of the Church of England by his not complying with their request for that Church's Liturgy, and only officiating by the Scottish. Now, in reply to this he should, I humbly conceive, have told them he did not reject the Communion of the Church of England, as appears by his approving the use of the English Liturgy in the first Article of the late Concordate, which he still stands by, and by his never refusing to join it in those Congregations where that Communion Office was constantly officiated by, although he rather chose himself to minister by the Scottish Office, as he was warranted to do by the said first Article of the Agreement. Something of this kind said, would have given them to understand that he looked upon both Liturgies to be in substance and meaning the same, and that he and our Church were of the same Communion; and it is not unlikely this would have pacified them, or at least would have rendered them the more inexcusable. But I do not remember he says anything in his Letter, from whence one may gather he gave them this satisfaction. And yet I cannot but be of opinion he was

short in this; and he should have taken special care to obviate and prevent every scruple and suspicion of theirs upon this score; which, if he neglected to do, it was certainly a very great omission. For what effect could this have but to induce them to believe that neither he nor his Colleagues, if they were all of one mind, held Communion with us, whom they have hitherto esteemed a sound part of the Catholic Church; or that he, at least, had condemned our Liturgy, and thereby broke off all fraternal Correspondence with us? And what could naturally follow from this, but that the people should imagine there was a direct Schism commenced between him and all those, whether of your or our Church, who either used or approved the use of the English Liturgy? Thus, as it seems to me, there were great mistakes on both sides; on theirs, for supposing he had broke Communion with our Church, with whom they were united; and on his, for not openly confuting that calumny, as I, in charity and respect to him, believe it to be. It is plain they thought their Bishop was not of the same Communion with them, *i.e.*, was not in Communion with the Church of England. Now, though this, I make no question, was a very wrong judgment in them; yet, since they were unfortunately prepossessed with this notion, as appears from the Bishop's Letter they probably were, there is the less wonder they should act in this disrespectful manner. But now, if our dear Brother will, in Christian meekness, so far condescend as to declare to Mr. Fife and his people his approbation of the use of our Liturgy, and that he is very far from intending to reject our Communion by his using the Scottish, and will please to receive them into favour upon their submission; and, to shew he has no disesteem for our Church, allow of Mr. Fife's Ministry among them by our Liturgy,—this will be the most easy and natural method to compose the difference, and set the minds of all those in your Church at ease, who are now greatly disturbed and uneasy at this rigorous censure.

"You and your worthy Colleagues will pardon me if I, considering the station wherein the Providence of God has placed me, though very unworthy of it, cannot blame Mr. Fife and his Adherents' just esteem for our excellent Liturgy, and zeal for continuing in our Communion; and therefore, with some earnestness, interpose in their behalf. And as I shall always be ready to assist you in supporting your authority, and dissuading people, upon any pretence of this sort, from making dissensions in your Church; so I hope you will, in charity to us, and compassion to your own Flock, be very careful of giving them the least occasion for receiving any such ill impressions of you; and, as an earnest of this, will vouchsafe to cancel this Deposition, which, as it was too hastily and precipitately issued out, so it cannot be too speedily discharged and annulled."

And now let every man of sense judge, after reading of this, whether I have been in the least wanting in due respect to Mr. Raitt on this unhappy occasion, and whether I did not take a very proper method fairly and frankly to communicate my thoughts to him. But he was deaf to every thing both I and others could say; and being hurried away by a strong resentment and the warmth of his own temper, and spirited up by his Colleague, Mr. White, still continued resolved to push matters to extremity; insomuch that he, in conjunction with the other, was very angry even with Mr. Keith for not reading your Deprivation publickly in his Chapel, and took his not going all their lengths in this matter very much amiss. All this I had undoubted intelligence of, even by the means of a hearty friend to these gentlemen.

What encouragement then had I to make any farther application to Mr. Raitt? And what room is there for his accusing me of not doing it? If he would not hearken to the earnest intreaties of his Colleagues there, was it possible for me to expect that anything I could say would have better success?

When I wrote the above Letter to Mr. Keith, who had taken pains to give me such information about your case as might put the best gloss upon the proceedings of his Colleagues—which yet did then seem so harsh even to himself that he could not but declare his disapprobation of them, and who, you may be sure, did his utmost to imprint on my mind the most favourable opinion of Mr. Raitt—I was very desirous to believe this gentleman was not a declared enemy to our Church, and upon that supposition said your conduct was not to be justified. But the share he had in the transactions of the late Synod, and most especially his late Pamphlet, have fully discovered his rooted aversion to our excellent and Catholick Office; and therefore he cannot, with any reason, expect we should look upon him as of the same Communion with the Church of England, which it seems is not Catholick enough for him, and from which he has manifestly separated by setting up his Office and Altar against her's.

And upon this account I now think myself bound, in the most publick manner, to profess that the conduct of you and all the worthy members of your Congregation, who will not suffer yourselves to be compelled to go out from us by the violent persecution of your and our common adversaries, but are resolved faithfully to continue with us in all events, is so far from being blameworthy, that it justly merits the highest commendation and applause. Go on, then, in the name of God, to do your duty; maugre all the menaces and rage of your persecutors, who, being not Members of the true Communion, cannot have the lawful authority of Bishops in it. And since their censures are altogether ineffectual to all Spiritual purposes, your sacerdotal character is no more hurt or impaired by them than if Romish, Novation, or Donatist Bishops had passed sentence upon you.

You will observe, in the above written Transcript, several particulars which passed in conversation betwixt Mr. Keith and me. Now, he never pretended to deny any of them; but in his Answer to my Letter would fain bring himself off by saying I mistook his meaning. For instance, with regard to one of the remarkable passages, he would excuse the matter thus—"For my saying the people of Dundee could not now in honour desert Mr. Fife, I only narrated what I knew these people had declared to two of my Brethren, who had communed with them on that affair, though indeed I did not acquaint you that I had those Accounts." I must own I was very much shocked at this; for he spoke those words as his own sense of that matter, and not as the Declaration of others. He did not then qualify his discourse as he does here in his Letter; and he himself acknowledges as much, confessing he did not acquaint me with such Accounts of that affair as, if he had, could not but have induced me to take him, not in an absolute, but in a limited sense. In short, he did not narrate what others said, but spoke, in all appearance, his own mind freely. What secret mental reservation he might have, himself best knows. This gave me no very favourable impression of my Correspondent's sincere dealing. But when, about two months after, the Minutes of the late Synod came into my hands, the Transactions of which he had carefully concealed

from me, and I there saw that he was as much concerned as any of the rest in agreeing to concur in the Sentence of Deposition, I must confess I was quite astonished; and this I sufficiently discovered in my Letter to Mr. Mackenzie. What, thought I, could this gentleman, who so much declared his displeasure at the conduct of his Brethren for passing this Censure, be himself the head of those who decreed it? This was a contradiction I could by no means reconcile. He is self-condemned, as Mr. Raitt very truly observes; and because I have taken the freedom to tell him so, he is now become my professed enemy, and uses all the mean arts he is master of to defame me. If Mr. Raitt will have it, that his testimony is good for nothing, because he is self-condemned, I shall by no means say anything to the contrary; and his informing me that the quarrel was about the Liturgy, I agree, shall be accounted of no significancy for the future.

As for his clamours that I have acted against the Independency of your Church, they are altogether vain and ridiculous, and a mere imposition upon the common sense of mankind. I am as fully satisfied, and upon very good grounds too, of the truth of that as any man breathing. And therefore, in conjunction with others, who have desired my assistance in so good a cause, I have been long endeavouring to maintain and preserve its Canons, and the Laws which establish it, and the Rights and Privileges of all its Members, against the violent attacks of those who would set them aside. I am against no other Independency but that which those gentlemen so earnestly contend for, who would be independent of the established Canons and Laws, and will by no means submit to them; although, when they were Ordained, they most solemnly avowed that, by the help of God, they would give faithful diligence always to minister the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as your Church and Realm hath received the same, according to the Commandments of God; and, when they were Consecrated, that the criminous they would correct and punish, according to such authority as they have by the Word, and as to them shall be committed by the Ordinance of your Realm. Let them but make the Laws of their Independent Church and Realm their Rule, in subordination to the Law of God, in all possible cases (for *nemo tenetur ad impossibile*), and this will put an end to all disputes. But, unless they will vouchsafe to do this, I, though a stranger, will be found in the end a much better friend to Scotland than those Natives who are obstinately bent on disobeying the Laws of it; who, in the eyes of all honest Scotsmen, must appear as open disturbers of the publick peace, and cannot be esteemed true Bishops of that National Church, against which they are in manifest rebellion.

The National Church of Scotland is in Communion with the Church of England, and has made her Liturgy, particularly the Communion Office, her own. But these gentlemen are for throwing out this Office with all possible speed, as defective in points essential to the Administration. They therefore will not Communicate with the Church of England in the highest solemnity of Christian Worship; consequently cannot belong to the Church of Scotland. They are of a Church of a new cut, and therfore all their Acts are null and void, as to spiritual effect; and their Censures are no more to be regarded than if they were inflicted by Bishops of the Popish or any other schismatical Communion. You and your People at Dundee, whatever else may be pretended, were censured for adhering to the English Office, by a Bishop who will not Communicate in the use of it, because, in his opinion,

it does not contain all the Doctrines intrinsick to the Divine Ordinance. His Censure therefore was invalid, because he was a Bishop of another Communion, and not of that of the National Church, which is in Communion with the Church of England.

If he had been in full Communion with us, he would not surely have failed, somewhere in his Book, to have given us full satisfaction in the point. He would not have failed to declare that our Office wants nothing essential to the Administration of the Blessed Sacrament; that it is the same in substance and true meaning with that by which himself administers; and that he would never refuse to Communicate where it is used in his own Country. Now, nothing of this kind is to be found in his long performance; but in several places he clearly enough avows the direct contrary. People then must be utterly blind who do not see he is an enemy to the Church of England, and that he persecutes you purely for being in Communion with her.

What a huge dust and tragical outcry is raised about the Independency of your Church, which no body questions, purely to raise the passions of your Countrymen, and so convey the merits of the cause quite out of sight! But I am persuaded men of sense and sound judgment will not suffer themselves to be deluded with mere noise, and will expect, as they have reason, that these gentlemen either make a clear and open profession of the sufficiency and perfection of our Office, or ingenuously acknowledge that they believe the contrary, and are resolved to support and propagate that Schism among you, which we have so just cause to charge them with. If they will not be persuaded to do the former, I must plainly tell them, that even their silence will be, and deservedly, taken for a confession of the latter.

As to the Scottish Office, I have all along fully declared my approbation of it, and these gentlemen very well know I do not oppose the use of it, but only their rash attempts, who are for perverting what was framed for the establishing and keeping uniformity with the Church of England into an Instrument of Schism, and who artfully and insidiously make it the pretext to thrust our Office out of the Publick Worship, which stands upon as good a foundation of authority as the other; though every body is now convinced the true reason for their setting it aside is their erroneous belief of its being defective in Doctrines essential to the Blessed Sacrament; and therefore altogether unlawful to be used in a Catholick Assembly. There is no one then but must discern the Scottish Office is no part of the dispute; but the schismatical design of causing a division both among your own Members and between the two Churches, of which it is by them made the unhappy occasion, is the only ground of this contest. And this divisive project is the more apparent, for that they are not content with the Office as authorised by the Royal Martyr's Proclamation, but they have depraved it with several alterations squaring better with their wrong notions and prejudices. And this it seems has been done by the authority of some Bishops, although the said Proclamation ordains that the Public Form of Service thereby appointed shall be uniformly observed in the Worship of God; and altho also it is agreed in the Concordate Subscrib'd by themselves, that they shall only make use of the Scottish or English Liturgy, and that they shall censure any of the Clergy that shall act otherwise. Thus, by their supereminent authority, they have introduced a new Office that can possibly lay no claim to the Royal Sanction; and this have they done contrary to their own most

solemn Agreement. So that it is almost impossible to make a knot strong enough to bind these gentlemen. Even their own Subscriptions, and other even more sacred engagements, cannot hold them. How then can they expect we can have the least regard to mere verbal assurances or windy declarations, and those too couched in vague, general, and indefinite expressions? No; they must give us some stronger security than this, or else we can have no reason to be satisfied.

As to my lamentable outcries, as he is pleased to stile them, about the Publication of S. James's Liturgy, as it is called (for after all, it being so much built upon conjecture, its genuineness is still very uncertain), I think I have more reason to make them now than ever. For the Preface says, it well deserves to be universally received; which has a great resemblance of what Mr. Dunbar says in his Letter. And moreover, at the close of the performance, there is an Office to which proper Rubricks are added for direction, which is evidently calculated for present use. And the Author having shewn this to some worthy friends (probably Mr. Keith, who was particularly zealous for its Publication, Mr. Dunbar, Mr. Raitt, &c.), he was advised by them to insert it in the end of the Book. No doubt this was not for nothing. And since these gentlemen will not fail to see how much it is preferable to any of our modern Forms, it will be difficult to make any one that knows them believe they will not put it in practice, notwithstanding their Declaration to the contrary. They may think of this as they please, but for my part, so unhappily prejudiced am I, as to conceive that the two Offices now already in use among you, are as compleat as it, with regard to everything essential to the Divine Ordinance, and therefore every whit as good and well pleasing to God. Nay, though I fear I shall incur their high displeasure for it, I will be bold to say that the English Office is, in one respect, much better, as being a better instrument of peace in our present circumstances, and a surer means of composing the unhappy divisions now most scandalously rending the Church in pieces.

What I have farther to say to Mr. Raitt's Piece, I shall reserve for the furnishing out of a full Answer to it, which I hope, with God's assistance, to finish in a little time. I shall here only add my most solemn Declaration, that there is no body more earnestly desires to promote the peace of the Church than I do. But, under the notion of peace, I am not for sacrificing truth and introducing slavery, and giving up the Rights both of the Church and Crown to procure it.

I am entirely of S. Hierom's mind, in the following words against John, Bishop of Hierusalem:—"Propheta, pax, pax, et ubi est pax? Nihil enim grande est pacem voce prætendere, et opere destruere; aliud niti, aliud demonstrare; verbis sonare concordiam, re exigere servitutem. Volumus et nos pacem, et non solùm volumus, sed et rogamus; sed pacem Christi, pacem veram, pacem sine inimicitiis, pacem in qua non sit bellum involutum, pacem quæ non ut adversarios subjiciat, sed ut amicos jungat. Quid dominationem pacem vocamus, et non reddimus unicuique rei vocabulum suum?"

With my Prayers for you and yours, and all the faithful Members of your National Church, I am,

Reverend Sir,
Your very affectionate Brother and Servant,
G. Smith.

Copy, in Bishop White's Handwriting, of proposed Return to Bishop Smith's Proposal of enjoining the English Communion Office only in Scotland. The Diction seems to be Bishop Rattray's.

R. R. and D. B^{r},—Since you refer it to us to give our sentiments of G. S.'s proposal, directly to him or by you, we have chosen the latter; and, knowing your agreement with us in this, desire you may transmit him a Copy of what follows, under your hand, as our joint Answer to it. He has himself mention'd what alone is a sufficient reason for our not going in with it, viz., that if we break through the first Article of our Agreement, by setting aside either of the Liturgies, we should raise such a flame as could not be extinguished so long as other differences subsist among us. We have still Clergymen of turbulent and ambitious spirits, who would make a handle of this, and unite in the cry that we design'd to break through, not the first only, but all the other Articles of that Agreement; and who, as should serve their views, would thence take the liberty of shaking off all regard to it. That the Scotish Liturgy was used before the breaking out of our present differences, and was allowed by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh; that Bishop Fullarton, his immediate Successor, in the Prayer of Consecration, ever added this Clause, which he had written in the margin of his Book—"Vouchsafe to bless and sanctifie with thy Word and Holy Spirit," &c.; that in the year 1724, when Liturgical differences began to make some noise, the said Bishop Fullarton convocated a Meeting of the Bishops for composing them, which was done by a Concordate Subscrib'd by all the Bishops, the 3d Article of which had this Preamble—"Forasmuch as the Primus, and the other Bishops, his Colleagues, have permitted the use of the Scotish Liturgy to such of the Clergy as think fit to use it, therefore," &c. It was not then the Scotish Liturgy they sought to suppress, which indeed has never been made any ground of quarrel; for thô they had had inclination they had no power to do it. Since which time it has been used by the greatest number of the Clergy, to the great liking of the people. So that the disturbers of our peace, did we agree to this proposal, should find ground enough for an outcry against us.

If the time come, and may it soon, when the Church of England shall find reason, from better motives than have appeared since the first compiling of her excellent Liturgy, once more to review it, we may then be encouraged to follow so worthy an example, or embrace her Liturgy without reserve; but in our present situation, as it would be most unbecoming Scotish Bishops (who ought now more than ever to be jealous of their Ecclesiastick independency) to set aside their own Liturgy in favour of the English, which is not pretended to be any way preferable to it; so it would raise a general clamour against us, even by such as have not yet us'd it, and be attended with consequences more fatal than all our other differences could produce; and instead of uniting us more closely to our Brethren of England, would endanger that friendship which we so much desire to maintain with them. Our Church has ever honoured and esteemed that of England, and maintain'd Communion with her as a Sister Church, and the use of our own Liturgy cannot be constructed a breach of this.

We are sorry he should take any exception at our conduct with our former Primus. Thô the treatment he gave us at our last Meeting was very provoking, our proceeding with regard to him had nothing of personal

resentment in it, which our tenderness of him may be an evidence of; but was what we were necessarily obliged to for important reasons, and particularly for preventing our being obstructed of Synodical Meetings, as the exigencys of the Church should require. But we leave it with you to give a more full information of this, which we trust will vindicate our procedure to him.

Thô for the reasons given (which we hope will satisfy a person of his candour and ingenuity) we cannot possibly comply with his proposal, we render him hearty thanks for the concern he expresses for the peace and welfare of our Church; and for the friendly and regular manner in which he has proposed his advice to us, of which we shall always retain a due sense, and endeavour to make suitable returns according to our power, and to imitate his example in keeping strictly within *our sphere*, being well satisfied that this is the only proper and sure means to preserve that mutual concord which ought to subsist betwixt the two Churches; and that if we should be so unhappy as to transgress it on either side (which God forbid), it could hardly fail to involve us in such confusions as might end in the ruin of both. We much regrate the want of your presence with us, and are, with esteem and brotherly affection,

Your most Humble Servants.

Bishop Smith's interference convulsed the whole Church, and the following Protestations were sent in:—

Whereas the Right Reverend Bishop Smith of England has, by several Letters of his to the Right Reverend Bishop Keith, the Reverend Mr. John Mackenzie, and others in Scotland, plainly assumed to himself a superiority, to which he can have no pretension, over the Bishops and Clergy of this National Church; and has declared that he owns as a Presbyter still, Mr. David Fife, formerly indeed a Presbyter of this Church, but Canonically Deposed by the Bishops thereof;—a thing contrary to all Order and Discipline, and to that principle of unity so carefully preserved in the first and purest ages of the Church: We, the Subscribing Bishops and Presbyters, have thought ourselves in duty bound, for the preservation of our own Rights and Independency, and in defence and maintenance of the Principles, as well as Forms and Constitution, of the Catholick Church of Christ, to disclaim, and we do disclaim, and will, to the utmost of our power, oppose all usurped authority over, or encroachments upon, the Bishops and Clergy of this National Church; and to testifie, as we here most sincerely do, our abhorrence of all principles and practices tending to destroy Order and Discipline, and to defeat that regular exercise of authority, without which neither can possibly subsist; and to the producing and fomenting of Schisms in the Church, to the great hurt and hinderance of true Religion, and with infinite danger to the consciences of men. Declaring always, as we hereby declare, that we are, and own ourselves to be, of the same Communion with the Church of England, and will endeavour, on our part, to preserve union with her, as Members of the same Mystical Body of the Lord Jesus.

Declaration is Subscribed by us in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty Four, and on the days annexed to our Subscriptions.

Alloa Jan. 14. 1745.

John Alexander Bp of Dunk.

Wm Selon Dean & Presbyter in Forfar

David Guthrie Presbyter at Carsebank

William Gray Presbyter of Kirriemuire

John Ramsay Presbyter at Cortachie

Fr: Crombie Presbyter at Alyth.

Ja: Hill Presbyter at Blairgowrie

George Innes Presbyter at Kalgowan

Lau: Drummond pr at perth

George Robertson Pr in Strathtay

Dun: Cameron presbyter in Fortingall

Will: Abernethie Deacon at Nairn & Logie

Donald Robertson Presbyter at
Ecclefechan in Annandale adheres.

District of Brechin.

James Raitt, Bishop, Nov. 22.
John Maitland, Presb., Nov. 28.
Rob. Irvine, Deacon, Nov. 28.
Thomas Sime, Presb., Dec. 11.
Ro. White, Deacon, Dec. 11.
Wil. Robertsone, Presb., Nov. 22.
Harie Edgar, Presb., Nov. 23.
David Rose, Presb., Nov. 28.
Jo. Ogilvy, Presb., Nov. 28.
Al. Lunan, Presb., Nov. 28.

Alexr. Cheyne, Presb., Dec. 3.
John Petrie, Presb., Dec. 3.
John Leith, Presb., Dec. 3.
John Grouys, Presb., Dec. 4.
John Strachan, Deacon, Dec. 3.

District of Dunblane.—N.B. Here some of Edinburgh Subscribing.

Robert Forbes, Presbyter in Leith.
(Robert Forbes, by commission from the R. Mr. Jas. Falconar, Presbyter in Air.)
Will. Bell, Presb.
Donald Robertson, Presbyter in Annandale.
J. R. Douglas, Presbyter at Dunblain.
Dec. 6. John Conachar, Presbyter at Drymen.
Nov. 3. Wil. Erskyne, Presbyter at Muthil.
Nov. 21. John Blair, Presbyter at Doun.

District of Dunkeld.

John Alexander, Bishop of Dunk[d].
Wil. Seton, Dean and Presbyter in Forfar.
David Guthrie, Presbyter at Carsebank.
William Gray, Presbyter of Kirriemuire.
John Ramsay, Presbyter at Cortachie.
Fr. Crombie, Presbyter at Alyth.
Ja. Hill, Presbyter at Blairgowrie.
George Innes, Presbyter at Balgowan.
Alloa, Oct. 22, 1744. Donald Robertson, Presbyter at Ecclefechan, in Annandale, adheres.
—— Jan. 14, 1745. Lau. Drummond, Pr. at Perth.
George Robertson, Pr. in Strathtay.
Dun. Cameron, Presbyter in Fortingall.
Willm. Abernethy, Deacon at Nairn and Logie.

District of Fife.

Rob. White, Ep. Ffifen., Nov. 17.
Rob. Lindsay, Presb., Dec. 17.
Da. Lyndesay, Presb., Nov. 17.
Tho. Young, Presb., Dec. 12.
David Gordon, Presb., Dec. 18.
Alex. Livingston, Pr., Jan. 14.

District of Murray.

Wil. Falconar, Bishop of Murray.
Patrick Chalmers, Presbyter at Huntly.
Jo. Irvine, Presbyter at Cairnwhelp.
Ja. Willox, Presbyter at Keam.

Alexr. Mitchel, Presbyter at Belly.
Geo. Innes, Presbyter at Forres.
Fr. Lay, Presbyter at Inverness.

District of Aberdeen.—The Buchan Presbyters to their Bishop (Dunbar) against Bishop Smith's "Allotrioepiscopizing." (In Bishop Jolly's Handwriting.)

Peterhead, August 15, 1744.

Right Reverend Father,—We being conveened here by your Reverence's Order, and having considered the Copy of Bishop Smith of England his Letter, laid before us, we find that he, without any just ground or good title, attacks the Legislative power of this our independent Church of Scotland, and in a manner seems to arrogate to himself a Right and Title of compelling our Bishops and their Clergy to submit to his determinations: an attempt so utterly inconsistent with all Catholick Principles, that had we not it from such good authority, we could never have imagined it could have been made by any who bears the Sacred character of a Bishop. At this his conduct we are greatly surprized, as we utterly detest the Erastian Principles so flagrant in almost every Paragraph of his Letter; and take this opportunity of assuring your Reverence that, as we are in most solemn manner bound, we shall still make it our study to pay all due and Canonical Obedience to our lawful Ordinary, and in our station will endeavour, to the utmost of our power, to support and maintain the Dignity and Privileges of the Episcopate. We heartily bewail the miserable state of this poor divided Church, and, firmly resolving never to have any hand in what we apprehend may lend in the least to the widening of its present unhappy breaches, we earnestly begg of Almighty God to forgive all who have had any accession to them, and inspire all concerned with such pacifick and Christian dispositions as may effectually put an end to our differences, and establish peace and truth among us upon a sure and solid foundation. We beg your paternal Benediction for Ourselves and Flocks, and ever are,

Right Reverend Father,
Your most dutiful Sons and obedient Servants.

Wil. Livingston, Presb.	Will. Cumming, Presb.
Jo. Jaffray, Presb.	W. R. Dunbar, Ep.
William Walker, Presb.	And. Gerard, Presb.
Robert Kilgour, Presbr.	Wil. Murray, Presb.
Jno. Skinner, Presb.	Geo. Law, Presb.
Alexr. Keith, Presb.	Wil. Smith, Presb.
Wil. Brown, Presb.	James Rose, Presb.
George Milne, Presb.	John Morrison, Presb.
Alex. Murray, Presb.	Geo. Walker, Presb.
John Hamilton, Presb.	Patrick Lunan, Presb.
Alex. Mitchell, Presb.	Ro. Morrice, Presb.
Alex. Smith, Presb.	Patr. Laing, Pbr.

Rev. William Seton, Forfar, to the Right Rev. Bishop Alexander, Alloa.

R. R. Sir,—Yours of ye 3d current came to my hands yesterday. I am surprized that ye Declaration was not arrived at your hands before ye time of your writting. It came safely and in due time to me, and I immediatly took it to Mr. Guthry, who made out ano^{r}r Copy y^{r}of; and after we

hade Signed both Copies, we immediatly sent y^m^ to Mr. Ramsay, enclosed in your Pastoral Letter, and wrapt up in a line from me to him recommending dispatch to him. I was told by Mr. Gray that Mr. Ramsay put the Papers into his hands in a day after, having Signed y^m^, and that he in a few days sent them to Mr. Cromby; so that ye delay would be altoge^r^r unaccountable, were it not that you desired they should be Subscribed by Messrs. Rolton and Cameron; and as y^r^ is no easy access to y^m^, 'tis to be presumed the stop has been in that quarter of your District. But I hope they have reached your hands before this. The Declaration is a well-worded and seasonable Paper, in my judg^t^; and thô it should have no effect in England, yet will be of great use to keep us united amongst ourselves, and fortified against ye encroachments of forreigners; for thô Mr. Lyon, my Bro^r^r, now in England, must be supposed to know more of ye Clergy there than any of us, yet I (having lately seen a Copy of a Letter from Bishop Smith to Mr. Ffife, of Date Novr. 12, with a Copy of ye Proposals for an accomodation, made by Bishop Smith and two of his English Colleagues to Bishop Keith, in June or July last) despaire of those gentlemen being ever satisfied with fair and reasonable proposals. It seems to me it will not be enough that we own ourselves to be of ye same Communion with ye Church of England, unless you suspend your Canons, and that *sine die*, and restore Mr. Ffife to ye peace of ye Church and his Presbyterial character (things to my seeming both indecent and improbable); and to testify your being in Communion with y^m^, administer ye B. Sacram^t^ of ye Eucharist once a year by y^r^ Office, w^ch^ would be attended with very bad consequences amongst ourselves, and pull down faster y^n^ we have been building these twenty years. In his last Letter, w^ch^ is an answer to one from ye execrable Mr. Ffife to him, he owns your and your Colleagues' Consecrations to be good, but expressly charges you all with Rebellion and Schism—Rebellion in making Canons contrary to, or ra^v^r without the interposition of, the Civil power, and so transgressing ye bounds set you before the Rev[oluti]on; and Schism in separating from ye Presbyters and people who were for adhering to ye old Establishment. He vindicates and patronizes all who withdraw and separate from you upon these considerations, and advises Mr. Ffife, rather than apply to you for it, to admit his people to the Altar without Confirmation. Now, if Bishop Smith is not singular in these extravagances (and it seems by that Letter, Signed by him and two of his English Colleagues, that he is not singular), what great hope can we entertain from this Declaration, unless it be to unite more closely amongst ourselves, and let others see that we are to maintain our Independency, which are goods highly valuable? But it will be an agreeable disappointment to me to find that it has some good effect even in England.

We are in no pain about S. James' Lyturgie, being satisfied that we shall have our Copies safely transmitted to us.

May Almighty God support our Sp^r^ll Fathers under the many discouragements and difficulties with w^ch^ you now struggle. May all of us of ye second Order have the benefit of your Prayers, and in a special manner.

R. R. Sir,

Your most dutiful Son and obedient humble Servt.,

Forfar, Decr. 16th, 1744. WIL. SETON.

I wish you may read this scribble, wrote in a hurry after the fatigues of ye day.

Nothing of consequence appears to have been done without Keith's advice or concurrence, even before he was raised to the Episcopate. His Consecration, however, took place on the 18th of June, 1727; the Sacred Office being performed at Edinburgh by Bishops Miller, Rattray, and Gadderar.

Number 18 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

20. Original Deed of Bishop Robert Keith's Consecration by Bishops Millar, Rattray, and Gadderar, June 18, 1727. Bishop Dunbar Consecrated at ye same time.

From this period the influence of his wise and moderate policy, in the business of the Church, appears in several happy results to which he conducted the counsels of his Brethren. He was openly and decidedly hostile to the foolish measures which were pursued by some of his Colleagues, who could not all at once throw off the Erastian prejudice, that the power of a Religious Society is not complete without the co-operation and sanction of the Civil Magistrate. He deprecated with much earnestness certain proceedings which took place in consequence of this very groundless opinion; and, in reference to Ecclesiastical Patronage and Preferment at large, he recommended a speedy recurrence to the maxims and practice of Primitive times.

The following Letters are copied from the Originals, which were in Mr. Keith's custody.

Mr. Keith's First Letter to Bishop Fullarton of Edinburgh.

My Lord,—I am desired by those persons of distinction, the honour of whose acquaintance you know I have in this place, to signify to your Lordship that they, having seen and considered the case of the Meeting-house of Dundee, do offer as their judgment that Bishop Norrie's Paper, constituting Mr. Ouchterlony Minister thereof, is of a very wild and extravagant nature, and a plain contradiction in itself; and, therefore, that you ought to comply with the desire of the good people of Dundee, and grant your consent for Mr. Rait to remove from his present small Charge to exercise his Ministry among them. This, they assure your Lordship, is the only method to prevent such a breach and flame in that City and Church as you would be glad to have made up and extinguish'd when perhaps it may be too late.

My Lord, I have not courage to say to your Lordship all that these worthy persons, in whose name I write, did order me to say. I am persuaded this hint will be sufficient, and that your Lordship will be at no loss what to determine. Their concern in that Country, your Lordship knows,

is considerable; and that person of them who received lately a Letter from you, recommending a gentleman of your name to him, and which Letter I saw, bids me in particular tell your Lordship, as he entertains a very great regard for your person and the Church, would be sorry to find you act in this affair otherwise than as he expects. I beg your Lordship's benediction, and am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Son and humble Servant,

(Wants a Date.) R. Keith.

Mr. Keith's Second Letter to Bishop Fullarton of Edinburgh.

My Lord,—The Episcopal Congregation at Dundee having, upon some whispering little advantageous to your Lordship, sent a representation of the same to several persons of distinction of that Country who reside in this City, they do again commissionate me—first, to return you thanks in their name for the favourable and just Decree you were pleased to make with respect to Mr. Rait; and next, they beg your Lordship to adhere to the same judgment against the insinuations of some people who want only to tarnish your Lordship's character, and then to make a mock of you when they get it done.

My Lord, it consists with my knowledge that this is not a new thing, and since the request of the people of Dundee, and of those persons here, is entirely conformable to justice, and tends only to peace and concord, which it is visible the contrary party doth not,—I beg pardon, as one of your Presbyters, to offer my advice to your Lordship to confirm your former Deed, if ever any solicitation shall be made in the contrary; or, which will be equally available, that you act nothing in contradiction to what you have already done. I ask your Lordship's Benediction, and am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Son and humble Servant,

Aprile 5th, 1727. R. Keith.

Rev. Sir,—I am let into a story of the Right Rev. Mr. Norrie, in which I take notice of some steps out of the ordinary road. I cannot but take notice of one of an extraordinary nature, which is his constituting and ordaining Mr. Ouchterlony his Successor by his own authority, and a pretended majority of the house on his side, which is an act of an extraordinary nature, if not a contradiction in itself; for which I cannot approve it, but rather that Mr. Rait should have that post of Dundee, which will be a mean to extinguish that flame which is but too much kindled there already, and is of a more canonical healing nature. Please signify my mind in this matter to those worthy persons of distinction by whose advice you wrote to me.* This is all from Your affectionate Brother,

(Sic Subscr.) Jo. Edinburgen.

To the Rev. Mr. Robert Keith,
Minister of the Gospel at Ed^r.

* So this is an Answer to Mr. Keith's First Letter.

Rev. Sir,—I find that there are still some things upon the wheel relating to Mr. Rait's settlement at Dundee, and some endeavours making to

perswade me to alter my mind in what I have done. I hereby declare that I firmly adhere to my opinion, and that no insinuation whatsoever shall be able to make me revoke what I have already declared in that affair. So I desire you to signify so much to the Reverend Clergy and Gentlemen there, so as there be not the least suspicion given for altering my mind in that business; which I give as my full and final determination in the settlement of that Congregation on the foresaid Mr. Rait. This, with my Benediction to you and all the Reverend Brethren there,* I rest, Revd. Sir,

Your most affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Greenhall, Aprile 9th, 1727. (Sic Subscr.) Jo. Fullarton.

To the Rev. Mr. Robert Keith,
Minister of the Gospel at Edr.

* This in Answer to Mr. Keith's Second Letter to the Bishop.

Rev. Sir,—Last day the Bishop of Edinburgh's Letter to you was deliver'd me by the Rev. Mr. James Rait; he received it from Mr. Carnegy, the gentleman of whom I wrote you in my last. The said Letter was open when it came to his hands, and he knows not but it may chance to be of use to him, and therefore entreats carefully to preserve it.* The Bishop has likewise wrote a Letter to Mr. Rait, authorising him to leave his Charge at Kirrimuir, and accept of that in this place; and another to us of the Episcopal Congregation, approving of and confirming our Election. Mr. Rait, after a formal invitation to residence among us, came in this week, in order to begin and perform his Ministry on Sunday next; since which time he produced to Mr. Goldman his authority, and earnestly desired he might unite with him as his Colleague; who answered that he could give him no return untill he consulted Mr. Ouchterlony, with whom we humbly think that neither Mr. Rait nor we ourselves have any concern. He has not yet got Mr. Goldman's Answer, else should by this time have advised you of it. Meanwhile, we have provided a house where Mr. Rait may perform Divine Service to a good number of people, and have the promise of our Magistrates that he shall have the same liberty which the other two enjoy, altho Mr. Ouchterlony's friends have been at much pains to give them very bad impressions of his ministry and principles. This will be delivered you by my Son, together with the Bishop of Edinburgh's Letter to you, mention'd above. Wishing you all happiness, I am with profound respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your most affectionate and humble Servant,

Dundee, 18th March, 1727. Cha. White.

To the Rev. Mr. Robert Keith, at his Lodging
in the Canongate, Edinburgh.

* This is the Letter of March 3rd.

Rev. Sir,—I was favour'd with yours of the 23d currant. This will be delivered you by Mr. Dempster, a young gentleman, and who is a nephew of Mr. James Rait. You will find enclosed a Letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh, which, after perusal, seal up and return to the said Mr. Dempster.

You are earnestly entreated by the gentlemen who Subscribe that Letter, that you would take the trouble of seconding it with one to the Bishop from yourself, which Mr. Dempster will likewise take from you: for the substance of it we refer you to your own. This second application to the Bishop is occasion'd by some threatnings of Mr. J. O^{ny}, which have reached our ears. His expression is, that unless Mr. Rait renounce Episcopacy he will be obliged in a very short time to remove from this place; which plainly insinuates that he must have a design in view of imposing upon the good Bishop, by putting this affair in some other shape than that in which we most ingenuously and faithfully represented it to his Lordship. We are informed that next week he goes for Ed^{r}, where no doubt his utmost efforts will be used to effectuate this his unchristian design. I told you in my last that Mr. Rait, after presenting to Mr. Goldman the credentials of his Title, and earnestly desiring he might unite with him as his Collegue, that he put him off with promise of a reply how soon he had consulted with Mr. Ouchterlony; but instead of this (finding their first stratagem fail with respect to his ministrations), they began to muster up all their objections against the Bishop of Edinburgh's authority, by which he is settled, representing Mr. Rait a disorderly intruder, and as such threatning all who should countenance or join with him in any of the publick Offices of Divine Service, nor to suffer them to enter their meeting. However surprising this their bold unprecedented stroke at all Ecclesiastical Discipline and Christian Unity may appear to you, it is fact; for no sooner did they perceive the people of their Communion incline to maintain unity, by going one dyet to Mr. Rait's Meeting and another to theirs for the benefit of publick Worship, twice every Lord's day—which they did not before, their Meeting-house not being sufficient to contain one-half of the Episcopal Congregation—they fell upon this unheard of and most unchristian stratagem of frightning the people with the guilt of Schism; thô I perswade myself this will have a greater tendency to ruin than promote their interest. I need not give you directions what cautious use to make of this information. Praying God may reward all your good offices to us, and me in particular, with a Blessing on yourself and family, I am, with sincere respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,

Dundee, March 30, 1727. CHA. WHITE.

To the Reverend Mr. Robert Keith, Minister of the Gospel,
at his Lodgings in the Canongate.

[In consequence of this request, Mr. Keith wrote his Second Letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh; and the Bishop's Letter of Aprile 9th was in answer to it.]

Rev. Sir,—I received your favours of the 14th currant, which gave no small satisfaction to the Rev. Mr. Rait's friends in and about this place, having thereby removed all those fears they laboured under from the open threatnings and secret contrivances of their adversaries. I assure you these gentlemen have a very just and gratefull sense of this and all your former good offices, and do heartily wish it may be in their power at any time to make a due resentment of them. Meanwhile such is the unhappy temper of the chief promoters of all the clamours that have been raised against Mr.

Rait's settlement, that they not only give a deaf ear themselves to all terms of peace, but disswade others; and althô there is not the least room to doubt of yours being a true and genuine Copy of the Bishop of Edinburgh's Letter, yet the experience we have of their unfair and disingenuous dealing with those whom they have hitherto strangely hoodwink'd, gives us reason to think that, thô conscious to themselves of the sincerity of your Letter, yet they will not scruple to make their people believe that it may be otherwise. Wherefore, to prevent this, the Original is earnestly desired, which you may either give to Mr. Dempster, who deliver'd you my last, or to my son, either of which will send it under their cover; thô I much rather it came under your own, by which you may perhaps be able to give some account of Mr. Ouchterlony's negociations, who is now at Edinburgh, and, as some say, designs further West. Praying all happiness to you, I am, with much respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your obliged and most humble Servant,

Dundee, Aprile 18, 1727. CHA. WHITE.

P.S.—Since writing of this, I have a Letter from my brother, who is returned from executing a Commission he had in the West Country, which I hope will in a very little time not only compose our own differences, but likewise contribute to the peace and welfare of the whole Church. I shall be able to write you in a short time more freely on that subject.

To the Reverend Mr. Robert Keith,
at his Lodgings in the Canongate, Ed^{r}.

Rev. Sir,—I received your favourable Letter of the 12th, a Copy of which I have this day sent to my brother to be communicate to Dr. Rattray, who, I am informed, is at present in the North. This may perhaps retard his congratulatory Letter to your Bishop* some longer than if he had been in this neighbourhood. Meanwhile, I am persuaded that my brother will communicate your Letter to him without loss of time. Mr. Robert Ouchterlony and Mr. Rose, his Clerk, left this place on Thursday last in their way home, having carried Dr. Rattray's Election by a great majority of the Presbyters of this District; and I believe both he and the Elect Bishop of Murray may be with you in a very short time to be Consecrate, if the Bishop of Ed^{r} be disposed to go into such measures as you and other friends shall propose to him. Mr. Rait and his friends here have, from your constant and repeated favours, conceived a very just and lively sense of your pious concern for the peace and welfare of the Church; and are no less sensible of your prudent conduct in keeping our Letters, for we now plainly see our error in that Paragraph of ours, wherein we say that we never yet question'd Mr. Ouchterlony's settlement, which may indeed be constructed as if we acknowledged the legality of it. Pray God may prosper your pious and assiduous endeavours for peace and order to His afflicted Church, and reward your unwearied labours that way with all the blessings of this and another life. I remain, with sincere and due respect,

Rev. Sir,

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,

Dundee, 13th May, 1727. CHA. WHITE.

* This was Bishop Millar, for Bishop Fullarton Died in the end of Aprile.

P.S.—Mr Rait being busied this afternoon, earnestly desired I should tender you his service, and begs you'll excuse his not writing till next Post.

[But as far as Mr. Keith remembers, he received no Letter in all this affair from Mr. Rait, nor is he in possession of any.]

To the Reverend Mr. Robert Keith,
at his Lodgings in the Canongate, Edr.

When the Revolution had broken the English Church into two Communions, many of the ejected Clergy, and, among the rest, the celebrated Dr. Hickes, thinking themselves no longer tied down by Parliamentary Decrees in their Sacerdotal Administrations, wished to revive those Ancient Usages, which they saw the English Reformation had begun with in the Eucharistic Service, of—1st, Mixing Water with the Wine; 2d, Commemorating the Faithful departed; 3d, Consecrating the Elements by an express Invocation; and 4thly, Using the Oblatory Prayer before reception, as in the Scotch Episcopal Communion Office. Others of them were for adhering to the Office as it stood established by Law, and authorized by long Practice, which the intended Revival, they said, seemed to condemn. This difference of sentiment produced Conferences and Writings from both sides without any effect, but with no heat on either side as long as Bishop Hickes lived, whom, for his piety and judgment, they all equally revered. But upon his Death, on the 15th December, 1715, Bishop Jeremy Collier, the laborious Church Historian, being now the Senior Bishop in that Succession, and a man of much warmth of temper as well as extent of learning, appeared keenly at the head of the "Usagers;" and, being supported by an able party, among whom was the well-known Dr. Thomas Brett, pressed the reception of the "Four Primitive Points" with great vigour and strength of argument. At the head of the other party was Bishop Nathaniel Spinckes, formerly one of the Prebendaries of Sarum, and Rector of S. Martin's, in that Diocese, who, with his Followers, chiefly rested their opposition on the necessity of keeping close to the Second Book, which had received both a Civil and Ecclesiastical Sanction. For terminating, if possible, these differences, it was agreed, on both sides, to consult the Scottish Bishops, and refer the matter wholly to their decision. To this purpose a Mr. Peck—[*See Scotichroni-*

con, vol. ii., pp. 118 *and* 127]—came down from the "Usagers" in 1718, and made application, both to Bishop Rose and Bishop John Falconar, for a Synodical Determination; which they declined, but were willing to act as Mediators and Friends to both sides, recommending peace and forbearance of authority. Bishop Spinckes, too, from the other side, wrote to these two Bishops, to engage them in his favour, but met with the same return; yet, to testify their readiness to do what they could for preventing a rupture among friends, they employed Dr. Rattray (of Craighall, in Perthshire), a man of singular knowledge in Ecclesiastical Literature, to draw up "Proposals of Accommodation for reconciling these Differences;" which, at their request, he did with candour and moderation, without entering critically, as he well could, into the merits of the Cause, but only wishing both parties to condescend so far, for peace's sake, as to Communicate occasionally with one another in Holy Offices, according to the respective Form of those whose privilege it was to Officiate at the time. This Paper, though approved by Bishop Rose, as "being written with much judgment, full of Christian temper, and making much for peace," yet, as the Bishop feared, had the common fate of all such reconciling schemes, not to give the satisfaction intended by it, at the same time that neither party could find fault with it.

The spirit which prevailed in the Church for nearly twenty years after the date of the above Transactions, and particularly after the Demise of the good Bishop Rose, proves but too clearly that the Scottish Prelates, who were originally engaged in the question as Mediators and Umpires, soon became deeply interested as Parties, and eagerly employed themselves in its discussion as individual Controversialists. Remonstrances, Injunctions, and Pastoral Admonitions (the usual resources of Churchmen when the more ordinary methods of convincing the understanding are found ineffectual), were issued as well by the "Usagers" as by those who opposed the Revival of those Ceremonies. The moderation employed by Bishop Keith, in paving the way for a final Agreement among the leading men on both sides, is to be extolled.

Number 21 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

13. In Print (8vo), a Letter, Septemr. 23, 1728, to the Rev. Mr. David Ranken, upon the "Usages," by Bishop Keith.

The accommodation of these unfortunate differences seems indeed to have given much satisfaction, even to those persons who were known to have made the greatest sacrifices in point of opinion and predilection. In a Letter from Bishop Rattray to Bishop Keith, the former quotes an expression as used by Bishop Gillan, who trusted that "it would not, through God's grace, be in the power of men or of devils to disturb that happy Union with which he has been pleased to bless us."

As soon as Bishop Keith was invested with the Episcopal Office, 18th June, 1727, as Coadjutor to the then aged Bishop Millar, he was intrusted with the Superintendence of the extensive Districts of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles. As he continued to reside in Edinburgh, we are not informed in what way he discharged the duties incident to these remote Districts, so difficult at that time of access.

Among the numerous Papers preserved in the Episcopal Chest of Drawers at Trinity College, Glenalmond, there are two Original Deeds certifying the Ordination both to the Diaconate (1749, Oct. 21) and Priesthood (1751, Jan. 9) of Mr. James Winchester, by Bishop Keith for Orkney, "*juxta morem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.*"

Tacked to these Deeds there is an original Letter from some gentlemen in Stornoway, a part of the Long Isle, Dated July 22, in the year 1738, and addressed to Bishop Keith, in which they "thank him most kindly for his care of them, in sending among them the Rev. Mr. John Williamson of Sky," &c. There is also a second Original Letter in the same Repository, from Mr. James Taylor at Thurso, 12th July, 1757, addressed to Mr. Robert Forbes of Leith, afterwards Bishop Forbes, expressing "his surprise how any could call in question Bishop Keith being acknowledged Bishop of Caithness and Orkney."

Number 15 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

21. (Holographs) Letters from Messrs. James Taylor and William Long-

moor, Thurso and Wick, Janry. 14, 1734, to Bishop Keith, that they had a Letter from Mr. Seymours, travelling Tutor, at the desire of Bishop Freebairn, to forward a Deed of Election in favour of Mr. Wm. Harper, Senior, to be Bishop of Caithness, &c.; to which Bishop Keith made return, that "since this project was carried on without his knowledge, thô Bishop of Caithness, he strictly prohibited them to meddle in that matter; which put a stop to it. Bishop Keith told Mr. Seymours that he was not ignorant of the uncanonical step he had been adviseing, &c. Mr. Symmers owned it was wrong, and begg'd there might be no more of it," &c.

25. Some Original Letters between Bishop Keith and Mr. David Anderson, about supplying Orkney with Clergymen, and about the Bishops not admitting some persons into their number, &c., Feb. 5, &c., 1735.

Bishop Keith was Preferred to the Superintendence of Fife, 17th July, 1733.

Instrument of Election of the R. R. Bishop Robert Keith for the District of Ffife.

We, the Presbyters of the District of Ffife, being sensible of the loss we sustain by the want of a Bishop, to be a principle of unity unto us, and having met by virtue of a Mandate directed by the Right Reverend Mr. David Ffreebairn, the Primus, and the other Right Reverend Bishops, to the Reverend Mr. William Mylne, at Ffalkland, have unanimously Elected the Right Reverend Bishop Robert Keith to be our immediate Ordinary, to preside over us, and to have the inspection over the Church of God among us. And we hereby promise him all due and Canonical Obedience, and we have appointed the Reverend Mr. John Mackenzie, Chaplain to the Earl of Weemiss, humbly to present this our Deed of Election to the above Right Reverend Bishop Keith for his Acceptance, and to the Right Reverend Mr. David Ffreebairn, now Bishop of Edinburgh, Primus, and the other Bishops of this Church, for their Confirmation. In testimony whereof, we have Subscribed these Presents, written by Master James Morice, our Clerk, at Ffalkland, the tenth day of July, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Three.

Will. Mylne, Moderator.	John Alexander.
J. Mackenzie.	Ro. Lyon.
Ja. Morice, In. Clerk.	Alex. Livingston.
John Petrie.	David Gordon.

Reverend Brethren,—I thank you kindly for the confidence you have placed in me, and shall endeavour, by the help of God, to discharge the duty of my Sacred function among you.

Robert Keith.

Right Reverend Brother,—We heartily approve the choice the Presbyters of the District of Ffife have made of you, and do hereby Confirm you Bishop of that District; and we pray God may direct and assist you in the management thereof.—Given at Edinburgh the 17 July, 1733.

David Ffreebairn, Primus.
Jo. Gillan, Bishop.

The following are remarkable incidents during his Episcopate of Fife :—

5. of Number 17. Originals and Copies of Letters concerning the Ordination of Mr. Nathaniel Spens by Bishop Freebairn, thô living, and about to Officiate in Fife, the District of Bishop Keith, particularly the said Mr. Spens' Holograph Letter of humble submission and acknowledgment to Bishop Keith, Aprile 18, 1738, upon which he was instantly pardon'd and received into favour, &c.

Bishop Keith issued the following Protest against this irregularity :—

I, Mr. Robert Keith, Bishop of the District of Fife, understanding that several of the Presbyters of Edinburgh are now employed, by Order of the Bishop of that District, in taking tryal of Mr. Nathaniel Spens, belonging to my Jurisdiction, do hereby protest against the uncanonical practice, and against you, Mr. Thomas Auchinleck, Mr. Thomas Mowbray, Mr. William Harper, Mr. Alex. Robertson, Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, Mr. Patrick, and David Rait, and all others, as if named, that shall employ themselves as aforesaid, or that recommend the said Mr. Nathaniel Spens to the Bishop of Edinburgh, or any other Bishop, for receiving of Holy Orders without my consent; and I do likewise hereby appeal to the Bishops of this Church in their first Meeting for redress, if you shall presume to proceed any farther, this my Protestation notwithstanding. In Witness whereof, I have Written and Signed this Instrument of Protest and Appeal at Edinburgh, the Third Day of February, 1738, and have appointed the same to be given in in my name to the persons concerned, by Mr. John Mackenzie, my Colleague, one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, who is likewise to do all other things required herein.

(Sic subscr.) Robert Keith.

18. of Number 14. (Original) Gentlemen in and about Falkland to Bishop Keith, Augt. 20, 1739, about providing them in a Clergyman.

19. of Number 14. Do. to Do., Octor. 24, 1739, requesting to have Mr. Young, Chaplain to Logie Drummond, settled at Falkland.

21. of Number 14. (Holograph) Scotstarvet to Bishop Keith (Febry. 3, 1741), that ye People of Crail had made choice of Mr. Robt. Lindsay for their Pastor, and requested his being settled accordingly.

36. of Number 14. (Original) Octor. 8, 1744. Address to Bishop Keith from the Gentlemen at the Congregation of Down, to have Mr. John Blair to be their Pastor, with Mr. Blair's original Letter of Acceptance of same Date.

Keith Resigned the Superintendence of Fife on the 23d of August, 1743.

15 of Number 7. (Original) Bishop Keith's Resignation of Fife, with concurrences of the o^{r} Bishops, Ed^{r}, Augt. 23, 1743.

It was in 1743 that the Diocese of Edinburgh became vacant by the Death of Bishop Rattray, who appears to have

been Elected in 1743 by the Clergy of that City; though (as Bishop Russell says) there is no satisfactory evidence to show that he ever entered upon the Episcopal Duties of the Metropolis. Upon this event, some intention seems to have been entertained of appointing Bishop Keith his Successor; and the Resignation of Fife by the latter, which took place in the same year, does unquestionably give a certain degree of countenance to the rumour which was propagated on this subject.

Bishop Falconar to Bishop Alexander at Alloa, giving his Opinion of Bishop Keith's character, and of his fitness for the Bishopric of Edinburgh.

R. R. D. B.,—After wishing you all the compliments of the season, and that this year may be more favourable to all of us than the last has been, I must tell you that I greatly fear our friend A. G. thought it not amiss to drop something of what we intended as to the filling the Vacancy of Dunblane; but I'll remonstrate most warmly against it, and I apprehend it will cost both you and me all our skill to enduce him.

I could be content to know what the Clergy of Edinb^{r} are a doing, and if they have any person in view for their Bishop. I wish they were so wise as to elect our R. R. Primus, Bishop Keith. I take him to be the properest person for the Diocese of Edin^{r} upon many accounts. His knowledge, prudence, experience, and his situation do all point him out for that office; and I have often wondred why the Presbyters did not pitch upon him for their Ordinary. For my own part, after I have once and again conversed with his keenest opponents, I never could have one good reason for their being so averse to a person of Bishop Keith's merit and capacity, unless merit, capacity, and modesty be good reasons. It is very true none of them come near him in all these respects, for I know he is very much superior to any Priest in the Diocese, for his erudition, penetration, and for a great many other qualities; and we know whom envy attends. But I dare promise, chuse whom they will, they cannot make a better choice. And, therefore, should it happen to come to be talkt of, in any conversation where you may be a sharer, what my sentiments are with respect to the Diocese of Edin^{r} (as you and I know one another's thoughts upon that head, as well as on some others), I beg you'll do me the favour (I leave the opportunities to your own prudence) to answer in my name that I still look upon Bishop Keith, upon many accounts, to be the fittest and properest person for being Bishop of Edin^{r}; and wherever I have anything to say he shall have my suffrage for it. I hope, if any settlement casts up, you will remember my brother, whom I can recommend for his prudence and good behaviour.

R—t has maul'd me most unmercifully for intreating him to dispense with the intimation of his sentence at Inverness, where Dr. Colvin has a br. and two sisters, and upon that account Mr. Hay is very much afraid to venture it. Will not W. and you, who are the majority in this case, dispense with the order; for I might have applied to W. and you instead of writing to R., who is intirely under the dominion of his own and some other people's passions; and from his appearing so inflexible on a point of so

small import, and to which I am bound by no terms of Catholick Communion—thô he boldly avers I am, to which I only am obliged by Signing the Order for its intimation—yet he is resolved to keep me bound, as if, forsooth, it was solely in his power so to do. I do really think the poor gentleman's head is giddy. He makes such a world of clatter about his authority, his absolute independent powers, &c., that he puts me in mind of some of the old Popes, when they actually frighted folks by their clamour and noise to yield to their demands. He does not consider the times in which he lives; he makes no allowances for other people's circumstances or prejudices; but rushes on blindly, passionatly, and with not one grain weight of prudence, neither minding his own character, nor how far his indiscreet behaviour may affect the Church. I shall let him know so much, whither he likes it or not, some posts hence.

Fail not to write me what is a doing, and how the Clergy of Dumblane stand affected; what news from England, and if R— or W. Robertson are to enter the lists with that doughty champion of novelty, Ja. Dundass. I beg your prayers, as you shall always have those, thô unworthy, of,

R. R. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

Elgin, Janry. 11, 1744. WIL. FALCONAR.

Bishop Keith used considerable pains to remove the impression which the above report created among his Brethren. In a Letter to Mr. Thomas Auchinleck, October 6th, 1744, he makes a formal Declaration that he never, in any shape, solicited to be Bishop of Edinburgh, but that, on the contrary, he had declined the Appointment when actually offered to him. The "*Nolo Episcopari*" has, no doubt, been long regarded as an innocent expression of pious insincerity,—a phrase which is never meant to be interpreted too literally, or remembered too long. Still, in circumstances such as those which belong to the "Episcopal Church" in these Northern parts, we cannot imagine that a man of Bishop Keith's character could be exposed to disappointment by having his services rejected; and far less can we believe that he would violate truth, even to heal the wounds of mortified ambition.

NARRATIVE OF WHAT PRECEDED THE SYNODICAL MEETING OF THE BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, BEGUN ON TUESDAY THE 11TH JULY, 1738.

(*From a small 4to MS. in Bishop Jolly's Kist.*)

Upon Monday or Tuesday after Pentecost, Bishops Rattray and Keith went together to visit Bishop Freebairn, who, after some discourse with them, expressed his desire that Bishop Rattray might become the happy instrument of removing any misunderstandings that had happened amongst

the Bishops; who declared himself ready and willing to use his best endeavours towards that good end; and the next time he waited of Bishop Freebairn, gave it as his opinion that a Synodicall Meeting of the Bishops was the most proper mean for removing all misunderstandings whatsoever. Bishop Freebairn was then entirely of the same mind, and desired Bishop Rattray to write Bishop Dunbar, that his mind might be also known with regard to that General Meeting, which he accordingly did. Eight or ten days after writing to Bishop Dunbar, Bishops Rattray and Keith again waited of Bishop Freebairn, and all were of opinion that it was not necessary to wait Bishop Dunbar's answer, there being no room to doubt but he would heartily approve of the calling of the Synod; and therefore Bishop Freebairn, as Primus, did appoint a Synod to be holden at Edinburgh, and the Form in which Bishop Dunbar was called to that Synod is as follows:—"Edin^{r}, June 5th, 1738.—Since a Meeting of the Bishops of this Church is thought requisite, I hereby appoint the Meeting to be on the Eleventh day of July next at Edinburgh; and therefore I earnestly intreat you to be present thereat, as Bishop Ratttray and Bishop Keith will be, who are here with me at writing of this. Signed, David, Bishop of Edinburgh, Primus. Directed thus—To the Right Reverend William Dunbar, Bishop of the District of Aberdeen."

Just as the Primus was going to Sign this, he said to this purpose, "I hope, Brethren, you do not desire that Bishop White should be called to this Meeting." To which it was answered by Bishop Rattray, "That there would be time enough to talk of that matter 'twixt and the day appointed."

Soon after the Meeting was thus appointed, Bishop Rattray received from Bishop Dunbar an Answer to that Letter he had wrote him at the desire of the Primus, Dated at Peterhead, June the 1st, 1738, in which he says,—"If I find the return of any tolerable measure of strength and vigour of body, which I have little reason to look for in my advanced age, I shall not, God willing, fail to be personally present with you on the day appointed for your Meeting. But meantime, I earnestly intreat that the Primus will agree to what I think I have a just title—that I may be present then by Proxy. The consideration of my great age and infirmitys, and the great distance, will, I am confident, incline both him and our other Right Reverend Brethren to see the reasonableness of this demand, which, notwithstanding my right, I will take as a favour and good omen. If a fit occasion offer here for transporting me by sea, I know not but my great desire to see you all united in the bond of peace, will give me courage to embrace it."

Bishop Rattray immediately shewed Bishop Dunbar's Letter to the Primus, and said that nothing was demanded by that Bishop but what he had unquestionable right to; and the Primus very readily acknowledged the reasonableness of the thing, and declared he would willingly receive a Proxy, and wished that Bishop Dunbar would make choice of Bishop Rattray to be the person. And in an after communing between these two Bishops, in which Bishop Rattray acquainted Bishop Freebairn with every thing that then occurred to him which he thought should be done in the Meeting, and particularly concerning Bishop White, Bishop Freebairn said that he himself had been much blamed by some persons for having appointed a Meeting, which, however, he was resolved to keep. To which Bishop Rattray answered to this purpose—"That it would seem such as did so wanted to raise and keep up faction among the Bishops, to the weakening of that Discipline, which would be the necessary consequence of their unanimity."

Bishop Freebairn likewise told Bishop Rattray that Bishop Ouchterlony had written to him that he had little or no thoughts of attending this Meeting.

Upon the 10th of July, Bishops Rattray and Keith went to Bishop Freebairn about mid-day, and desired to know from him the time and place of the Synod's Meeting on the eleventh, which he appointed to be precisely at eleven of the clock forenoon, within his own Meeting House; and added that he had already given the proper orders for having the door open against that hour. These two Bishops enquired also whether Bishop Freebairn had heard lately from Bishop Ouchterlony, and if he knew anything of his coming to Town at this time? To which Bishop Freebairn replyed that he knew not, for that he had not had another Letter from him.

On that same 10th of July, Bishop Rattray received a Letter from Bishop Freebairn, Dated at ten o'clock at night, as Bishop Keith also received one that same night, about eleven of the clock, both of them in the following words, viz.:—

Right Reverend,—Since you were here, Bishop Ouchterlony is come to Town [he arrived at 4 afternoon], and is positive that he will neither keep time nor place appointed, till there be a previous Conference amongst us; and if you please to come to this house about ten o'clock, you will be waited upon by him and your affectionate Brother and Servant,

(Signed) David Freebairn.

To which Bishop Rattray returned this Answer next morning:—

Right Reverend,—I received a Letter from you, Dated yesterday at ten o'clock at night, wherein you inform me that Bishop Ouchterlony is come to Town; but what you add does not a little surprise me, that he, a single Bishop, should pretend to refuse to keep the time and place of a Synodical Meeting appointed by you, as Primus, and agreed to by all the other Bishops; or that he should require a previous Conference amongst the Bishops at ten o'clock this day, who are to meet within an hour after (at eleven), in order to confer together, and determine whatever Ecclesiastical matters shall come before them. This appears to me to be so very odd and unaccountable a Proposal, that I hope when you reflect upon it, you will excuse my not complying with it. But I shall not fail, God willing, to attend you at the time and place you have appointed for our Meeting. I am, &c.

And Bishop Keith's Answer was this:—

R. R. S.,—I received a Letter from you yesternight, telling me that Bishop Ouchterlony was positive he would neither keep time or place of our Synodical Meeting, unless he had a previous Conference this day at ten o'clock (just an hour before that appointed by you for that Meeting). As I had an appointment at the same hour this morning, and that I can see no use for such a Conference so shortly before the Synodical Meeting, in which we may freely treat of any thing in a friendly manner, I desire to be excused from waiting on you sooner, and am, R. R. S.,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

Edin^{r}, July 11th. Robert Keith.

On the 11th of July, a little before the hour of Meeting, while Bishops Rattray and Keith were on the street, ready to enter Bishop Freebairn's Meeting House, as they expected, the Reverend Mr. Alexander Robertson came to them with a Message from him, that he was under a distress, which

had hung about him all the day before, and therefore earnestly desired they would come to his own Dwelling House. These Bishops answered Mr. Robertson—They would consider of what he had proposed to them, and make a Return to Bishop Freebairn; and immediately they went into a house, and wrote the following Letter, viz.:—

R. R. S.,—We have just now received your Message by Mr. Robertson, to which we agree, provided you send us a Letter appointing the Synodical Meeting to be at your Dwelling House, within half an hour after this Date; and likewise provided the Synod have the command of the door of your House, and an empty room next to that wherein the Meeting is to be, so as that we may not be overheard; but otherwise we cannot meet in any place where the Synod has not all due freedom. We expect your Answer by the bearer, and are, R. R. S.,

Your affectionate Brethren and humble Servants,

T. Rattray, Robert Keith.

Edinburgh, July 11th, ¼ after eleven forenoon.

To which they received this Answer, viz.:—

Right Reverend Brethren,—I thank you for your Charity towards me, when I am not much in a condition to come abroad. You shall have all the freedom in Meeting, and shall command a room where none shall hear us. I am, R. R.,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

David Freebairn.

Edinburgh, 11th July, half an hour after eleven forenoon.

Presently after which, the Bishops Rattray and Keith, together with the Rev. Mr. Robert Lyon, Presbyter at Craill, Proxy for Bishop Dunbar, repaired to Bishop Freebairn's house, where they were met by him and Bishop Ouchterlony; and after ordinary salutations past, Bishop Rattray presented Mr. Lyon as Bishop Dunbar's Proxy, and then desired Bishop Freebairn, as Primus, to constitute the Synodical Meeting. But Bishop Ouchterlony proposed that there should be a previous Conference amongst the Bishops, and was answered, "that all Synodical Meetings being designed for conferring, consulting, and determining, concerning the affairs of the Church, and the Dyet of the Synod being now come, and all the Bishops convened in it, it was certainly most proper to constitute the same by Prayer to God, as the likeliest means to procure His blessing upon it, and then to enter upon that which was the proper business thereof." But Bishop Ouchterlony endeavoured to enforce his proposal by alledging the precedent of what was done in December, 1731, for putting an end to the division then subsisting among the Bishops of this Church. To which it was replyed, that in December, 1731, there was no Synodical Meeting of Bishops. [As indeed there neither was nor could then be any Synodical Meeting, in regard the division was then so high that not only were there opposite claimants to the Bishoprick of Brechin, but also to the District of Edinburgh itself, and consequently, as things then stood, to the very power or right of convocating such a Meeting. And accordingly, what was done in 1731 was only in the way of amicable Conference, begun at first by two Bishops, viz., Gillan and Keith, each of different sides; and althô five Bishops came to be present afterwards in these Conferences, and in some of them a sixth, yet as there were then ten Bishops in the Kingdom, so what was concluded and agreed

on in these Conferences was never considered to have received its sanction until it was also Signed by the other four Bishops, who were then at their respective dwelling places.]

Then Bishop Ouchterlony objected the precedent of the Meeting in the month of June 1733. To which Bishop Keith made answer, that Bishop Lumsden, on whose account that Meeting was called, having sickened, and being on his deathbed the very time the Synod should have mett, the Bishops continued in Town till after his Burial, without any business, and so were often in conversation together; but that no general Conference concerning things to be done in the Synod was either required or holden by them. [And Bishop Ouchterlony may remember that one very important point was never communicated to Bishops Rattray and Keith by the other Bishops (thô those other had it some years before in their mind), untill it was proposed in full Synod the very last hour of its sitting. But to what purpose was all this insisting on a previous Conference? Had the Bishops happened to differ in their sentiments at such a Conference, would that have voided the Meeting? The Court of Rome laboured by all its most refined politicks to drive off time both before and after the Council of Trent was begun, by proposing of Conferences, &c.; yet the Pope never ventured to recal the Council which himself had appointed, nor to abstract his presence from it: this was a pitch too high for that great man.]

Bishop Freebairn then declared that it was his own opinion that the Meeting should be constitute, adding that for his own part he thought anything might be talked of as well after as before it was constitute.

But Bishop Ouchterlony next objected against admitting Bishop Dunbar's Proxy, as being a thing altogether without precedent in the Church. To which it was answered that the precedents were numerous both in General and Provincial Councils in the ancient Church. Then he insisted there was at least no precedent in the Church of Scotland. In answer to which, he was told that if there was no precedent for it, there was none against it; and, therefore, whatever Rights belong to the Bishops of the Catholick Church, must necessarily belong to every Bishop of the Church of Scotland, unless he could show something in the Canons or Constitution of that Church to preclude them from the same. [But thô it did not occur at that time, and that the answer then given is fully sufficient, yet (notwithstanding the very few Records that are extant) there is at least one most clear and evident Document of this Right being enjoyed by the Scottish Bishops, as well as by the Bishops in other parts of the Catholick Church. This Document is preserved in that Council recorded in the Chartularies both of Aberdeen and Murray, lying in the Lawyers' Library at Edinburgh, and lately Published by Dr. Wilkins—vol. 1st., page 607-608—and is, for what is yet known, the only Scottish Council whereof there is any tolerable Account remaining; and the first Canon of it concludes thus—"Si quis vero eorum canonica præpeditione fuerit impeditus, Procuratorem vice sua sufficientem substituat. Non autem veniens personaliter, cum venire possit, et noluerit, auctoritate Concilij et arbitrio puniatur." In English thus—"But if any of them (Bishops) shall be detained from coming to the Council through any Canonical impediment, let him constitute a sufficient Proxy in his place. And he that does not come in person when he may come, but will not, let him undergo an arbitrary punishment by the authority of the Council." And with what face can the Proxy of a Bishop be objected against, when even the Presbyters of Edinburgh have been

allowed to vote by Proxy in their Meetings.] Bishop Freebairn then declared again that it was his opinion the Meeting should be constituted.

And while Bishop Ouchterlony was still contending for a previous Conference, even now that the hour of the Synod was come, and labouring thus to protract the time by a repetition of the same reasons, and opposing the judgment of all the other Bishops, Bishop Freebairn, the Primus, was pleased a third time to express himself in these words—"Brethren, what I said first, I say last, it is my opinion that whatever could be said before, may be as well said after constituting the Meeting." Bishops Rattray and Keith then urged him to proceed according to his own judgment and theirs also, to constitute the Meeting by Prayer to God, for His direction and blessing upon their Deliberations and Conferences, as the most likely means to bring them to a good issue; and even required him to do it according to his proper Office. There being for it the voices of them two, added to his own judgment (the Proxy all that time saying nothing), against the single judgment of Bishop Ouchterlony.

But then Bishop Ouchterlony desired Bishop Freebairn to take notice that, if the Meeting were once constituted, there would be three votes against two, a very evident majority (said he); for he could count his five fingers—three of which were more than two. [Would the majority have been less evident had Bishop Dunbar been there in person?]

Bishops Rattray and Keith then observing it to be half an hour after twelve o'clock, proposed to leave the other two Bishops, offering to return at five afternoon, with this express provision, that immediately upon their coming back, the Meeting should be constitute. Bishop Ouchterlony said in express words, "That is a friendly proposal;" and so they took leave.

At five afternoon, they went again to Bishop Freebairn's house, and, after much civility, chairs were sett, and he desired the other Bishops would sitt down. But it was answered that there was no occasion for sitting down till the Meeting was once constituted by Prayer, which they desired he would do immediately.

Then Bishop Freebairn himself proposed what Bishop Ouchterlony had insisted on in the forenoon, viz., that the Bishops should previously talk together; and althô Bishops Rattray and Keith urged him to proceed and constitute the Meeting, he continued talking for a pretty large space. And when he had done, Bishop Rattray again desired him to constitute the Meeting, to which he being averse, and showing a very different countenance and humour than in the forenoon—alledging now that the Proxy should be sett aside, and pretending to have several other things yielded to him, which belonged properly to the cognizance of the Synod, before he would proceed to constitute it—Bishops Rattray, Keith, and the Proxy came away, after they had professed their sorrow that he should have so peremptorily refused to constitute that Meeting, which he himself had called, and had all along declared he would keep, till that very moment.

MINUTES

Of the Synodical Meeting holden within the Meeting House in Barrenger's Close, Tuesday, 11th July, 1788.

The Bishops Rattray and Keith, and Mr. Lyon, as Proxy for Bishop Dunbar, after they had gone both forenoon and afternoon to Bishop Freebairn's Dwelling House, at his own desire, did, upon his refusal to constitute

the Synodical Meeting appointed by him to be held on this day, come to the Meeting House in Barrenger's Close (lest any Protest should be taken from the day to which the Meeting was called being elapsed), where the Reverend Mr. Lyon produced a Proxy from Bishop Dunbar, which was read, and is as follows, viz.:—"To the Rev. Mr. Robert Lyon, Presbyter at Craill. I, William Dunbar, Bishop of the District of Aberdeen—forasmuch as a Synodical Meeting of the Bishops of this Church is appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, upon Tuesday the eleventh day of July next, and that my weakness of body renders me unable to be present at it in person, as I would most heartily wish to be—do therefore, in conformity with Ecclesiastical practice on the like occasions in former Ages, hereby constitute and appoint you, the Reverend Mr. Robert Lyon, Presbyter at Craill, my Proxy in this ensuing Synodical Meeting, giving full power and authority to you, as representing me, to sit and vote in my name, as if I myself were personally present.—Given at Peterhead, the 17th day of June, 1738 years, by Will. Dunbar, Epis. Ab^{d}."

Then, as being the majority of the Bishops, they resolved to constitute themselves into a Synodical Meeting, according to the Call and Appointment of the Primus to be on this day, which was accordingly done by Bishop Rattray, the Senior Bishop.

After Prayer, the Bishops proceeded to choose a Clerk, and Mr. Lyon produced an Instruction from Bishop Dunbar to give his vote for Bishop Keith (who was unanimously chosen Clerk), and that Instruction is as follows:—"Forasmuch as it is to be presumed that the first step after constituting a Meeting will be to make choice of a Clerk, for to mark down in writing every thing that shall pass therein; and since my Right Rev. Brother, Bishop Keith, has formerly performed that office, it is my sentiment that he be continued Clerk at this time likewise; and, therefore, I desire you, as my Proxy, to give vote in my name accordingly."

Then Bishop White came, and claimed his right to sit and vote in this Synodical Meeting, as being the first that had been holden since his Consecration. The other Bishops present did acknowledge his right, but desired him not to insist upon it untill they should see if the other two Bishops would come, and concur in the Meeting; to which he (Bishop White) condescended.

Next after this, written Invitations were sent to the Bishops Freebairn and Ouchterlony, to come and take their place presently in the Synod, and the messenger returned and told he had delivered them. The Invitations are as follows:—"To the Right Reverend David Freebairn, Bishop of the District of Edin^{r}.—Whereas a Synodical Meeting of the Bishops of this Church was appointed by you, and agreed to by the other Bishops, to be holden at Edin^{r}, this 11th day of July, 1738 years; and the Bishops being convened att your Dwelling House, upon your own request, and requiring you again and again to constitute the said Meeting by Prayer, and that both in the forenoon and in the afternoon, you, notwithstanding, still refused so to do: we, therefore, the majority of the Bishops, finding ourselves oblidged to keep the said Meeting, have accordingly met within the Meeting House in Barrenger's Close; and, the Meeting being constitute by Dr. Thomas Rattray, Senior Bishop, do hereby invite and require you, David Freebairn, Bishop of the District of Edin^{r}, to come and take your place presently in this Synodical Meeting, which you yourself, as Primus, had called. (Signed) T. Rattray, Robert Keith, Ro. Lyon, Proxy for Bishop William Dunbar."

"To the Right Rev. John Ouchterlony, Bishop of the District of Brechin.—Whereas a Synodical Meeting of the Bishops of this Church was appointed by David Freebairn, Bishop of the District of Edin^{r}, as Primus, to be holden at Edin^{r} this 11th July, 1738, and the Bishops being convened two different times this day, within the Dwelling House of the said Primus, upon his desire, and requiring him at both times to constitute the said Meeting, which he constantly refused to do, and you concurred in disswading him from it: we, therefore, the majority of the Bishops, finding ourselves oblidged to keep the said Meeting, have accordingly met within the Meeting House in Barrenger's Close, and the Meeting being constitute by Dr. Thomas Rattray, Senior Bishop, do hereby require you, John Ouchterlony, Bishop of the District of Brechin (as we have likewise done the Primus) to come and take your place presently in this Synodical Meeting. Signed as above." Then the Bishops adjourned to the next day at twelve o'clock.

Wednesday, 12*th July, at Noon.*

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, Mr. Lyon was sent to Bishops Freebairn and Ouchterlony, to give them a second Invitation to come and take their place in the Synod. They both acknowledged they had received the written Invitations the night before; but said they had resolved neither to give any written Answer nor to be present in the Meeting.

After Mr. Lyon had reported this Answer, he then produced an Instruction from Bishop Dunbar relating to Bishop White, which is as follows:—"Whereas the Reverend Mr. Robert White, in consequence of an unanimous Address by the Presbyters of the District of Dunblane, referring the Election to the Bishops of this Church, was, by the majority of them, chosen Bishop of the said District, and that upon the application of the said Majority of the Bishops to the Primus, he, instead of concurring with them in the Consecration of the said Elect, as he ought to have done, did, together with Bishop Ouchterlony, protest against the same, without offering any Canonical reasons or exceptions in the contrary; and that these two Bishops have never as yet acknowledged the said Bishop White for Bishop of the said District of Dunblane: therefore, if any scruple shall be made at this time against his sitting and voting in this Meeting of Bishops, I hereby require you, as my Proxy, to give suffrage in my name for his being admitted thereto, as having been Canonically Consecrated and appointed Bishop of the before-mentioned District, and having thereby equall right with any other Bishop of this Church, to this and all other Ecclesiastical Privileges competent to them as Bishops thereof."

And Bishop White was unanimously received, and took his place in the Synod.

Then the Meeting adjourned to four afternoon.

12*th July, at Four Afternoon.*

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, a Proposal was made by Mr. Lyon, in name of Bishop Dunbar, for which he produced a particular Instruction as follows:—

"Whereas, in the present circumstances of this Church, it is highly expedient that in any Meeting of the Bishops thereof, nothing be treated or discoursed of but matters purely Ecclesiastical; that is, such only as con-

cern the pure intrinsick Rights of the Church, as derived from Christ and his Apostles, and practised upon in the first Ages, before she came to be under any legal Establishment: therefore, I appoint you in my name to propose this in the Meeting, and, if need be, to give vote, as my Proxy, that it be strictly observed." And the same was unanimously agreed to.

Then it was proposed that the Concordate of the year 1731 should be read, as being the foundation on which the peace and unity of the Church was then established, which was produced by the Clerk, and read accordingly; and the Bishops unanimously approved thereof in all its Articles.

But in regard the true design and intention of the 4th Article of that Concordate has been since called in question—(The Article is in these words:—"That the Bishops of this Church shall, by majority of voices, chuse their Primus, for convocating and presiding only, and that no Bishop shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of his own District")—Mr. Lyon produced a particular Instruction from Bishop Dunbar, declaring in what sense he had always understood that Article, which is as follows:—"Whereas by the Agreement among the Bishops of this Church in the year 1731, all claim to metropolitical or vice-metropolitical powers was sett aside, and a Primus appointed to be chosen for convocating and presiding only: therefore, if any question shall arise at this Meeting concerning the extent of these powers of the Primus—as I always understood the office itself to be designed only temporary, and likewise that he was to act nothing therein without the advice and consent of the majority—so I require you, as my Proxy, to give vote and suffrage in my name, conformable to this my declared sentiment; and particularly, that if the Bishop of Edin^{r}, the present Primus, shall pretend either to adjourn or dissolve this ensuing Meeting, contrary to the advice and inclination of the majority of Bishops, or shall anyways withdraw his presence from it, or not return to it when called upon and invited by his Brethren so to do, that then, and in that case, you give suffrage in my name that the Bishops may continue to sit and act Synodically without him, and require you to sit with them accordingly, and to proceed with them to the choice of a new Primus."

Bishops Rattray and Keith, who had been present, and instrumental in framing that Concordate, declared that they had always understood the 4th Article in the same sense.

That the late Bishop Gordon had also so understood it, appeared evident not only from his written declinature, anno 1734, but also by the testimony of those two Bishops (viz., Rattray and Keith), who declared that, anno 1733, when Bishop Freebairn was Elected to the District of Edin^{r}, Bishop Gillan proposed, in a Meeting of the Bishops on that occasion, that another Primus should be then Elected, lest Bishop Freebairn should come to lay claim to such powers as had been claimed by his Predecessors.

The same further appears as to Bishop Gillan, from a Letter wrote by the Rev. Mr Robert Douglas, in his own name, and that of the other Presbyters in the District of Dunblane, to Bishop Freebairn, of July 15th, 1735, in which are these words—"We do not enter upon the matter of what is understood by your being Primus, or what power and authority is implyed therein, it belonging to the Colledge of Bishops to judge in that affair, not to us; only we can well remember that our late worthy Bishop (Gillan) often told us that the Primus was so limited, that the occasion of the Bishops Meeting was always to be communicated together with the Call."

And that Bishop Freebairn himself did then understand the said 4th Article in the same sense with his other Brethren, appeared not only from the Answer which these two Bishops (Rattray and Keith) declared they heard him make to Bishop Gillan's Proposal—viz., that he should never attempt any thing of general concern without the consent and concurrence of a majority of his Brethren (upon which promise of his Bishop Gillan's Proposal was laid aside)—but also by Original Letters under his own hand, produced and read in the Synod. In one of which, addressed to Bishop Dunbar, and Dated at Edin^{r}, 22d Jan., 1734, he has these words—"In short, I see no better way to compose our unhappy differences than by a Meeting of the Bishops whenever the season of the year will allow it; for then all parties may be impartially heard, and whatever errour they may find in my conduct, I shall submit to their censure, even thô I were Metropolitan, which I will never be. I leave that to aspiring humours, who love to command in chief." In another Letter, addressed to Bishop Rattray, Dated at Edin^{r}, 3d Octr., 1734, and which was the Answer to a Letter Bishop Rattray had wrote to him, Dated at Craighall, 17th Augt., 1734, in which Bishop Rattray had said—"You plainly misconstruct the declinature given in to you by your Brethren, as if they thereby denyed you that power of convocating, which was granted to the Primus by the Articles; whereas all they insist upon is, that that power never was intended to be unlimited (which I hope you yourself upon reflection will not pretend), notwithstanding its being expressed in general terms. One case you may remember was particularly mentioned, viz.,—If the rest of the Bishops, or a majority of them, should find it necessary to have a Meeting, and yet, upon their application to the Primus, he should refuse to convocate them, might they not meet of themselves of common consent? To which it was replyed, no body dissenting, that cases of that nature were so plain (viz., from the design and intention of the Bishops in framing that Article) that there was no need to specify them." And in answer to this part of Bishop Rattray's Letter, Bishop Freebairn says,—"Nor had I occasion to counteract the one thing *expressly mentioned*, nor can you say that I have claimed any metropolitick power, nor do I resolve upon it." And afterwards, in that same Letter, Bishop Freebairn says,—"Because the Primus can do nothing, nor will do nothing, but in conjunction with his Brethren, therefore he calls them together to consider such and such exigencies of the Church."

All which evidence being laid together, and fully considered by the Synod, they declare that the design and intendment of the Bishops in this 4th Article of Agreement in 1731 (Signed by such of them as were present upon 20th December) must have been that the Primus was to be Elective and temporary only; that he was to do nothing of general concernment but by the concurrence of at least the majority of his Brethren; and, likewise, that if at any time he should refuse to concur with the majority, they might meet and act Synodically without him; and that as Bishop Freebairn was chosen and appointed Primus only on the 31st day of that same December, according to the 4th Article of Agreem^{t} (as the original Deed of Election shows), so he could have no other powers conferred upon him by his Brethren than such as were intended for the Primus by that 4th Article. [But such a power as Bishop Freebairn has at this time claimed, and, as far as he could, exercised—viz., to call the other Bishops from remote parts of the Kingdom, and then tell them they may go home again, without so much

as constituting the Synod he had called—is so far from being competent to a limited Primus, that it is more than any Metropolitan ever pretended to, and must appear very absurd at any time, but especially in our present situation.]

And moreover, in conformity to what was done by the Bishops, anno 1731—who, after they had agreed to a particular division of Districts, added these words, viz., "By the aforesaid division of Districts, we do not pretend to claim any legal title to Dioceses"—this Synod declares that the Bishops do not arrogate to themselves any temporal right whatsoever, or that the said division and regulations, or any other that has been or may be made by them, ought to subsist, in case it shall please Almighty God, in the course of His providence, at any time hereafter to restore the Church to a legal Establishment; nor do they thereby in the least intend to encroach upon the just rights and priviledges competent to secular powers in Ecclesiastical affairs.

Then the Synod appointed Bishop Rattray and Mr. Lyon to go this evening to Bishop Freebairn, and to invite him the third time to come and take his place in the Synod the morrow forenoon, and to advertise him that if he comes not, they will be oblidged to proceed to the Election of another Primus in his room; and then adjourned till to-morrow at ten forenoon.

Thursday, 13*th July*, *at Ten Forenoon.*

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, Bishop Rattray and Mr. Lyon reported that they had been the evening before with Bishop Freebairn, and delivered to him the message as directed in the last Session; and that he had declared to them in a very peremptory manner that he would neither come to nor any way countenance their Meeting, and that they might do as they had a mind, for he would have no regard to it.

Whereupon the Synod proceeded to the choice of another Primus, and the Election fell upon Bishop Rattray, who declared that he did accept the office in the sense and import of the 4th Article of the Concordate, as above explained.

The Synod then declared, that thô they are sensible that Bishop Freebairn has rendered himself justly obnoxious to censure by his former breaches of the Concordate, and especially at this time, by refusing to constitute or to be present in this Synodical Meeting, which he himself had called; yet, out of a tender regard to his great age and infirmities, they are not only willing to forbear any proceeding ag^{t} him at this time, but even to allow him to take his place as Primus in the next Synod, provided he shall conform himself to the Concordate, and particularly to the 4th Article, according to the true design and intendment thereof. And Bishop Rattray, the new Primus, has declared that in that case he shall most willingly resign the Chair to him.

The Synod likewise declares, that thô Bishop Ouchterlony has in like manner rendered himself justly lyable to Censure, for disswading and hindering Bishop Freebairn from constituting the present Meeting, when he had declared again and again that he was willing so to do, as well as for refusing to come himself to the Synod, when twice invited to come—to the second of which Invitations, he not only gave a peremptory answer that he would not come, but also added that he was to leave the City next morning

(viz., the morning of this very day), which supersedes any further Invitation as to him—yet, since they have thought fit not to proceed against Bishop Freebairn, they have likewise condescended to forbear any proceeding ag^t^ the said Mr. Ouchterlony at this time.

The Synod taking next under their consideration, that if it were not timeously prevented, the proper Documents and Vouchers of the Episcopal Succession in the Church might come to perish, ordered Bishop Keith to make a Register of the Consecrations of all the Bishops thereof since the year 1688, as far as they can be recovered; and that he keep the same, together with all other Papers relating to Church affairs that shall come into his hands, in a particular Chest by themselves, with a direction, that in case of his death, it may be sealed up and delivered to the surviving Bishops; and it is recommended to all the Bishops to be assisting to him in collecting this Register.

It was next proposed in the Synod that some further Catechetical Instructions than are contained in the Liturgy might be proper for the use of such adult persons as come to be confirmed; which Proposal the Bishops approved of, and recommended it to the present Primus to draw up some such Instructions, and to lay them before the next Synod. Then adjourned till to-morrow at four afternoon.

Friday, 14*th July, at Four Afternoon.*

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, Bishop White represented to the Synod that Mr. John Græme, in Southertoun, had desired that since Bishop Rattray had quit any claim to him as a Presbyter of his District, and that he had thereupon promised Canonical Obedience to Bishop White, as one of the Presbyters of Dunblane, his case should be laid before the first Synodical Meeting of the Bishops, that he might have their determination concerning it. To which Bishop Rattray said that, althô Mr. Græme's personal residence, and the place of his Meeting for Publick Worship, was within his District, yet, inasmuch as by far the greatest part of his Congregation is within the District of Dunblane, and that he had always joyned with the Presbyters of that District, and never with those of Dunkeld, therefore he, the said Bishop Rattray, neither doth, nor ever did, claim Mr. Græme as one of his Presbyters. Whereupon the Synod does determine that the said Mr. John Græme, in Southertoun, shall belong to the District of Dunblane, as one of the Presbyters thereof; and adjourned to Monday 17th, at four afternoon.

Monday, 17*th July, at Four Afternoon.*

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, the Minutes of all the former Sessions were read and considered, and it was judged proper that a Narrative of all that had passed relative to this Synodical Meeting, and preceding the constituting the same, should be prefixed to the present Minutes; and accordingly Bishops Rattray and Keith were appointed by the Synod to draw up the said Narrative, and the Clerk to have a fair Copy written out both of the Narrative and Minutes, to be Subscribed by all the Bishops, and likewise a Copy of them for each Bishop, to be attested by his Subscription only; and then adjourned to Friday the 28th instant, at four o'clock afternoon, against which time they presumed the Copys before-mentioned would be ready.

Friday, 28th July, at Four Afternoon.

The Bishops being met, and Prayers said, they read and carefully compared this Copy of their Minutes and Narrative prefixed, consisting of this and the foregoing pages, which was given in to them by Bishop Keith, their Clerk, according to the appointment of the former Session; and upon finding it to be an exact Copy (the Copies for the Bishops not being yet ready), they appointed the Clerk to get Extracts from it for each particular Bishop finished, and transmitted to them with all convenient speed; and then agreed that this Copy be Subscribed by all the Bishops present, and by Bishop Dunbar's Proxy, and every page Subscribed by the Primus, to remain in the hands of the Clerk, as an authentick Record of what hath been transacted in the several Sessions of this Meeting; and that the Synod be then, and accordingly it is hereby, dissolved by the Primus.

(Sic Subscr.)

At the Consecration of a Successor to Bishop Rattray in the Diocese of Dunkeld, which was performed at Edinburgh by the Bishops Keith, Falconar, White, and Rait, it was resolved by these Fathers that they should constitute themselves into a Regular Synod for transacting the public business of the Church; on which occasion Mr. Keith was unanimously chosen Primus, and Mr. Alexander, the new Bishop, was appointed Clerk. Availing themselves of the Ecclesiastical knowledge and matured experience of the late Primus (Rattray), the Bishops, being thus met together, proceeded to take into consideration the draught of certain Canons which he had bequeathed to them, for the more formal exercise of their authority in the Government of their Districts; and, after a deliberate Conference, they succeeded—as well by making suitable alterations on those with which they were thus furnished, as by drawing up several new ones—in producing a Set of Rules which gained at once the universal acceptance of the Clergy, and also proved of considerable use in promoting uniformity of sentiment as well as of practice in almost all the professional matters concerning which they had been formerly divided. The Rules are given in Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., pp. 655–660; in Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iv., pp. 295–298; and in Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iv., pp. 14–17.

Bishop Keith's Deputation to Bishop Alexander for the Ordination of Mr. Robertson.

R. R. Br.,—Our Reverend Brother, Mr. Alexander Hunter, of this

City, having delivered to me a Letter from you to him, by w^c^ you desire y^t^ application may be made to me in behalf of Mr. Robertson, who is in expectation of being employed in e Holy Ministry in e vacant District of Glasgow, the charge of which pertains to me as Primus, and appointed as such to have the inspection of all e vacant Districts within this National Church—I hereby declare y^t^ I am willing y^t^ you, in whose District the young man has formerly resided, may proceed in the usual form to take Trial of him, and, if found duely qualified, to confer Holy Orders, y^t^ he may be collated to that Charge which is intended for him. This I write in conformity to your own Proposal contained in your Letter, and am, D. S.,

Your most affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Ed^r^, March 29, 1744. ROBERT KEITH.

The following is written on the opposite page of the above Letter:—

R. R. Sir,—What is on the o^r^ page will, I hope, be sufficient for your being so good as to hasten Mr. Robertson's Trials, for which you have Bishop Keith's desire, and the more so that I have a Letter from one of the gentlemen this day, wherein he tells me that he, with o^r^s concerned, have finished their Subscription, and are desirous to have Mr. Robertson putt in Orders as soon as possible, being recommended to 'em by e Viscount of Stermont. They are very sensible of the loss they have sustained so long, and are well satisfied w^t^ the agreeable character they have gott of e young man from that Nobleman, who is so good a judge. I wish you many returns of the happy festival past, and am, w^t^ respect,

R. R. Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

Ed^r^, March 29, 1744. ALEXR. HUNTER.

It is a trite observation that the man who most conscientiously does his duty is not always rewarded with the first burst of popular praise; and we find accordingly that Bishop Keith was by no means beloved by the Presbyters of Edinburgh, among whom he had been so many years resident. He was seldom asked by any of them to perform in their Congregations the Offices peculiar to his Order; and if we were to judge from a variety of Addresses, Remonstrances, and Replies, which are still on record, we should say that his intercourse with the "inferior" Clergy was almost entirely confined to Disputes about the limits of Episcopal Jurisdiction, and the Privileges of the Priesthood.

The Presbyters of Edinburgh, who, at the period in question, used to Elect a Moderator, and assume considerable powers as a regular and standing *Presbytery*, were extremely jealous of any higher authority in the Church; whilst the Bishops, on the other

hand—regulating their proceedings by a regard to abstract principle and ancient usage, rather than by a due consideration of the circumstances in which late events had placed their Communion, and still less by views of mere expediency—appear, on several occasions, to have aimed at the possession of a degree of power, the exercise of which would inevitably have sunk the Second Order of Ministers into absolute insignificance. The enactment of Canons in 1743, as Laws regulating the Practice and defining the Obedience of the whole Church, without desiring the advice or concurrence of any of the Presbyters, was a stretch of prerogative which could not prove agreeable to the latter description of Clergy; and although the Bishops might have no difficulty in proving that they had not on this occasion exceeded the limits of the authority inherent in their Order, and which had been frequently exercised by the Rulers of the Church in the purest times of Christianity, they would yet have attained their object more effectually by conceding a little to the spirit of the age and the wishes of their Brethren.

Number 6 *in Bishop Forbes' Catalogue.*

21. (Holograph Original) Bishop Keith to Bishop Rattray, Aprile 6, 1741, containing an Account of said K. his Conference w^t^ a certain Factor —"No Bishop in the world could do such a thing as promote W. H." "Such a thing (said Factor) should have been told sooner, and not suffer it to lie in the shape of Disobedience. Well (continued he) it is desired to receive R. B." "It was contrary to the scheme, that nominating should proceed from the Bishops; nay, that they were empowered to bring in whom they thought fitt," &c.

23. Holograph of Bishop Keith, June 12, 1742, after the Death of Bishop Ouchterlonie, for information of, &c.; how matters now stand, &c.; and what happened upon this is well known; but the death of Bishop Rattray the year following put a stop to what was intended, &c.

Number 7.

5. Original of Concordate, or Articles of Agreement, Decemr. 20 and 31, 1731, in ye Handwritings of Bishops Keith and Gillan, and Subscribed by nine Bishops.

6. Two Originals of Canons, June, 1733, the one in the Handwriting of Bishop Rattray, the other in y^t^ of Bishop Keith, and both without any Date, thô Subscribed by all ye Bishops.

7. Original Declaration, w^t^out any Date, of Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, Keith, and White, w^t^ ye adherence of Bishops Falconar, Rait, and Alexander, and that of Mr. George Hay, Elect of Murray and Ross, who Died before he

was Consecrated; not to assume any into y^r^ Order without ye consent and approbation of the majority of said Order, and y^t^ all matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the same majority.

8. First (Original) Synod, 1738; Mr. Robt. Lyon Subscribing as Proxy for Bishop Dunbar.

9. Second (Original) Synod, 1738, containing Bishop Dunbar's Confirmation; and in which are contained the following loose Papers, viz.:—Two Copies of Bishop Freebairn's Narrative, or Account of what passed at the intended, but not kept, Meeting of the Bishops in 1738; Original Letter of Proxy, Bishop Dunbar to Mr. Robert Lyon, 1738; Original and additional Instructions by Do. to Do., 1738; and two Original Letters, Bishop Freebairn to Bishops Rattray and Keith, declining, in name of himself and of Bishop Ouchterlonie, meeting at said Synod without previous Conference. Ed^r^, Monday night.

11. (Original Holograph) Mr. Robert Lyon to Bishop Ouchterlonie, particularly as to what passed between them in the house of Bishop Freebairn on July 11, 1738, about recommending to a third person, persons fit for the Episcopate, as Mr. William Harper, senior, was not thus properly recommended, as Bishop Ouchterlonie acknowledged, which he had also declared to Mr. Thomas Ruddiman; likewise about Bishop White's Consecration, &c., w^t^out any Date.

12. (Original) Resolve or Declaration (1745) of Bishops Keith, Dunbar, Falconar, and Alexander, not to assume any into y^r^ Order without previous Subscription to ye Minutes of Synodical Meetings from 1738 to 1745.

20. (Copy) Bishop Keith to Bishop Raitt, in Bishop Keith's shorthand, Octor. 19, 1743, apologetic of his translating of some of the Addresses to ye Virgin Mary in his Preface to Vol. 2d of ye Select Pieces of Thomas à Kempis, translated into English; and upon ye same half sheet (Copy) Bishop Keith to Bishop White, in Keith's shorthand, Sept. 19, 1743, concerning the Clergy of Edin^r^, their not Publishing the Deposition of Mr. D. Fife, &c.; and the opinion of Bishop Smith when in Ed^r^, that thô said Fife deserved well all he had mett with, yet he wished suspension had been first tried, and that, upon Mr. Fife's submission and acknowledgment, Bishop Smith had proposed a relaxation of the Deposition; and prayed his opinion might be communicated to all ye Bishops.

21. (Holograph) Viscount of Arbuthnot to Bishop Keith, Octor. 16, 1743, about his not promulgating in his Chapel ye sentence of Deposition against Mr. Fife, together w^t^ Copy of Bishop Keith's Answer to the same, in his own shorthand, Octor. 21, 1743.

22. Three Duplicates and seven Originals of the Declaration, Subscribed by the Bishops and Presbyters of Scotland, 1744, against ye usurped authority of Bishop Smith of England over the Church of Scotland, of which four attested Copies were sent into England in 1745—viz., one to each of the three Bishops, Smith, Gordoun, and Mawman, and one to Mr. Robt. Lyon.

23. Two Copies of a List of the several Synodical Meetings of the Bishops, and of the several Canons enacted thereat, since the Revolution, and an excellent vindication of the Bishops for their thus enacting. One of these Copies is Holograph of Bishop Keith, and seems to be the *prima cura* of the other. Nine Meetings in all, viz., (1) May 5, 1720, herein Copy of Canons then enacted; (2) Febry., 1723; (3) July, 1724; (4) Decemr., 1731;

(5) June, 1733; (6) July, 1738; (7) Augt., 1743; (8) that in 1727 is purposely omitted, because then there was another set of Bishops (*i.e.*, at large), who did not concur—"No Presbyter was present, or claimed to be present, nor did any Presbyters ever complain of their not being called to any of the foregoing Synods or Meetings of the Bishops, in each of which some Canons or Regulations were constantly enacted, according as circumstances required; and no want of authority was ever pretended till 1743, and then only by a few," thô the Canon of Exemption so loudly cried out ag^{t} had been enacted at Alloa; (9) Septemr. 10, 1741, which may serve to bring the Meetings or Synods of Bishops up to the number, nine.

24. (Copy) Dialogue between E. and S. (*i.e.*, I suppose, England and Scotland) about ye Synod in Augt., 1743, in which it is represented that no such thing as a National Synod or General Assembly—the most classical name—was held in Scotland from 1663 to 1689: a curious Paper, authenticated by the manual corrections of Bishop Keith, in 18 pages 4to.

25. (Original) Letter to Bishop Keith from the other Bishops, intimating the Consecration of Mr. Andrew Gerard to ye Episcopate, Cupar of Fife, July 17, 1747.

Number 8.

11. (Original) July 14, 1735, sent to Bishop Keith—"To the R. R. Dr. Thomas Rattray of Craighall, Mr. William Dunbar, and Mr. Robert Keith, Bishops,—the Admonition and Remonstrance of Mr. David Freebairn, Bishop of Ed^{r}, Primus," in 35 pages folio.

12. An excellent Memorial, in ye Handwriting of Bishop Rattray, without any Date, of Church affairs, from the Concordate in 1731 to 1740, in which particularly, that Mr. Robert Freebairn, in procuring Nominations in 1733, acted without any colour of commission from the Bishops—his own father not excepted—who, by the by, had renounced all metropolitical powers. N.B.—It is very proper this Paper should be deposited beside, or tacked to, Bishop Freebairn's Admonition and Remonstrance in 1735. In this Memorial is deposited Original of Bishop Keith, in his own shorthand, to Bishops Rattray and Dunbar, June 12, 1741, exhorting and requesting such another Memorial to be drawn up, to be sent to a particular friend; and some sketch is given of one, &c.

13. (Copy) Bishop Rattray's Answer to Bishop Freebairn's Admonition, &c., Augt. 1, 1735.

14. (Two Copies) Bishop Keith's Answer to Bishop Freebairn's Admonition, &c., Augt. 20, 1735—the second Copy being authenticated by Bishop Keith's own Subscription, and containing somewhat not in the other Copy.

15. Mr. Robert Freebairn's Original Anonymous Letter of Septemr. 25, 1735, to Bishop Keith, on his seeing his Answer to said Admonition, &c. Bishop Keith took no notice of this Letter.

16. Bishop Dunbar's Answer (Copy) to said Admonition, &c., Septemr. 6, 1735.

17. Prima Cura of Bishop Keith, in his own shorthand, Decemr. 5, 1743, to Mr. Thomas Auchinleck, to convocate his Brethren for Election of a Dean, &c., and informing of Transactions of Synod, 1743.

18. An Extract of a Copy of the first Address, Janry. 17, 1744—"To ye R. R. the Bishops of all the Churches in Scotland, the Presbyters of ye Diocese of Edin^{r} send greeting."

19. Copies of two sets of Queries, w^t^out Date, in answer to the said first Address.

20. (Original) Survey of said Queries, without Date, wrapt up in a blank cover, sealed and backed thus—"A Letter to be left at Mr. Keith's Vestry."

21. (Copy) Bishop White to Bishop Keith, Febry. 3d, 1744, upon said first Address, about which Bishop Raitt (Copy on the same bit of paper, Febry. 25, 1744) to Bishop White says—"He detests and abhors their insolence, and condemns their claim to a decisive vote in Synods."

22. Prima Cura of Bishop Keith to Bishop Alexander, Febry. 29, 1744; concise and strong on said first Address.

23. Two Copies of an Answer, Janry. 28, 1744, Bishop Dunbar to the Presbyters of Edin^r^, on their said first Address.

24. (Copy) Febry. 22, 1744, Mr. Andrew Gerard to Mr. Alexr. Hunter; strong and pointed as to ye unseasonableness and impropriety of said first Address.

25. (Holograph Original) Bishop Alexander's Answer, May 10, 1744, to said first Address; full and home to ye purpose, with much sincerity and plainness.

26. (Copy) Second Address of the Presbyters of Edin^r^ to the Bishops, July 27, 1744, with suitable marginal notes. This Address was directed, by way of missive, to Bishop Keith, who received it on Friday, July 27, at 8 in ye evening; in the Handwriting of Mr. Alexr. Robertsone, to whom Bishop Keith sent it back next morning, without any Answer by word or writ, and without taking a Copy of it.

27. (Original) Third Address of the Presbyters of Edin^r^ to the Bishops, Decr. 2, 1744. N.B.—This is ye Paper which Mr. Robert Forbes, in the Meeting, when forced to give his real opinion of it, called "The Lamb and the Tyger," from the Frenchified smoothness of ye Preface, drawn up by Mr. Patrick Gordon, and the snarling teeth of the Articles, drawn up by Mr. Alexr. Robertson.

28. (Copy) Bishop Dunbar's short and substantial Answer, Febry. 1745, to said third Address.

29. (Copy) Presbyters of Dunkeld to Bishop Alexander, Febry. 1, 1744, declaring their abhorrence of the first Address from the Presbyters of Ed^r^ to the Bishops.

30. (Copy) Bishop Keith's Answer to the third Address of the Presbyters of Edin^r^, Janry. 25, 1745, addressed thus on the top—"To Messrs. Jas. M^c^Kenzie, William Harper, Jo. Mackenzie, Alexr. Mackenzie, Alexr. Robertson, David Rae, Pa. Gordon, Presbyters in Ed^r^, and William Law, Presbyter in Leith, and authenticated by Bishop Keith's own Subscription."

31. (Original and Copy) Febry. 7, 1745, Answer of the above eight Brethren to Bishop Keith's said Return of Janry. 25, 1745. N.B.—This may be called the fourth Address.

32. (Copy) Bishop Keith's long and general Reply, Augt. 27, 1745, to all the Papers and Addresses of the Presbyters of Edin^r^, authenticated by Bishop Keith's own Subscription—the Original having been wrapt up in a Letter, and sent to the R. Mr. James Mackenzie, the then Moderator. This is a very strong and pointed Paper, never yet attempted to be answered.

33. (Prima Cura) Bishop Keith to Mr. Thomas Auchinleck, in Mr. Keith's own hand, Octor. 6, 1744, inclosing a Note declarative of Bishop Keith's having never solicited in any shape to be Bishop of Ed^r^; but, on the

contrary, that he had declined to be Bishop of Ed^{r} when it was in his offer.

34. (Prima Cura) Do. to Do., Decemr. 5, 1744, in Bishop Keith's own hand, in which was enclosed Copy of a Disclamation of Bishop Smith's encroachments, to be offered to the Presbytery of Edin^{r} for their Subscriptions to it; which they, two or three excepted, refused to do.

35. (Copy) Absalom, or Remarks on ye Admonition and Remonstrance, falsely ascribed to Bishop Freebairn, without any Date.

Number 15.

6. (Holograph Original) Bishop Keith's common Form of Baptizing Children; in his own Handwriting.

28. Originals and Copies of Letters between Bishop Keith and Mr. John M^{c}Kenzie in 1744. Herein the true meaning of "One Bishop in one City" fairly represented. N.B.—Some Differences had arisen 'twixt them about Emoluments, &c. Bishop Keith having told J. M. that he was no moneyed man, and that therefore he needed somewhat more than an equal dividend, and that if his circumstances did not require it, he would not have asked it; but J. M. would not listen to any other division than that of an equal share to each. But behold the upshot of all! Bishop Keith, a married man, and having children, Died worth only £450 Sterling at most; and J. M., a Bachelor, Died *(proh dolor!)* worth about £3000 Sterling, and left not a Single Farthing to ye poor suffering Clergy!

Bishop Keith had his own share in the trials of his age. His local situation as being resident in the Metropolis, his official station as Primus, and, above all, perhaps, his personal influence as a man of business as well as of letters, will account for the prominent part he acted as the Representative and Advocate of the Episcopal Synod. But the events of 1745 and of the following year engaged the Country, and especially the Church over which Bishop Keith presided, in a struggle of a different character; the result of which, and the consequences which attended that result in reference to Scottish Episcopacy, are too important to be detailed in a Biographical outline, and have been already laid before the world in a variety of Publications.

The pressure of the Penal Laws inflicted by the Government in 1746 and 1748, seems to have silenced even the voice of Controversy. About the year 1752, Bishop Keith left his usual residence in the Canongate, and fixed his abode in the neighbourhood of Leith, on a small property called Bonnyhaugh, which afterwards descended by inheritance to his daughter and granddaughter.

The Literary labours of Bishop Keith are well known to every Scholar and Antiquary. His greatest Work, "The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of King James V., to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England," is chiefly esteemed for the immense Collection of authentic Documents with which he contrived to enrich it.

The Rev. J. Parker Lawson, in the Biographical Sketch of Keith, prefixed to the Spottiswoode Edition of the History, says:

It appeared in Folio, and was Printed by the celebrated Scholars, Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer, who are described as "*Undertakers*," and "sold by them and Gavin Hamilton, Bookseller." It was Published by Subscription, and was Dedicated to Lady Jane Douglas, the only daughter of James, second Marquis, and sister of Archibald, third Marquis, created Duke of Douglas in 1703. The Marriage of this Lady in 1746, when in the forty-eighth year of her age, to Colonel, afterwards Sir John Stewart, Bart., of Grandtully, originated the celebrated *Douglas Cause*. Bishop Keith, by his grandmother, who was a daughter of Gavin Douglas of Easter Barras, claimed relationship to "the Dukes of Douglas and Hamilton, and to all the branches of these most honourable Families." The "List of Subscribers" is remarkably curious, comprising the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, the Society of Writers there, the Society of Writers at Stirling, the Scottish College at Paris, and 350 individuals, many of whom were persons of the first rank in the Kingdom. The List has been designated a kind of "*Muster Roll*" of the principal Jacobite Nobility and Gentry of Scotland at the time; but this, as is subsequently noticed, is incorrect; and an examination of it proves that many of them were staunch supporters of the House of Hanover, such as the celebrated Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session; Sir William Nairn of Dunsinnan; Hew Dalrymple of Drummore, a Judge in the Supreme Court by the Title of Lord Drummore; Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart.; Erskine of Dun, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Forglen—three gentlemen who were also Judges; and several of the Nobility, who had no connection with the Enterprizes of 1715 and 1745. Among the names occurs that of the famous Rob Roy, who is designated "Robert Macgregor, *alias* Rob Roy," and who figures after his relative, Macgregor of Glengyle. It would be interesting to ascertain what induced Rob Roy to appear in the character of an encourager of Literature; but it is not likely that he ever read the Work, as he Died during the year after its Publication, and his well-known avocations had no connection with Historical Researches. Another name is that of the "Rev. Mr. Robert Blair," who is considered to be the well-known Author of "The Grave," and who was the Established Presbyterian Minister of the Parish of Athelstaneford in Haddingtonshire.

Keith's Work is one of the great sources from which Dr. George Cook derived his "History of the Reformation in Scot-

land," Published at Edinburgh in three Volumes in 1811. To it the Rev. John Skinner was greatly indebted for materials in his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," Published at London in two Volumes in 1788; and the obligations of Principal Robertson and Mr. Tytler are equally due to the industry of Bishop Keith.

"Such a Book," says the Nonjuring Bishop Smith, Keith's Correspondent and Antagonist, "will stand the test of ages, and will always be valued, because no fact is related but upon the best authority." The Author (Bishop Russell says) has not escaped the charge of partiality in his views, and of a certain bias in his reasonings, but he has always been allowed the merit of a full and candid statement of events, whatever might be their effect upon his own conclusions, and has never been taxed, even by the most uncharitable adversaries, with mutilating Records, either to screen the reputation of a friend, or to impeach the motives of an enemy. His stately Volumes, therefore, will never cease to occupy a respectable place in the Library of the Historian; and every Reader who is desirous to have an intimate acquaintance with the Annals of Scotland during the troubled and afflicted times which followed upon the Death of our Fifth James, will regret that Bishop Keith did not live to complete his arduous undertaking. It appears that he left at his Death a few Sheets of the second Volume. These, with certain other Manuscripts, must have passed into the hands of his daughter's family; but all the inquiry that I have made respecting them, has only satisfied me that they are no longer in existence.

Bishop Keith's private Copy of his "History," with his own annotations, corrections, and additions, is said to have been acquired by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., and to be in the Library of Abbotsford.

The *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* was given to the world in 1755. It was Dedicated to the celebrated Marshal Keith, at that time in the service of the Prussian Monarch; and a Copy of it was sent to Berlin, accompanied with the following Letter, which, together with the Answer, is here inserted for the amusement of the Reader :—

To His Excellency Velt Marechal Keith, Berlin.

Sir,—This comes by Robert Keith, my grand-nephew, and son to Alexander Keith of Uras, who was your servant at the time I had the honour to be preceptor to you and your brother, the Earl. This lad's elder brother, Alexander, was at Paris last year; and as he was bred a sailor, the Earl was pleased to take particular care of him, and to provide for him according to his education.

Your Excellency will see how I have been employed of late, from the Book herewith sent; three Copies of which come to your hands—one for the King of Prussia, a second for the Earl, and a third for yourself—by this same young man, whom hereby I beg to recommend to your patronage and friendship; and as he inclines to be bred to the sea, he may perhaps turn out to be useful to the King of Prussia; for the boy is abundantly smart, and has a good genius. He will likewise put into your Excellency's hands a Copy of the genealogy of his forefathers, to which I was prompted by the pretensions of another, as you will see.*

About a year ago, at the particular desire of the Earl, I transmitted to you by Post a Tree of the Family; and I would be glad to know if it came safe to your Excellency's hands.

I heartily wish you all happiness; and most respectfully am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

ROBERT KEITH.

Bonnyhaugh, near Leith, Oct. 6, 1755.

To Bishop Keith, at Bonytown, near Leith.

Sir,—I am infinitely obliged to you for the present you have made me of the Book, but much more so for that of your nephew, who is one of the prettiest liveliest boys I ever saw, and, according to all appearance, will very well deserve, and perfectly answer the best education I can give him in which I shall spare nothing that I think necessary for his future advancement. As I see that he has no tincture of Latin, I think it now too late to begin him to it; and, therefore, shall endeavour to make up that loss to him by the living languages. French and German he will learn by custom here, where these two are equally spoken, and I shall give him a master for Italian. As to the sciences, which are most useful to one designed for a military life (and that is the only one by which he can think to succeed here), I have already begun to make† teach him geography and drawing, in both which he makes extraordinary progress; and in a short time, I hope, he will be in a condition to begin a course of geometry and fortification, after which he shall study history, but more particularly modern, from about the time of Charles V. This is the plan I have laid down to myself for his education; for the which I have still four years (if I live so long) before his age permits him to enter into the army. As yet I find not any fault in his natural disposition. With the greatest vivacity, he is surprisingly tractable; and I can safely say I never saw a more promising boy. But, poor child! I pity

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* The Genealogy here alluded to is the Controversial Tract noticed in a former part of this Memoir.

† A French manner of expression.

him, since my age, which you know is near sixty,* can hardly give me any reasonable hope of seeing him far enough advanced before my death to be able to push his fortune afterwards. But you may depend on it that, both on your account and his own, I shall do all that lies in my power for his advantage.

As the King does not understand English, and has no Books of that language in his private libraries, I have put the one addressed to him in the public one at Berlin, for which he thanks you; and the other, which is designed for my brother, I shall send to him to Neufchatel by the first sure occasion.

As I have been always persuaded that you preserve your ancient friendship for me, I know it will not be disagreeable to you to know that, after having been troubled for four years with an asthma, I am now perfectly cured of it, by the waters of Carlsbad, which I drank last summer, and am now as well as ever I was in my life. I shall always be glad to hear of the continuation of your health; for, believe me, nobody is with more friendship and regard,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

Potsdam, March 13, 1756. JAMES KEITH.

The good Bishop appears to have been not a little gratified by the attention of his illustrious Relative and ancient Pupil, the Field-Marshal. We accordingly find that, in the course of the same month in which the above Reply was written, he addressed to him another Epistle, in the following terms:—

May it please your Excellency,—I am honoured with your extraordinary Favour of the 13th instant; for your Excellency's Letter is a real cordial in my old age, and has cheered my heart not a little, especially as it brings me the refreshing account of your being so well pleased with Bob Keith, who is certainly a fine boy, and is happy in a remarkable sweetness of temper. I am much pleased with the plan of education you have laid down for him, and do most sincerely return my hearty thanks for the kind reception your Excellency has honoured him with, and for that remarkable care you are pleased to take of him. I hope you shall have much satisfaction in him, and that he will answer all your expectations.

In a late Trial† before our Court of Justiciary, my Book was called for, and plentiful use was made of it by Lawyers on both sides; so that your Excellency's Name has made its appearance at that Bar. I am particularly honoured by his Majesty of Prussia in condescending to thank me for a Copy of my Book, which meets with approbation from the Public, particularly

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* He was killed in Battle in 1758, at the age of 62; for, by an Extract from the Baptism Register of St. Fergus, it appears that M. Keith was Baptized by the name of James Francis Edward, at Inverugie, the principal Seat of the ancient Family of Marischal, on the 15th June, 1696, which was the next day after he was Born.

† The Case of Mr. Hugh Macdonald, brother to the Laird of Morar, of the Clanranald Family, his being banished forth out of Scotland for being a Popish Bishop. [*See Scots Magazine for* 1756, *p.* 100.]

among the Curious; and the more so as it bears your Excellency's Name, with which some persons are particularly delighted, both in Scotland and in England.

I am just now drinking, in a glass of Claret, all health and happiness to your Excellency, and all your Connexions, whom may God long preserve. I am entered upon the 76th year of my age, and am obliged to use the hand of another in writing; but I thank God I keep health surprisingly well for my age, though I am much failed in my feet.

I am much pleased that your Excellency is recovered of your asthma; and I hope you shall count more years than I have done yet. I have the honour to Subscribe myself, Sir,

Your Excellency's very much obliged and most humble Servant,

ROBERT KEITH.

Bonnyhaugh, near Leith, March 30, 1756.

To his Excellency Velt-Marechal Keith, Berlin.

P.S.—I am to send, in a present to your Excellency, a Copy of my "History of the Affairs of Scotland," &c., put up in a box, and addressed to the care of Mr. Stevens, to whom it shall be sent by some Hamburg vessel. As Bob Keith is to study History, it will not be amiss that he should look into my History, especially as it relates to the Troubles and Distresses of the much-injured Mary, Queen of Scots. Do me the honour to let me know when the said Copy of my History comes to your Excellency's hand; for I intend to dispatch it by the first Ship that offers.—A DIEU.

This Epistle betrays, no doubt, in one or two passages, the garrulity of age, as well, perhaps, as some portion of that innocent self-complacency in which even a wise man may indulge after Dinner, whilst drinking in Claret the health of a Noble Correspondent, and contemplating the rapid increase of his own Literary fame.

Dr. Michael Russell, in 1824, Edited Bishop Keith's Catalogue. His Researches are incorporated here. He says in his Preface,—"All the materials which have been used I had to seek amidst the casual notices of Literary Journals or of public Obituaries; and it happened in this case, as in many others, that where most was expected least was obtained. It is but right, however, to observe, that the amount of the means or of the labour employed in antiquarian research, is not always to be measured by the simple effect that is produced. The cramp and interminable Reading in which such pursuits involve the most expert Archæologist, may be compared to a Voyage of Discovery in unknown seas, where the toil and anxiety are equally great whether the explorer succeed or whether he fail in his endeavours;

whether he make a valuable addition to the knowledge of his Contemporaries, or only ascertain that there is nothing to be found. Nearly all the Notes contained in the Appendix, the most accomplished Antiquary, Lieutenant-General Hutton, supplied.

"My thanks are due to William Gordon of Fyvie, Esq., for the loan of a valuable Copy of Keith's Catalogue, now in his possession, and formerly, as I have understood, the property of David Macpherson, the Editor of *Wyntoun's Chronicle*. I have a similar acknowledgment to make to Robert Graham, Esq. of Eskbank, for his polite attention in allowing me to peruse the Notes contained in his Copy of the same Work, and inserted, as it would seem, by the Bishops Alexander and Forbes. I am particularly grateful to Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., for his goodness in sending to me, unsolicited, the Copy of *Keith* which belonged to his father, the late Lord Woodhouselee, and which bears ample evidence of having passed through the hands of so able a Scholar and Antiquary."

Bishop Keith in the *Advertisement to the Reader* of his Work, says :—

> In making up the following List of Bishops, I was greatly assisted by Papers belonging to the Family of Panmure, which I received from a late Noble Representative of that Family, reckoned to have been the best Antiquary in his time.
>
> Another person to whom I am much obliged, is the Honourable Walter Macfarlane, Chief of that Name, universally acknowledged to be the first Antiquary in this Kingdom. The Readers will easily perceive how much I owe all along to this learned and knowing Gentleman.
>
> A third person, whose assistance I gratefully acknowledge, is Mr. Walter Goodall, in the Advocates' Library, particularly for his accurate Account of the Culdees, &c.

". . . It adds considerably to the value of a very useful Book to know that Bishop Keith was in communication with Father Innes, and derived from his information and Notes much of what he has Published in his History of the Scotch Bishops." [*Preface by Cosmo Innes, Reg. Epis. Glasguensis, p.* vii.]

"Five Vols. of Notes of Father Innes, are now in the possession of Mr. Laing, Secretary to the Bannatyne Club; and a careful collation of them, with Keith's Work, has left no doubt of the fact above stated. Some of the Documents quoted at

length by Keith are from the Records of Glasgow, and could only be obtained from the Scots College." [*Note to said Preface.*]

"In reference to the *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, which was not Published till eleven years after the Death of Innes, the Editor of the Chartulary of the Church of Glasgow (Cosmo Innes) was the first, so far as I am aware, to point out how much Keith was indebted to his learned Countryman." [*Grub's Preface, p.* xvii., *to Innes' Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. Printed for the Spalding Club*, 1853.]

As I conserve every written Scrap of Ecclesiastical News which I get hold of, all ready for seasonable discharge, unless *sub sigillo confessionis*, I now make known that I had the pleasure of the following Correspondence, among others, from the late Venerable Thomas Stephen, Author of the "History of the Church of Scotland," "Book of the Constitution," &c., and who for many years Edited the "Episcopal Magazine." He was the son of the Episcopal Clergyman at Cruden, Aberdeenshire, and Died this year in his daughter's house, 2 Prince of Wales Terrace, Scarborough, aged 80 years.

. . . . Your Chronicle and Monasticon for Scotland will be both useful to the Church and interesting to the Public generally. I may mention that the late Rev. Charles Fyvie, of Inverness, in a conversation that I had with him, expressed great regret that Dr. Russell had not made known his intention of Re-publishing Keith's Catalogue, as he could have supplied him with a Quarto Edition, with a multitude of MS. Notes on the Margins, by the late Bishop M'Farlane, his father-in-law. If you can trace his widow, perhaps that Copy might be recovered. I gave some Tracts, both bound and loose, to Trinity College, Glenalmond, chiefly respecting the Persecution which the Church sustained at and after the Revolution. I dare say Dr. Hannay would lend them to you: my object was to be of use to future Historians.

In my time, while resident in Glasgow, they used to call your Church "The Whistlin' Kirk," owing to the Organ.

You have given me no Address, but I suppose you will be *Kenspeckle*.

Mr. Stephen's Copy of "Keith" (which I possess), excepting one or two corrected Dates, contains nought besides the Type.

I wrote to Mrs. Fyvie, now in her dotage, about her father's Copy of "Keith," who kindly referred me to Messrs. George and Peter Anderson, Writers, Inverness, who are known Antiquaries, and who were cognizant about the fate of Dean Fyvie's Books.

I wrote to them thereanent, but no manner of Reply was ever vouchsafed; so Bishop M'Farlane's *Gatherings* must find an *alibi*.

Bishop Jolly evidently did not care much for often consulting *Keith's Catalogue*, as his Copy is very clean. On the Top of the Title Page is inscribed—"Alexander Jolly. The Gift of good Bishop Petrie." Probably, being a *Man of Peace*, the interminable Battles of his Brothers of Office—generally fiery, plucky *Men of War*—frightened him from opening his "Keith," in case of explosive mines.—Mr. Andrew Jervise, Brechin, purchased Bishop Russell's Copy of "Keith," and kindly offered to me its perusal; but the jottings were both few and unimportant.—Lord Lindsay most courteously allowed me the use of his Copy of "Keith," with *Riddle's MS. Notes*, which I have generally embodied. His Lordship has engaged to bequeath the Papers and Books of the late John Riddle, Esq., Advocate, to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.—Mr. Joseph Irving, Dumbarton, has now the late Rev. Dr. John Lee's Copy: his MS. Remarks have also been cared for.—To the Rev. G. G. Milne am I indebted for his interleaved Copy. —The Rev. Arthur Ranken, Deer, kindly allowed me the loan of his Annotated Copy, which chiefly contains a List of the Episcopal Clergy at the Revolution, opposite the Parishes. I have been enabled since to render this List nearly complete, and also to give the "Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers" immediately after the Reformation, downwards.— I applied in October 1865 to Mr. John Stuart, of the General Register Office, Edinburgh, for his valuable aid; but I was disappointed at this discomfiture—"I do not recollect of any jottings which I could give you suitable for Keith."

Professor Cosmo Innes courteously indulged me with the following sane counsel and permissive Note:—

> I think you can hardly be aware what a work you propose to undertake in a new Edition of "Keith." All the Authorities of the Original were in MS. These are all now Printed, and every reference should be verified. But there are ten times more than Keith knew, all now accessible; and our modern taste for accuracy requires that all Charters, Records, and Registers should be used and compared. Do you think you have strength and courage for such a labour? It would take many years. It requires the worker to

be among the Records—that is, in Edinburgh—for a long time. It requires him to be a Record Scholar, familiar with Records, knowing how to read them and to draw the information they afford. . . . .

You ask me if I find any defects in Russell's Edition. It is full of them; every page has errors and deficiencies. . . . .

You are very welcome to use my Prefaces with or without acknowledgment. C. Innes.

In Court, 10th November, 1864.

I have also received the following Notanda from the respective Correspondents, and attended to their suggestions:—

I think you might make a new Edition of Keith's Catalogue very interesting. All that was thought fit or proper to be Published of my father's Papers is given in Neale's Life. I have a good many Letters which are interesting, but they would not do to see the light in the present day. I have no doubt there are several things in Milne's interleaved Copy that are valuable. You should ask him to lend it to you, as he is an old friend. . . . . Why not imitate Keith in giving somewhat of the origin and previous occupation (where Bishop Russell has omitted it) of the Post-Revolution Bishops. Althô the origin of some of them was low, that is not derogatory to them or their elevation, but rather the reverse. Wolsey, the greatest man in England next to the King, was, we know, the son of a butcher, who wrote his name *Wuley*. J. Torry.

St. Anne's, Coupar-Angus, Nov. 12, 1864.

I should be happy to give assistance in your projected Work on the Scottish Bishops, but I never was in the way of making Notes upon Keith, and unless it were some special point, I have no time for minute investigations. . . . D. Laing.

Signet Library, Edinburgh, Dec. 29th, 1864.

I have to ask your indulgence for having allowed your Letter to lie so long unanswered. It came I think on a Saturday, when I do not write Letters if I can help it; and then it for a time escaped me.

I would most willingly supply to you any information which might be useful or interesting for your Work now in progress, if I knew how. I have a large number of Letters of the late Primus, but I have never examined them with a view to making any public use of them; and indeed there are among them not a few which it is just as well that the *public should know nothing about!* and some of these I have thought it best to put into the *fire*. Others there are which are very interesting, and do credit to the Writers; but I do not know that they contain much that is valuable in a Historical point of view.

Should I find a little more leisure, as I hope I may after Xmas, I will look into the *Old Trunk* again (my house is so small that I have been obliged to keep them in a trunk in a loft), or if I find anything that would interest or, more especially, *do good*, I will send it you. Perhaps I should succeed better, if you could tell me to what Period, and to which of our Bishops, you would like me to direct my attention. The Correspondence is

mostly confined to the period of his own Episcopate: earlier Documents you will find, I presume, in the Episcopal Chest. I hear Mrs. Fyvie is not now able to be of much use to you. Her memory is, I believe, a good deal impaired. I return her Note as you desire.

All Saints, Woodhead, St. Thomas, 1864. D. Wilson.

P.S.—You are getting a great "luminary" from our Parish to the *elite* Presbyterians of Glasgow. The simple folks here understand that he is going to set up a *new* kind of Religion—something between the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian ways.

I am glad to find that you are preparing a new Edition of Keith's Bishops. It is a Work which admits of much correction and enlargement, and the Clubs have by their Publications provided large supplies for this purpose. If I can afford you any assistance, from my acquaintance with Scotch matters, I shall be very happy to lend my humble aid.

I may mention to you a Work which lately came to my hand, and is a Book of extreme importance towards your object, namely, "Theiner's Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia. Romæ, 1864. Price, Two Guineas." It is a Folio, in Double Columns, of 624 closely-printed Pages, and is confined to the Vatican Records connected with Ireland and Scotland, from 1216 to 1547. It is a Book of immense interest, and will no doubt be a fountain of new light to all Writers on the History of the two Countries. It may not yet have found its way to Scotland; but it is to be had at Bernard Kelly's, Bookseller in Grafton Street, Dublin. For your purpose it is of extreme value. Documents of all kinds —Episcopal, Monastic, and Culdean—occur in it. . . . . You are welcome to make what use you please of my Culdee Compilation.

The Library, Armagh, Jan. 25, 1865. Wm. Reeves.

It is a great pity that Theiner's Book is Edited in such a loose and incorrect manner, as it greatly impairs the reliance which one can place upon his renderings, especially in names of men and places. Still it is a Work of value for our Kingdoms.

Wishing you every success in your most important Literary undertaking, I remain, &c.,

The Library, Armagh, Jan. 20, 1866. Wm. Reeves.

I am afraid you will find very little in my contributions to that Work —["History of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire"]—which is not a Compilation of what has been already Printed. I recollect that I noticed one of the early Douglasses, who was Bishop of Moray, gave some details as to George Shoreswood, who was first Parson of Culter and afterwards Bishop of Brechin (I quote from memory), and Chancellor of Scotland. Indeed, I suspect that myself and my cousin, Chancellor of Shieldhill, derive a part of our blood from an illegitimate son of this Bishop. I also think that there are some passing allusions to some other Bishops, but nothing of any importance.

The subject of the Succession of the Scottish Bishops appears to be one which at present excites a very great interest. A few days ago the Editor

of "Notes and Queries" brought me an Article on it by (of all persons!) an Officer in India, which will appear in the Number of next Saturday.

I am at present engaged in Editing the most extraordinary Collection of the Duke of Lauderdale's Private and Public Correspondence, preserved in the British Museum, which consists of about 50 Vols., many of them containing 400 MSS. Among them are many of the returns to the *Congé d' elirs* of our Scotch Bishops, several of which have escaped Keith's notice. There are also most numerous Letters relating to them. *Ex grege*, to-day, I came across a most interesting Petition of Anne, Widow of Walter Whitefoord, Pre-Restoration Bishop of Brechin. I have not yet finally arranged as to the Publishing of these valuable Documents; but I may say that they will be produced in a very cheap form, ranging with Bohn's Antiquarian Library, at 5*s* a Volume. I cannot undertake to recopy for you the Documents connected with the Bishops, which are widely scattered, until they are in Type, when I may be able, as the Work goes on, to let you have the Slip Proofs after correction. . . .

GEORGE VERE IRVING.

5 St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
5th January, 1865.

. . . . I have begun to entertain the greatest doubts whether the *Tree*, *Bird*, and *Fish* in the Arms of the See of Glasgow have their origin in the Legends of S. Mungo at all; that in fact they refer to the territorial rights of Free Forestry and Fishing belonging to the Bishops. I am well aware that the Legend occurs in Joceline of Furness, before Armorial Bearings were introduced generally in Scotland; but I suspect that we have here an instance of the well known fallacy—*Post hoc, propter hoc.*

17th February, 1868. GEORGE VERE IRVING.

I am sorry to be obliged to confess a profound ignorance of Keith. I have, it is true, more than once looked into it, and been awed by its extreme dryness, and dismissed it from my imagination. If you can enliven it, we shall have reason to be grateful to you.

I was not Editor of the "S. E. J." in '54, and can therefore furnish no better clue to the Correspondent whose name you seek—[in regard to Bishop Forbes' Journal]—than to refer you to Mr. Walker of Bowland, then Editor.

I understand Mr. Grub is engaged in the same Literary undertaking. It will go hard with the sale, if the two Editions come forward at the same time, and the public will be disappointed that the labours of the two parties were not combined. . . . H. G. W. AUBREY.

Parsonage, Galashiels, Dec. 2, 1864.

I am afraid I am in the same position as Mr. Robertson, and that I shall not be able to give you any aid in your Literary work. So far as Names and Dates go, you will find very full and, I think, accurate information in my History. . . . You are misinformed about my Editing Keith. . . . GEORGE GRUB.

Aberdeen, 22nd Dec., 1864.

I can tell you where you are most likely to get information regarding Bp. Petrie, if any exist, and that is from Mr. Cheyne. He, more than any man I know, is well acquainted with the minute details of the History of the Church and of her more remarkable Clergy since the Revolution, especially in the Aberdeen Diocese. I have no doubt he will be able also to tell you something about Blairdaff and Auchindoir.

I had never understood that Mr. Grieve had been a pupil of Bishop Petrie. At any rate, I very seldom heard him speak of him, and I have come upon no Papers which would throw any light on his History.

St. Mary's, Inverury, 18th Nov., 1864. ALEX. HARPER.

I should have been very happy to have helped you in your interesting task, but I am now in very indifferent health, and unable to get through my own work. Besides, History has never been my line, and I am utterly ignorant of the lately Printed Cartularies and other Original Documents, which, I believe, have thrown much light on Scotch History.

I should think it must be a very difficult task to give a faithful Account of recent events, and that it would be better to leave out at least the last 30 years. Have you applied to Mr. Bell of West Linton? I know few persons better acquainted with the History of our Scotch Church. . . . Can you give me any information about old Copies of the Scotch Communion Office, and whether Bishop Abernethy Drummond's Edition was used in Glasgow?

Burntisland, 4th May, 1865. G. H. FORBES.

. . . . I think you would find it worth while to spend a day or two amongst the MSS. in the Episcopal Library. Scarcely any one goes there. The front gate of S. Andrew's Hall, in Leith Wynd, is now locked, and the windows all boarded up; but there is an entry through one of the closes (I think it is called Trunk Close) by which you can gain admittance when you have found the way. Your best plan would be to write M'Lachlan a Note, and ask him to meet you, or send the key of the room. His address is "Glenalmond Cottage, Sciennes Hill." Bishop Forbes' (of Caithness) Journal is very interesting, and might be inserted in your Book. . . .

West Linton, Edinburgh, May 22, 1865. WALTER BELL.

I am delighted to know that you are grappling with Keith. The time has long come for a better Edition than it was possible for Dr. Russell to turn out. You have equal knowledge of the subject, a greater wealth of materials at command, and, above all, the proper enthusiasm.

I fear you have heard an exaggerated account of my stores. I have noted down occasionally for many years, in the margins of my Copy, such *notabilia* as chanced to come across me in the course of my reading. I shall be delighted to transmit to you, from time to time, whatever occurs to me as likely to be useful. No doubt, you have already put yourself in communication with our Historian, Dr. George Grub; and, above all, with Dr. Joseph Robertson, Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. John Stuart, &c. You might also enlist Mr. Cheyne, who used to have stores of information on these subjects. The Episcopal Chest, too, at Glenalmond, is fuller and richer than it was when the last Edition of Keith came out. . . .

If you mean to write a History of the present Bishops, you will have some queer Stories to tell; but you are the very man to bring out of your treasures things new and old.

Aberdeen, July 3, 1865. R. D.

From a casual notice, contained in a Letter addressed to Bishop Rait, there is reason to believe that Bishop Keith Published, about the year 1743, some "Select Pieces of Thomas à Kempis," Translated into English. In his Preface to the Second Volume of these Pieces, he has introduced some Addresses to the Virgin Mary; for which imprudence (as it was deemed in those evil days of calumny and reproach) he thought it necessary to enter into some explanation with his more scrupulous Brethren.

Grub, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," vol. iv., p. 47, Note, says:—

This is substantially correct, though the circumstances are inaccurately related by Dr. Russell and Mr. Lawson. In 1721, there was Published at Edinburgh the Second Volume of "Select Pieces of the Reverend and Pious Thomas à Kempis, in which are contained two Books, viz., I. The Valley of Lilies; II. The Soliloquy of the Soul." In the Preface by "the Publisher to the English Reader," which undoubtedly was written by Keith while a Presbyter in Edinburgh, it is stated that the Addresses to the Blessed Virgin are omitted, "as being most stumbling to the generality of English Readers." In some places, however, passages occur as objectionable as direct Addresses to the Virgin. And for this Bishop Keith afterwards apologized in a Letter written by him to Bishop Rait, Dated 19th October, 1743, a Copy of which is among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. [See 20 of No. 7 in the Catalogue. *Scotichronicon, vol. ii., p.* 264.]

Keith, while a Student at Aberdeen, at the request of Dr. George Garden, Translated into Latin the last seven years of Dr. John Forbes' Diary, for the Amsterdam Edition of the Works of that Divine.

Besides the Works we have mentioned, it appears that the Bishop had at least projected others at an advanced period of his life. There was found among his Posthumous Manuscripts, a "Treatise on Mystical Divinity," drawn up in the form of "Letters addressed to a Lady," as also a "Scheme of Religion derived solely from the Scriptures," and intended, it was thought, for the use of his own Family. This statement is given on the authority of Bishop Alexander of Alloa, who appears to have consulted Mrs. Keith after the Death of her husband, and even

to have inspected all the Literary Papers committed to her custody. Bishop Alexander made this enquiry in order to answer a question put to him by an "English Clergyman," who was desirous to know whether Bishop Keith "had left any Posthumous Works behind him."

Nor does it appear that he confined his attention to History and Divinity. He was a lover of Archæology in all its branches. The two following Letters, which are Copied from the Originals preserved in Marischal College, Aberdeen, will show that he had directed his thoughts with much success to "the study of our Ancient Coins, and to the progressive improvement of the European Mint":—

Dear Sir,—Two or three weeks ago, I desired our brother, Mr Alexander, to deliver the Silver Penny I formerly mentioned to a gentleman of your Town, that he might put it into your hands, with orders for you to retain it in your custody till I should write you, which I hope the gentleman has honestly done. The Penny, you see, is very fair and entire. The Inscription on the King's side, "David Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum;" the Legend on the Reverse, "Dns. P.tector ms. et Lib.ator ms.," which you know is for "Dominus Protector meus et Liberator meus;" and within the inner circle, "Villa Aberdon." Now, this Penny I ask the favour of you to present from me to the Library of the Marischal College, in testimony of my having been some time a Student there.

And I ask the same favour, Sir, with respect to this old Draught of the two Cities, and *Ager Aberdonen*. The Author of it is well known by his other performances of this same kind; and as I never chanced to see another Copy of this, and it has evidently been a Copy that has been sent from Holland to receive the corrections of the Author, which we discern upon it, all written with his own hand, he probably has chanced to die in the meantime, and so the Design has not been followed forth, otherwise 'tis impossible but some Copies would appear. But as none that I know of have been seen, this I hope will render it the more acceptable in the forementioned Repository. With my kind service to yourself and the gentlemen of the Marischal College, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Edinburgh, April 7, 1750. Robert Keith.

To the Right Rev. Mr. Andrew Gerard, Aberdeen.

Sir,—I received your Letter of the 18th, containing thanks from yourself and the Society you represent for the Silver Coins, &c., deposited in your Marischal College by me and two of my Brethren. As several of these Coins are already become, through length of time, exceeding rare, and seldom to be seen at all, and the rest will come to be so in a proportionable run of time, we thought it was doing some service to our native Country to deposit those few in our *Alma Mater*, for the satisfaction of curious persons

after we shall be dead and gone; and we are pleased enough that your Society has put a mark of esteem on them, as to take all possible precaution to preserving them from being lost or dissipated. How coarsely soever our Scottish Coins may appear to have been wrought, yet I think I can assure you that, by inspecting those of the neighbouring Nations at the different Periods, our own are not much inferior.

I return you, Sir, my personal thanks for your polite Letter, and for having been pleased to impart to me the alteration you have already made in the fabric of the College, which I remember very well how it formerly stood; and the alteration you are intending to make in the future Education of your Students. I thank you also for a Letter you gave me about a year and a half ago, to which I was diverted from giving a Return at the time by some incidents, and beg you will be so good as to receive this excuse now, from, Sir, Your most humble and obliged Servant,

Edinburgh, 28th Nov., 1752. ROBERT KEITH.

To Principal T. Blackwell, Mar. Col.

When the great Douglas Cause was being litigated, the following interesting Certificate of Marriage was produced by Lady Stewart:—

I, Mr. Robert Keith, Minister of the Gospel, do hereby declare that on the 4th day of the month of August, 1746, I Married the two following persons together as Man and Wife, according to the Lethurgy [*sic*] of the Church of England, viz., John Stewart, Esq., brother-german to Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, and the Lady Jane Douglas, sister lawful to Archibald, the present Duke of Douglas. In testimony of which, I have written this Declaration, with my own hand, at Edinburgh, and have Subscribed the same in presence of Archibald Bothwell, Esq., Master of the Mint in Scotland, and the Reverend Mr. John Alexander, residing in Alloa, this 19th day of February, 1752 years.

ROBERT KEITH.

A. Bothwell, *Witness.*
John Alexander, *Witness.*

The Bishop Married a Lady named Stewart, by whom he had only one child, a daughter, named Clementina Stewartina, who married Mr. Carmichael of Leith. The offspring of this Marriage was also a daughter, who became the first wife of Mr. Douglas, Merchant in Leith. Several children were the issue of this Marriage, one of whom—Stewart Douglas, Esq., also Merchant in Leith—was the father of the Rev. Archibald Douglas, who was Curate to the Venerable Dr. Bayley, Archdeacon of Stow, in the Diocese of Lincoln, at the Date of that gentleman's Death in August, 1844, and who is the great-great-grandson of Bishop Keith. [*Lawson, from Information by Bishop Russell.*]

Will and Settlement of Bishop Keith, Registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Edinburgh.

21st April, 1757.—Walter Lord Torphichen, Judge; John Gibson, Procurator; John Thomson, Writer in Edinburgh, gave in the Disposition and Assignation afterwritten to be Registered, whereof the tenor follows:—

I, Mr. Robert Keith, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh, considering that by the Marriage Settlement, Dated the day of last, betwixt Stewart Carmichael, Merchant in Edinburgh, and Catharine Keith, my only daughter, I have provided the said Catharine Keith with a suitable provision, and stand bound to pay the same to the said Stewart Carmichael, at the terms therein mentioned: And also considering that Isobell Cameron, my beloved spouse, is nowise provided for by me in the event of my Decease: therefore, and for the love, favour, and affection which I have and bear to her, the said Isobell Cameron, I hereby, with and under the Burden, Provision, and Reservation aftermentioned, Assign, Convey, and Make over to and in favour of her and her Heirs and Assignees, whatsoever all and sundry Debts and Sums of Money, Principal Interest, and Penalties due and addebted to me, or which shall be due and addebted to me by Bond, Bill, Promise, Paction, Accompt, or otherwise any manner of way, by person or persons, together with the said Bonds, Bills, Accompts, or other Vouchers, and all Actions, Instance, and Execution competent thereon; as also all Gold and Money (coined and uncoined), Medalls, Books, Pictures, Household Furniture of all kinds, and all Goods and Gear whatever, of any kind or denomination, presently belonging to me, or which are in my custody, or which shall belong to me or be in my custody at the time of my Death, dispensing with the generality hereof, and declaring, That these Presents shall be as effectual to my said spouse as if every particular sum and subject had been herein specially named. And for rendering this my Assignation more effectual, I hereby Nominate and Appoint the said Isobell Cameron my Sole Executor and Universal Legator, with full power to her, immediately after my Decease, to meddle and intromitt with, sell, use, uplift, and discharge the same and subjects before conveyed, and, if needful, to obtain herself Decerned and Confirmed Executor foresaid to me before the proper Commissaries, and to do every other thing anent the Premises that shall be thought proper for making the said subjects effectual to her: Provided always, as it is hereby expressly Provided and Declared, That the said Isobell Cameron shall be bounded and obliged to content and pay the whole just and lawful Debts that shall be resting and owing by me at the time of my Decease, to whatever person or persons, and the Expenses of my Funeral; and reserving also to me not only my liferent of the foresaid Sums and Subjects during all the days of my lifetime, but also full power and liberty to use the same as I shall think proper, without the advice or consent of my said spouse, and to alter these Presents, in whole or in part, as to me shall seem meet: But declaring, if I make no alterations by an express Writing under my hand, that then, and in that case, these Presents, thô found in my custody or of any other person at my Death, shall be valid and effectual to my said spouse as if the same had been delivered by me to her in my own lifetime; and with the not-delivery q^r^of I hereby dispense and consent to the Registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session, or of any other proper Court, therein to remain for preservation; and for that effect I con-

stitute Jo. Gibson my Procurator. In Witness whereof, these Presents, written on this and the preceding page of Stampt Paper by Andrew Buckney, Clerk to James Robertson Barclay, Clerk to the Signet, are Subscribed by me at Bonytoun, the Twenty-fifth Day of November, Jaivij and Fifty-two Years, before these Witnesses, John Mitchelson, Writer in Edin^{r}, and the said Andrew Buckney.

(Signed) Robert Keith.

John Mitchelson, *Witness.*
Andrew Buckney, *Witness.*

It has been already stated that the Bishop passed several of the last years of his life at his Villa of Bonnyhaugh—a retired and pleasant situation on the banks of the Water of Leith. There he enjoyed the society of his daughter's family, which was settled in that neighbourhood, diverted the languor of old age by Study and Religious Meditation, and prepared his mind and his household for that important change, for which it had been the business of his life to prepare others. He Died at Bonnyhaugh on the 20th January, 1757, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, in the 76th year of his age. He was confined to bed only one day before his Death—the only day that he had been so confined during 64 years, though he had, as long as he lived in Edinburgh, been constantly afflicted with a nervous headache. He was Interred in the Canongate Churchyard, and the spot where his Remains are deposited is indicated by a simple square Pedestal about 4 feet in height, surmounted by an Urn, near the South-west corner of the ground, and is thus Inscribed:—

Bishop Keith died
1756.*
Stewartina, Catharina,
Carmichael, Wife of
William Douglas,
died 20th April, 1793.
William Douglas,
Merch^{t}. in Leith, died 11th
July, 1814.

* This Date is evidently wrong, as it was in the beginning of 1757 that he Died.

LVI. Robert White, A.D. 1743–61, *(No Seal.)*

Had the charge of the Flock in Cupar-Fife until his Death on the 16th August, 1761. In common with the other "Episcopal Chapels" at the time, his was visited at the "'45" by the Duke of Cumberland. The Mob kicked and burned in the streets the Altar, Service Books, Pulpit, Seats, &c., amid oaths and ribald jokes. He was Consecrated in the "Meeting House" of the Rev. David Guthrie, at Carsebank, about a mile to the eastward of Forfar, upon Tuesday the 24th June, 1735—being the Festival of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist—and succeeded Bishop Gillan as Bishop of Dunblane. Upon Bishop Keith's Resignation of the "District of Fife," the Clergy therein Elected him as their "Ordinary," on the 26th October, 1743; and he Resigned the oversight of Dunblane, 24th January, 1744. When Bishop Keith Died, the Episcopal College consisted of Bishops White, William Falconar, Raitt, Alexander, and Gerard. White succeeded as Primus in 1757.

It appears to have been an understood arrangement among the Prelates, that whoever they Elected Primus should *ex officio* become *Bishop of Edinburgh*—which accounts for that Diocese being kept for so many years without a Bishop, or, as the Clergy reasonably murmured, in a "state of orphancy." The Edinburgh Clergy in 1759 Elected the Rev. Alexander Robertson as their *interim* Bishop, and sent the Deed of Election to Bishop White, who, after four months' silence, wrote an angry Letter to Mr. Robertson, objecting against his Election. Bishop White stood upon his Office of *Primus*, and considered himself the immediate Ordinary of Edinburgh. The College of Bishops supported his view, and refused to Confirm the Election. [*MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.*]

A lengthy Epistle, written by Bishop White to his Correspondent, the Rev. David Lindsay, at Dunning, on *Latitudinarianism* and *Schism*, appeared in Stephen's "Episcopal Magazine," December 1835, vol. iii., pp. 358–361; as also in his "History of the Church of Scotland," vol. iv., pp. 373–376. The Original was in the possession of Bishop Low at Pittenweem.

Number 14 *in the Catalogue.*

7. (Holograph) Letter of Thanks in name of Mr. Raitt's friends, Mr. Charles White to Mr. Robert Keith, Aprile 18, 1727, for his good offices, &c.

16. Two Originals, March 18, 1735, Presbyters of Dunblane, their Address or Letter to all the Bishops, requesting to appoint a Bishop over them. Herein are deposited Letters, Originals, and Copies of all the Bishops to one another, relative to ye Consecration of Bishop White, *ut supra.*

20. (Copy) In the Handwriting of Bishop White, Collation of Mr. David Lindsay to St. Andrews, Janry. 2, 1742.

30. Extract of the Deed of Election, Octor. 26, 1743, Presbyters of Fife for Bishop Robert White.

31. (Copy) Bishop White's Letter of Acceptance, Novr. 5, 1743.

32. (Holograph) Bishop White's Resignation of Dunblane, Jan. 24, 1744.

The following Letters are copied from the Originals, and were never Printed until now:—

I.—*From Bishop White to the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Rattray of Craighall.*

R. R. D. Sir,—Your obliging L^{r} of the 18 Decr. came to my hand on Sunday last. When I ask'd your ffriendship for procuring a Bursary from Sir Al. Ramsey to my son, as I wanted your advice how to apply him, so I was resolved to follow it; and you may be sure what you think will be most effectual will be most acceptable to me. What made me propose addressing him soon, was that there might be a vacancy next Term of presenting, and others might be beforehand with me for it. But 'tis equal to me, if it can be procured so as to commence the Term after that—this being only my son's 3d year at the College; and I can let him stay out his full Course or not, as the grant of Sir Alexander's ffavour requires. You propose the thing I wished for—your personal application: the making of which I leave to your conveniency, and hope there shall be no danger in delaying for the time you mention.

It pleases me that your thoughts of Mr. Conachar's affair jumps so with mine. When I sent Mr. Bell the Suspension to be executed, I desired him to Officiate in his Meeting-House some Sunday after the execution, and suggested to him that he should influence his people to address for taking off the Sentence, and that Mr C——r should come to me with that in his pocket, and then I should consider of relaxing him. I wrote nothing of this to Mr. K. or you, having left it open (this notwithstanding) to follow your advice as to continuing or taking off the Suspension; and I required Mr. Bell to act this as of himself, and not let my name be heard in it. I know not what to think of my not hearing of this since I sent up the Suspension, the middle of Novr.; but begin to think Mr. Bell has put off the execution till the Christmass Ffestival should be over. At the same time, I desired Mr. Bell to make enquiry if there's any hazard of a criminal pursute.

I bless God I have my health as well as ever, have recovered my strength, and very near (I think) my lost fflesh, and find no odds but that the cold weather makes some more impression on me than it had wont, which obliges me to guard better against it. This I impute to being so

long confin'd to a warm room. I return my hearty thanks for your concern both for my person and interest; and praying God this may be a happy year to you and ffamily, and that He may long preserve you to us for the good of His Church, I am,

R. R. D. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

Cupar, Jan. 2d, 1739. Rob. White.

II.—*To the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Rattray of Craighall.*

R. R. D. Sir,—Having the occasion of one going for Perth, I reckon an Acc^{t} of Mr. Conachar's affair, as it now stands, will not be unacceptable to you. K. wrote me on the 5th of this, of a complaining L^{r} he had from him, and extenuating his ffault, intimating that the most part of his retainers being within ye Diocese of Glasgow, he might disregard my Sentence, and continue w^{t} them under the inspection of F. But that he would not move a step without K.'s advice, which it seems allarm'd him (as it would not have done me), and occasioned my getting a longer L^{r} than ordinary, urging me (but modestly) to remit the Sentence. 'Tis ten to one but I had been more backward to this, had I known of C——r's hearkning so far to such a suggestion as to consult it. But, as Providence would have it, an Address from a dozen of his principal retainers came to me Post express; in answer to which my Relaxation was returned by the same hand on the 4th. They show a great regard for him, and satisfaction in his administration, extenuate his ffault, urge the loss they're at, the difficulty—nay, the impracticableness—of supplying his place, and submissively plead the restoring him to ye exercise of his Sacerdotal powers. I suppose the suggestion I made to Mr. Bell when I sent him the Suspension to be executed (of which I wrote you in my last) has produced this effect. I expected C——r (as I also suggested) should have been the bearer of that Paper. Not knowing what I do now, I put the best construction on his not comming; but commiting the Relaxation to Mr. Bell, enjoyn'd him not to deliver it till he had a L^{r} of Penitence and fair promises from him write to me, to be sent up. I have not a scrape from that quarter since I sent up the Suspension, save the Address; and impatiently wait Mr. Bell's Acc^{t} of the reception of the Relaxation, which I hope puts an end to this affair, and to the fine project of some restless troublers of our peace, who wait all catches, even such as ordinary men would not dream of.

Mr. Mylne, at Faulkland, was Buried on Tuesday last; where, in a meeting of his retainers, on being urged to recommend, I tabled Dr. Barclay, now at Ed^{r}, and, by commission, wrote him to know if he would accept their Call; but do not expect his Answer before to-morrow at soonest, nor his compliance, he being fallen in with Harper and his Club, who are a projecting his Settlement there. F.'s Meeting House was the first project; now they're on putting him in with Mr. Rae. His taking up with them is imputable to his circumstances; but they may mistake their man.

Let me use the ffreedom with you to entreat your seeing Sir Al. Ramsey as soon as your conveniency will allow, which will be a singular favour done,

R. R. D. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Cupar, Jan. 15, 1739. Rob. White.

III.—*To the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Rattray of Craighall.*

R. R. D. Sir,—My son being now done with his Course at St. And., has taken the Degree, and come home to me. I wrote you twice lately——once before you left Ed^{r}, and again by Mr. William Falconar—to know what I might expect of Sir Alexr. Ramsey for him, but have got no return. Having trusted to your interest with Sir Alexander, and to the word you sent me last year by Mr. Lyon, I have made no other application to him. Now 'tis high time I should; and would have waited on him before now, but that I have not a scrape under either your hand or his (nothing but hearsay) to insist on with him. Thô I doubt not of your having his promise, as Mr. Lyon said, yet I'm affraid from his not being kept in mind of it, and from my not appearing, he may conclude me indifferent, and bestow the ffavour otherwise, which, no doubt, he'll have solicitations for. This makes me earnestly intreat you'll lose no time in writing Sir Alexander, on account of my son's situation and mine, of the difficulty I'm under for his further Education; and you may venture to tell that he has come off with a good character from the place he has left. I do not mention how far you're to insist with him on his promise, because I know not yet how far you can. Let me also as earnestly intreat you may not delay writing me, so as that your L^{r} may be an introduction to my addressing Sir Alexander, and a ground of pleading with him, for I design soon to visit him, and to be at a point with this. I hope the necessity I am under of giving you this trouble, will plead an excuse for, R. R. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

Cupar, June 17, 1740. Rob. White.

IV.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander at Alloa.*

R. R. D. Sir,—On receiving yours of March 5th (which gave me no small concern), I wrote K., expressing my fear that the obstruction comming in the maner might occasion a misunderstanding, proceeding from suspicion that the project was design'dly baulk'd, especially if there was no more done to bring D. and G. to our hand, and proposed that an application to them should be made by us for obtaining this; but have not a scrape from K. since. I have endeavour'd this by myself, and, I bless God, with success. Last Post brought me a L^{r} from G., with D.'s to me, inclosed open. D. had, on receipt of mine, wrote G. that himself had altered his mind, that he had Subscrib'd the Mandate, that he knew he would be the Elect, and encourages him, very Christianly, to accept. He sets down a Copy of that L^{r} under his Answer to me, all written with his own hand; and, not doubting of the Election, expresses to me his earnest desire that the Consecration may not be delayed. G. writes me, as fully as I would expect or desire, his Resolution to be passive, and succumb in compliance with the judgment and design of —— for him. I hope 'tis *res integra in Domino*, and, this *Rub* being now removed, that you'll renew your diligence and keeness to gratify D. in his desire, which I heartily joyn and second. If 'tis frustrated now, G. will justly think it an affront to him, and it will not fail of raising such jealousy as will break our unitie, in which you justly reckon our safety lies. The risquing of this is not to be laid in the balance with any dread of Ed^{r} clamour. Let us endeavour the strengthning ourselves (without regard to that), which I trust the bringing this design to bear will be a

mean of, and tend to our comfort and the benefite of this afflicted Church. Good D. is hopefull that the storm will blow over, and adds, "The honest Labourer must be doing, and trust God with the Season." God succeed our endeavours, and grant that our trials may be found unto Praise, Honour, and Glory. I am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

Cupar, April 15th, 1744. Rob. White.

V.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, at Alloa.*

R. R. D. Sir,—Mr Livingston in his L^r^, along with Mr. William Abernethie, pleads with me to refer him to you for Trials and receiving the Order of Deacon: the gentleman himself desires this. Both of them agree in asking it, on account of the distance and trouble it would be to him to travel and attend here. I am loath to put any hardship on him, and therefore remit him to you to order his Trials and confer that dignity upon him. By ye short conversation I have had with him, I am persuaded your character of him is just, and your hopes of him right founded.

I hope my L^r^, giving you an Account of Bishop Dunbar's being desirous of Mr. G——d's promotion, and his yielding to accept, is come to your hands, and shall not doubt of your exerting yourself to have it expeded. Mr G. may take it as an affront if 'tis baulk'd now, and I think I would share with him in it. K. writes me that Mr. Bell is to be brought to Blair and Hunter's House. I wish he do not change his mind on this. However, K. thinks himself secure of him, and is only afraid of Messrs D——ss and C——r. Pray bestir yourself to secure them. D——ss, B——ly, and E——n, have L^rs^ from me on the subject. I shall be anxious to know how matters stand with respect to this.

My wife and son tender their humble duty and good wishes to you; and I am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Cupar, April 15, 1744. Rob. White.

VI.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, at Alloa.*

R. R. D. Sir,—You have very just thoughts of Bishop Smith's extravagant L^r^, and of my resolution to withstand all attempts and incroachments of that nature, thô all his Brethren in England should second him. I was at Dundee last week burying my nephew's wife. Mr. Raitt, however he's fretted, will stand united with us against both Smith's and Ed^r^'s attacks. I proposed a Meeting of us ffoure, which he goes in with, at Kinghorn, Kennoway, Ffalkland, or Cupar, of which I am to write Bishop Keith, who has twice mov'd it to me that our Meeting would be proper; and tells me that he wrote Bishop Smith, promising me a Copy of what he wrote, but 'tis not yet come to hand. I wish he had advis'd us before he wrote, for thô I doubt not of his saying right things, *plus vident oculi*, &c. Till I see what he has said I cannot say what's farther to be done. Your two Ordinations are acceptable to me, as it will be to see Mr. Abernathy here. I beg of you push for Mr. G——d's Election, without regard to his pleading a delay. If this is effected, it will be a great strengthening of our Union; if not, I cannot secure against wrong constructions and jealousies impairing it.

Yesterday all our Ffife Presbyters were with me. We had no business

to do. There's a project of Translating Mr. Spence's Meeting to Leven, but 'tis not come to a bearing; nor is that of having Mr. Gordon's at Edinburgh. I laid Bishop Smith's L^r^ before them. They're all offended with it. They wanted to see the Minutes of the late Synod: two of them nibled at some of them. The bearer insists against our having a negative upon an Election of a Bishop. I cannot tell if he goes home satisfied with it. I think Mr. Abernathy would be very fit for Doun; but I suspect Mr. Blair has a view, and may have more interest there. Pray let me know how matters stand for Mr. G——d: 'tis what I am anxious about.

My wife, I, and son, unite with me in the tender of our service and best wishes to you. "God rebuke that spirit of ffaction and schism that's gone out among us, and grant peace, unity, and a right establishment to this afflicted Church." I am, R. R. D. Sir,

Your most affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

Cupar, June 6th, 1744. ROB. WHITE.

VII.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, at Alloa.*

R. R. D. Sir,—I wrote a Return to yours of May 28, to have gone by Mr. Livingston; but being told you was to be at the Meeting of your Presbyters, sent it, by Mr. Livingston's advice, by one who was to be there. I suspect now 'tis not come to hand. Mr. Rait is as offended with both the Ed^r^ and S.'s Letter as any of us, but thinks himself ill treated. I proposed to him a Meeting of us 4, which I brought him to agree to, providing it should be in Ffife. His quarrels will all come out if we meet, which makes me decisive on it. I am sorry to find by yours of June 4th that G——d's Election is doubtful. Our unity much depends upon it. Mr. Græme may be ignorant, but I sent my Resignation in fform to Mr. Douglass, with a desire that it might be insert in their Register, by that same Post with whom I sent it to K. Mr. Bell writes me that he's to be passive with regard to ye choice of Blair or Abernethy for Down, which by the Account the latter gives me does not look well. He had reason it seems to expect his ffriendship. I suspect the former will be under Ed^r^'s influence, and I reckon before now *jacta est alia*. If there's a prospect of succeeding for G., it should be pushed, without regard to what he pleads for. I wish we had the occasion of an apology for not delaying. As to recommending for Ed^r^, I had reasons for not going in with it when proposed which still subsist. As matters stand I think it dangerous to meddle with it.

Some weeks ago K. promised me a Copy of what he wrote Smith in answer to his Letter. I have had 2 from him since, but nothing of it. I think the bearer a worthy, hopefull person, and wish he could be kept from returning North. I have put it on him to make our compliments to you, and am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate Brother and Servant,

Cupar, June 15th, 1744. ROB. WHITE.

VIII.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, at Alloa. A Proposal for Reponing Fife, and of the Scotch Communion Office.*

R. R. D. Sir,—I have put off all this time giving a Return to yours of the 7th instant, expecting to hear from Bishop Rait, and know something of his disposition w^t^ regard to what has been proposed to him; but thô I have

wrote him twice of late, I have not a scrape from him since Octr. 23. This looks like a pett; but whether it proceeds from his suspecting me in w^t^ you for Reponing Ffife, or from the true Acc^t^ I gave him of what I met with relating to his ffriend's Promotion, I am yet to learn. As to my applying him, since you have, no doubt, used the same arguments, and urged these high motives in as strong terms w^t^ him as you do w^t^ me, without success, I cannot expect to prevail by any that I can use. An Union w^t^ England is very desirable, but what have we done to obstruct it? To be in a better situation than "we have been in since ye Reformation," is such an end as I, for my part, should chearfully sacrifice what's dear to me for compassing it, by any means not sinful and forbidden. You seem to be full of it that this would be the effect of Reponing Ffife, and that it would wrest the handle of "Usages" from those you call our enemies. The clamour of "Usages" is of such service on all occasions, that we may lay our acc^t^ with it they'll never quite it so long as they mind to quarrel; nay, not thô we should declare against them—a thing which, by God's grace, I shall never do; for thô I can sit under a defect not in my power to help, from universal consentient practice of ye Primitive, and I may say of ye whole Church till of late, I will not flee in her fface and brake Communion with her. I wish to see that great effect you mention brought about, of being in a better situation than, &c.; but I'm afraid the proposed mean is not proportioned to the end, and that instead thereof, we might see our authority more despised, and our conduct ridicul'd. What other use may we expect to be made of Reponing one who has not only never submited to his Sentence, but mocks at it, stands out against it, and divests us all of authority? To reverse a Sentence against such a one, so solemnly pronounced and approven, is, I'm sure, unprecedented, and would, in my opinion, give ground to expose our character and conduct. You may have reasons not communicated to overbalance this with; but, till I know them, you'll excuse me for not urging motives which I'm not convinced will hold good. I can urge them with Bishop Rait on your word only, which I presume he has for them already.

As to Bishop Smith, he was ill employed in tampering, as he has done, w^t^ some ffolks, and has treated a Brother Bishop very coarsely, in proceeding so far on a wrong information w^t^out asking him a question. He might have reflected on the trouble it would occasion Bishop Rait, to have his opposers spirited up by having an intercessor of such character as he. Had he applied him in the first instance, without propaling it, and, on his not succeeding, sought of his Brethren to intercede with him, something might have been said for his conduct. The Dundee party, on making the breach, disclaim'd us all, and bragged of betaking themselves to Bishop Smith. His behaviour looks as if he was apprised of this, and catch'd at it; and is he, being a Yorkshire Bishop, to set up the old claim upon us? His proposal w^t^ regard to Ffife is condemned by one at least of his English Brethren; and I hope so will his other, of tying us down to the English Liturgy. I am misinform'd, if he does not need to begin at home w^t^ this. If he and they shall reckon it a breach of unitie that we do not so tie ourselves, I will say they're more squeamish on unitie than ever Church was. I think they have as much honour in keeping unitie with us as we with them; and if they will break w^t^ us for using our own Liturgy, the ffault must lie at their door, not ours. It was compiled, calculated, and authorized

for establishing uniformitie betwixt the 2 Churches. Archbishop Laud and his Brethren, and all our then Bishops, thought it did so. Why should we not think w^t^ them, rather than with Bishop Smith? His 2 Discourses for showing that the English Liturgy Blesseth and Offereth, &c., by ye very design of them, are an encomium on ours; and, more, prove it preferable to the English, than make out what he intended in favour of it. If there are any political views in this proposal, I shall judge of them when let into them; but I neither act by these nor am soon startled with them. It seems he has found a party here for suppressing our Liturgy, and has done enough already to spirit them up. If he persists, it must be constructed a heading of them. Should any of us, nay, all of us, joyn in this, a party much stronger would soon appear, and justly too; and instead of a better, would put us in a worse and more divided situation than ever since another Re—— than the Reformation. But I'm not affraid of this taking with any Brother.

B. K. writes me I shall have my Confirmation of this District in fform, so soon as I resign Dumblane. But since I promised to hold both, and obliged myself to resign at the desire of the majoritie, I think it proper I should be first Confirmed in this, to save my being cast loose; and then, as soon as shall be thought fit, require my resignation by ye majoritie, whose doing so will supersede my asking acceptance of my resignation, and so save some trouble and time. I am of B. K.'s mind, that ye sooner D——n is right supplied the better, and am glad he hopes it may fall to Mr. G.

I have inclosed a L^r^ to Mr. Douglass, and another to Mr. Conachar, to be used by B. K. and you as shall be thought fit. Mr. Lyon sent me sometime ago 3 Copies of the Printed Proposals for Publishing *Lit. Jacob.*, with a Commission, I suppose, of ye same nature w^t^ yours. I wish we succeed in getting Subscriptions: we'll easily agree about the Remittance.

I have put off this ffortnight past the giving you a Return, in expectation of my son's returning from Mearns and Angus, and of some Acc^t^ of Bishop Rait by him; but the one is not arrived, and ye other is yet silent. My wife was glad to hear of your welfare, and returns you ye tender of her respects. I pray all happiness to you, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

November 28. Rob. White.

P.S.—Pray let me have an authentick Copie of our last Synod's Transactions.

LVII. Henry Edgar. A.D. 1759, Coadj. A.D. 1761–65.

His name is sometimes Printed as *Harry*, and *Harie;* but Mr. Andrew Jervise settles the doubt in the following *Baptismal Entry* in the Brechin Records, given in his "Land of the Lindsays," p. 271 (Note):—

April 2, 1698. David Edgar of Keythick, husband to Elizabeth Guthrie, had a son Baptized named *Hendrie.* Witnesses, Hendrie Maull of Kellie, Hendrie Graham of Menorgan, Hendrie Guthrie.

This batch of *Hendries* would now-a-days be despoiled of the letter *d*, and have *ie* changed into *y*.

The Bishop was of the Edgars of Wadderlie. According to the "MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church of Scotland," it is stated that, before Bishop Edgar's appointment as Coadjutor, Bishop White, the Primus, wrote to a Clergyman living in Dumfries, soliciting his Vote for Mr. Harry Edgar, to be Consecrated *Bishop of Glasgow;* but the Clergyman gave no answer. Mr. Edgar was not Elected by any Presbyters. Notwithstanding, his Consecration, as Coadjutor to Bishop White, took place at Cupar-Fife on S. Luke's Day, the 18th October, 1759. The Primus was Consecrator, assisted by Bishops Falconar, Raitt, and Alexander.

The Lands of Keithock (or Keithick), in the neighbourhood of Brechin, belonged to the Lindsays, who were forced to mortgage their property.

On the sale of Keithock by the Lindsays, a younger son of the old Family of Edgar of Wadderlie became proprietor. David Edgar of Keithock, who bought the property from his cousin Thomas (the father of John of Poland), had a large family, among whom were John and James, who bore prominent parts during the Rebellion of 1715. The former Died a prisoner in Stirling Castle, and the latter, escaping to Italy, became the well known Private Secretary of the Chevalier, and Died at Rome in September 1762, where "he was Buried by a Protestant Clergyman, according to the Rites of the Church of England." He was a person of great worth, and, as appears not only by the Letters of the Chevalier and his son Prince Charles, but by those of the fugitive Nobles, was one in whom all had the most implicit confidence. His fidelity to the cause of his exiled master was unimpeachable, as the following anecdote by his great-grand-niece amply illustrates:—"Some considerable time after the 'Fifteen,' the British Government had reason to believe that another attempt was to be made for the exiled family. Sir Robert Walpole directed his spies to learn who was most in King James' confidence, and what were the character and circumstances of the individual. He was told that the King's private Secretary was the younger son of a Scotch Laird of small fortune; that he was of a generous, hospitable turn, fond of entertaining his Countrymen when at Rome; and that he had but a small salary. This was just what Sir Robert wanted, and he wrote to Edgar, offering a handsome sum if he would betray the intentions of his master. Edgar put the Letter into the fire, and returned no answer. Several other Epistles bearing advanced offers met the same fate. Sir Robert thinking he had not yet come up to the Secretary's price, then wrote (and this time without making any conditions) that he had placed £10,000 in the Bank of Venice in the name of Mr. Edgar. The Secretary then consulted his master, and, after a brief interval, returned

for answer that he had received Sir Robert's Letter. He thanked him for the £10,000, which he had lost no time in drawing from the Bank, and had just laid at the feet of his Royal master, who had the best title to gold that came, as this had done, from England."

Alexander, the penultimate Laird of Keithock, Died about 1768, and was succeeded by his son John, who, like his uncles, was a staunch supporter of the Stuarts, and joined their Cause at the age of nineteen. He fled to France on the final defeat of the Rebels at Culloden, and served under Lord Ogilvy until the passing of the Act of Indemnity in 1756, when he returned to Scotland. He Married a daughter of Mr. Ogilvy, Minister of Tannadice, and, down to his latest breath, when quaffing the goblet of wine or ale, he indulged in the rather equivocal toast of drinking—"*To the King o'er the water!*" Keithock being greatly mortgaged at the time of John's Succession, it was sold in 1790 (two years after his Death); and although the Family has passed from the District of Brechin, numerous descendants survive in America and various parts of Great Britain. [*Jervise's Lives of the Lindsays, p.* 270.]

For much of this information, Mr. Jervise is indebted to Miss Watson (daughter of the late Bishop Watson of Dunkeld), through the courtesy of William Baillie, Esq., Edinburgh—both great-grand-children of Alexander Edgar of Keithock.

Bishop Edgar was brother of Mr. Edgar, Titular Earl of Alford, Secretary to the Chevalier, whose eldest brother, the above Alexander, succeeded to the Estate of Keithock. Henry, younger brother, fourth Bishop of Fife, was for 36 years Pastor of the Episcopal Church in Arbroath, where he Died (as intimated by his Tombstone in the Abbey Burial-ground), on the 21st of August 1765, in the 67th year of his age.

The following Correspondence was found in Bishop Jolly's Kist, copied in Bishop Alexander's handwriting:—

I.—*To the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, at Alloa, care of Mr. David Nevay, Merchant, Edinburgh. Prosecution against Mr. Edgar, Arbroath.*

R. R. D. Sir,—I was much concern'd that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you when at Ed^{r}, being oblig'd to wait there (for Captain George Lindsay, whom I had not seen for 16 years) till my time was run out. Before I return'd to Angus, there was a most unlucky affair happened at Arbroath with Mr. Edgar. It was this: some of the Military had been there for some time, and differed with the Magistrates, which is given for the reason of Mr. Edgar's trouble. The way they took to ensnare him was most subtile: they sent a soldier to his house, who earnestly importun'd Mr. Edgar for Prayers, who was so easy as to yield to his request. It seems he thought (viz., the soldier) that Mr. Edgar exceeded the Numbers, went directly to the Officer and informed. Upon which the Officer wrote to General Churchhill, who sent the information to London, which was

returned w^{t} peremptory Orders to prosecute the Clergyman forthwith. Accordingly he was tried at Forfar on the 3rd, before Carsgownie. The Witnesses adduced on the trial were the soldier who had been the hearer, an old Chelsea pensioner, and a common man in Arbroath—in all, three. The Lybel ran in these terms:—"That whereas Mr. Edgar had officiate in his on house on the 9th Septr., or one or other of the Sundays of said moneth, to more than 4 w^{t} his family, and not prayed in express words: therefore he ought to be punished according to Law, and the hearers fined of £5 each." It was objected by Mr. Edgar's Procutor, that as the Lybel was in vague terms, and not confined to a precise day, that neither he nor the hearers could easily exculpate themselves by proving *alibi;* so, with some difficulty, both the informer and the Fiscal yielded that point, and fixed on the 9th of Septr. None of the Witnesses except the soldier swore to the Lybel; upon which the Sheriff assolized Mr. Edgar w^{t} a caution to be on his guard for the future; for had the Lybel been proven, the Judge behoved to have condemned ye Pannel. This has given no small uneasiness to all of us here. Messrs. Seton and Guthrie are both strictly confin'd to the Number, by advice, as the soldiers at Forfar are on the catch. For myself, I use some more freedom, as being at a distance from these Civil, I had almost said uncivil, neighbours, none of them being nearer than Kirremuir. I thought proper to inform you of this, in case none else had done. It is the substance of the whole affair, which we have reason to be thankful turn'd out so lucky for Mr. Edgar; for had he been brought in, it's a question where it would have ended. As I have near finished my paper, I shall only beg your paternal benediction, and remain, as ever, most respectfully,

R. R. D. Sir,

Your obedient son and most humble Servant,

Memus, Novr. 16th, 1750. John Ramsay.

II.—*To Bishop White, on the affair of the Application, and the danger of it.*

R. R. D. Sir,—The occasion of my writing to you at present gives me no small uneasiness, both upon your own acc^{t} and that of this poor afflicted Church, in the preservation of which we have all an equal concern. After what I wrote you in my last, of Feb. 13th, how was I amazed to find by a L^{r} from G., that you had made use of my name to perswade him to agree to your project for procuring a Nomination for R^{t}, by saying that I had cordially gone in w^{t} it! I am at a loss how to acc^{t} for this, and shall abstain from making harsh or unkind reflections upon it. Only desire that in your next L^{r} to him, you'll set him right in this matter, by barely telling him the truth, or sending my L^{r} to him, that he may judge for himself. He very wisely and justly lays before me the danger and ruin that must attend such a step upon a discovery, which it seems impossible to avoid; and I think I could not have declared my dissent from it in more express terms than I did to you. I spoke, indeed, with all due respect of R^{t} and H. E.; and, thô I declined being active, told you I should be determined by a majority of my Brethren in every point of Discipline; but gave it as my opinion that things at Ed^{r} should be allowed to rest in the way they had been in for many years, and no motion made to raise new dust. And, particularly, as to the Application, I declared I would not concur in it, for reasons which might have been obvious to you, as they were to me, but I chose not then to insist upon. You know very well, my dear sir, how much such practices were

exclaimed ag^{t} in former times, and by none more than yourself, for the perils and confusions they involved us in; and surely the reasons ag^{t} them are not less, but much more, cogent now than they were then. Our late calamities were chiefly owing to the notion our enemies had conceived of us, that we were all Nominees, and kept up an illicite correspondence; and any respite we have since enjoyed, proceeds from their having been undeceived in this respect, and assured that none of our number are such. You are not to think that the inhibition w^{t} regard to Ed^{r} is any secret to them; and if it is taken off, and y^{t} See filled, the consequence is clear; and they will easily conclude by what means, thô there were no other way of coming at the truth, as there are but too many. I cannot, therefore, imagine what could be your motive to precipitate our destruction by so temerarious an action, especially as it cannot answer your end, nor serve the person you intend it should, who, I dare say, is wiser than to thank you for it. Moreover, you know that when we Elected you our Primus, it was in the forms of our Canons, which, if you'll consult, you'll find do not entitle you to act by yourself alone, especially in matters of so much consequence to our Society as this is. I wish then, if it is yet in your power, that you would countermand these fatal dispatches, and henceforth cease perplexing us with further schemes, and suffer us to live and die in peace. As to Promotions, I have said from the beginning that I saw no immediate necessity of proceeding to any, as, thanks to God, we are not so few as should make us dread any imminent danger of the Succession failing; and I hope we may rely upon His goodness that 3 of us will not drop off at once. As likewise there is no appearance of that unanimity that were to be wished for in our choice of Candidates, and the person you have all along pointed at has shown so much rashness and imprudence in promoting this conceit of yours, as gives just ground to some of us to doubt whether he would be so proper a person to be assumed as we were otherwise willing to believe; on these considerations, I say I am for laying aside all thoughts of this at present, and referring the decision entirely to Providence, by the Election of the Clergy of the District that first becomes vacant, which is the only warrantable way, being determined for my own part to abstract further meddling in publick affairs, unless I find I can be the instrument of doing some great good, or preventing some evident hurt to our dear Mother, the Church; and confine myself solely to the business of my particular Charge. And this being my firm resolution, there will be no occasion for the visit I intended you after Easter; but that shall not diminish the regard I have always had of you, nor hinder me from continuing

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

Alloa, March 17, 1759. JOHN ALEXANDER.

III.—*To Bishop Wm. Falconar, in Reply to an angry Letter about H. E., &c.*

R. R. D. Sir,—I received yours of the 27th, with one from the Presb^{y} inclosed, by last week's carrier. It did not so much affect me with surprize, as I am now hardened with ill usage, as with sorrow and pity for our state. However, I immediately wrote to G., who is equally concerned; and, when I hear from him, shall give the Primus an Answer. This is no affected delay, but a regular way of proceeding, as I chuse not to do anything without common concurrence, or in a clandestine way. The good Primus charges me either with disingenuity or inconsistency, and with

bringing R. F. upon the carpet: all which I deny and defy him to prove from anything in my Protest. You bring still heavier charges against me, which I shall consider by and by, and only observe at present that this is not the most engaging way of asking a favour.

I am entirely satisfied that W. should have a Coadjutor—he needs it much—and that H. E. should be the person. I esteem him highly, and shall, God willing, assist at his Consecration, when called in the terms of the Protest. But you see no reason, you say, for insisting on the Ross Clergy at the same time. I cannot help that; but am sure I have given many in my last and former Letters to you, none of which have yet been answered. I shall now add one more, which is—That truly it is no such easy matter for one of my age to make long journeys every day, nor is it so safe for us to have frequent Meetings of that kind, and, therefore, as much should be dispatched at once as we can. Another good reason your Letter before me suggests. As you seem to dread danger from the Juntoe's influence in Ross, I judge the best way to prevent it is to provide them in time, and even to gratify them in their first choice would be the readiest means to keep them steady to the interests of the Church; besides that it would cordially unite us all, and keep the Succession, in all humane views, out of danger of failing, at least for some time. And would our Brethren drop their opposition, without which I would not be for having him appointed, I think it would be the luckiest thing that could happen to us; besides that it would give the Primus the comfort to be cordially united with all his Brethren, and leave the Society in a peaceful and united state. And I confess all the objections I have yet heard laid against him, are not enough to balance these good effects in my poor opinion. Whether he would comply I cannot say, as I never corresponded with him on that subject, except that lately he told me you had proposed his settling at Inverness, and taking up that Charge; which I said, if he inclined, I should not be against. But I am apt to think, if we should unite in urging him, he might be brought to comply, and then we might proceed to both without delay.

I now come to the blustering harsher part of your Epistle. You tell me my last gave you great pain; and I say that indeed it could not give you greater in reading than it did me in writing. But was there not a cause? I chuse not to rip up sores; but consult your own heart coolly, and perhaps it may suggest to you that, instead of an accusation, I might have looked for an acknowledgment, which, since you do not deign to make to me, I shall to you. I own then, that the coming in of your Letters at the critical time they did, threw me a little off my guard; and since you think I used a sarcasm, whether I intended so or not, I stand corrected, and retract that expression, and shall not use it again. I said nothing else but what I think not only defensible but highly becoming. 'Tis true, you allege, in a pompous and swelling strain, that I fulminated ingeminated woes and execrations against my Brethren. But where is this to be found? In your own imagination, not in my Letter; which, had you been possessed of that meekness which you task me so severely with the want of, you would not rashly have put so uncharitable a construction upon my words. The son of Crœsus, thô dumb before, broke silence when he saw the blow impending to take away his father's life; and my zeal to avert the danger wherewith I beheld my dearest Mother threatened, moved me to make use of these words of Him who never spoke in vain. But I mentioned no names. You who

make the Application are accountable for that: the Denunciation is general and indefinite. When the offence is given, the woe must follow; but, thanks to kind Providence, and Mr. Edgar's wisdom, which prevented it. You next call me stiff, and imperious, and what not. Had you answered my reasons, it would have done much better than thus to load me with reflections. As to stiffness, when in a good cause, I may at least say you miscall it. Steadiness is the word; and steadiness in the cause of truth and justice is a manly virtue. However, I take this much better than if you had called me a changeling, tossed to and fro with every blast, and never to be found where you left me. As to imperiousness, I disclaim it as utterly inconsistent with my temper. I have a title to offer advice in what concerns the publick weal; but counsel is no command, and if I can answer for myself, I would not take upon me to answer for others by compelling them, thô I had the power. And now to your last and heaviest charge—that I threaten a fatal breach, &c. How you come to discover this, I confess I am to seek. Peace must doubtless be a very precious jewel, since they who are enemies or strangers to the thing affect the name. That I had no such intention is plain from my Protest, which, thô I thought myself bound to enter for my own vindication of being accessory to an irregular measure, it never entered into my mind to make a breach with my Brethren. 'Tis true, indeed, a breach there would have been, if that affair had taken place, but it would have been made by others, and not by me. You know well enough our Canons are the basis and bond of our peace. You need not be told who made the first infringement upon them, from whence all our disorders have since flowed; and should they be given up, as has been aimed at oftener than once since, I tremble to think what ruin and confusion must follow, when every one is left to do what seems right in his own eyes. To conclude, whoever thinks to establish peace upon the ruins of truth, justice, and honour, will find a false and deceitful delusion, and must soon lose them all, and inward peace to boot. Let me not, therefore, be again upbraided with this; for so long as I stand to rule and order, I am sure I stand upright, and shall not be afraid of the censure of man. God help us all to continue stedfast in the Unity of the Spirit, and the Bond of Peace and Righteousness of Life, and to lay aside all our little bickerings and quarrels, and make it our study to love Him and one another. I am, &c.,

JOHN ALEXANDER.

IV.—*To Bishop William Falconar. Of Bishop White and Mr. Edgar.*

R. R. D. Sir,—I wrote you a fortnight ago a hint of what concerned you more fully to know, but it seems by your abstractedness in not writing, you affect an indifferency in our affairs. However, that the Church may not suffer thro' my default, I here subjoin (for your own use allenerly) a Copy of a Letter that I have this day sent to W., which will make a fuller discovery of certain practices, which I neither think justifiable in themselves, nor carried on in a fair manner. I leave you to take such measures upon it as you shall judge most proper. I opposed your scheme of the Suspension, because I thought myself bound in honour and conscience so to do; and for the same reason I have opposed this, as exposing our Society to utter extinction. Our Brother is prolifick in projects. If he goes on at this rate, he will not rest till he ruins us. He writes me you have been urging him to hasten H. E.'s Consecration. I have not opposed it till now

that I think I have some reason; but if you concur, my opposing will be of no consequence, and I shall give myself no farther trouble, only I wish you may consider ripely what it may produce. If you keep aloof, you may depend upon being supported by G. and me. Whether you can do so by the others supposing the matter to be indifferent, I leave yourself to judge. The balance is in your hand, and I pray God direct you right. If you incline to concert measures, and come to an eclaircissement of the whole plot, I am to be at Dunfermline, on Thursday, April 6th; and if you can steal away early, you may be at the old place by 2, and, if needful, return the same night. No one needs to know that you are out of Town. I wait your answer, and am, &c.,

JOHN ALEXANDER.

V.—*Bishop Alexander to Mr. Edgar, enclosing a Copy of his Letter to the Primus, and stating his inability to be present at his Consecration.*

R. D. Sir,—I had a Letter last Post from our Primus, inviting me to assist at your Consecration on S. Barth.'s Day; and it gives me the deepest concern that I cannot be present, chiefly on your account, for whom I have long had a real high esteem, and whose Promotion in a regular way I have long hoped and looked for. My reasons of dissent I have this day drawn out, and sent in a Letter to the Primus, of which a Copy follows:—

"R. R. D. Sir,—I received your Letter of the 13th current by the last Post, inviting me to Cupar to assist at the Consecration of my worthy friend, Mr. Edgar. As he is a person whom I highly esteem, and for whose merit I have a just regard, I should have attended with the greatest pleasure, which I'm sorry the indiscretion that has appeared in the management of that affair deprives me of. By this you will perceive that I have no intention to object against the Candidate, but the manner of his Promotion, which I always hoped would have been in an honourable and orderly way. We are environed with enemies of various kinds, who watch for our halting, and will not fail to make advantage of every false step we take, and even industriously labour to create discord and division amongst us; so that now, if ever, we should proceed with union and circumspection, and avoid giving the least handle for those who hate and malign us to vex us, especially as there appears not the least necessity for doing so. To do a thing irregularly, which may be done in a regular and unexceptionable manner, is at least, I may be allowed to say, not the wisest way of proceeding, and I cannot prevail with myself to join in it for the following reasons:—1st, This is directly contrary to S. Paul's Canons, 'Let every thing be done to edification, and let everything be done decently and in order.' These are of universal obligation, and stand in need of no comment. 2ndly. It is against our own Canons, which provide that every Bishop shall be chosen by the Clergy of the District he is to inspect, and revolving into the old Utopian Scheme of Bishops at large, which some years ago was exploded by our best and wisest men, and condemned by us also. 3rdly. Whereas you say that the majority have sustained one officiating Clergyman's Letter of Petition as sufficient to proceed upon, this shows at least that the majority is not always in the right, since it is absurd to say that any majority can make one to be a number, and so capable of Electing in the sense of our Canons. Indeed, it looks like making a jest of so serious a matter, and must expose us to the derision of all who hear it. 4thly. There are 2 actual Presbyters in the Dis-

trict pointed at, and thô one of them be not now officiating, nor famed for his worth and regularity, yet he is under no censure; nay, he was actually applied to in the present case; and had he given his vote as desired, nô doubt it would have been sustained. But, as I am well informed, he not only refused, but has used threatenings which may be of dangerous consequence to us all. So that here is Mr. Lothian's — from Mr. Lyon's +, and the remnant is 0. 5thly. Even Mr. Lyon's Petition was not a regular and voluntary Deed—there was no Mandate from the Bishops—and, as he owned to me himself, it was extorted from him by solicitation and authority. These are such practices as ought not to be used or allowed, else there is an end of all Discipline and Order in the Church. Had you given for a reason only your care for continuing our Succession, I should have had less to say against it, thô even that would not have been altogether unexceptionable; because (6thly) a body of regular Clergy, who have each of them a *portio gregis*, and amongst them a large extent of Country under their Charges, and have been but too long neglected and overlooked by us, have in a regular way, laid down to them by ourselves, for some time past applied to us for a Mandate to elect a Bishop for themselves, whose residence in these parts every considering person must evidently see the advantage of to this Church, and whose Promotion would have been a fair and happy means of increasing our number and strengthening our union; and yet this has been most unjustifiably, I think, refused, or for a tract of time delayed by you. These reasons have such weight with me, that I cannot be at freedom to approve of or concur in the present measure; but find myself obliged, for my own exoneration of being accessory to so rash and illegal doings, to protest, as with a sad and sorrowful heart I hereby do protest against it, as unwarrantable, divisive, and unjust, and an instance of partiality scarce to be paralleled; and desire that this Letter may be recorded as a testimony of my dissent, and that I wash my hands of all the evil consequences that may ensue upon it. The above considerations might, I think, have some weight even with you and my other Brethren, unless you are determined, in the strength of your majority, to go on arbitrarily and with a high hand. God knows, I have, to the best of my knowledge, all along endeavoured to serve His Church, and avert any danger wherewith I saw it threatened; and now, to prevent farther noise, and keep us firmly united in this perilous conjuncture, I would still propose a short delay till these Northern Clergy have made out their Election, which may yet be done before winter, and then let both go on together for strengthening the Succession; and I shall then readily be present with the first. This overture I made to Bishop Falconar some months ago. Whether he communicated it I know not. But, sure I am, had it been gone into, this affair would have been over long before now. I cordially salute my Brethren who are to be with you, and, praying God to direct us all into the ways of peace and order, am, &c."

The above goes along with this by this day's Post. What effect it may have on others I will not say, but I hope it may have some on you, who, I trust, would not chuse to be admitted in an irregular way, and be the cause of division, when, by a very little patience, you may come in with honour and applause, and be a cement of union amongst us, which, God grant, may never be broke, for our dear Redeemer's sake. I pray God to bless and adorn you with all the lovely graces of our Religion, and am, &c.,

JOHN ALEXANDER.

VI.—*Bishop White to Rev. Wm. Erskyne. Relating to Mr. Edgar's Promotion.*

R. D. Sir,—The majority of the Bishops is now determined to have Mr. Hary Edgar soon promoted to the Episcopate. A District is in view for him, but yours were more eligible—so at least F., R^t, and I are of opinion. It were surely desirable that your destitution were supplied by a proper Bishop, a principle of unity, and a visible Ecclesiastical head, a symbol of J. ✠ C., the invisible One. He who now performs Episcopal Offices among you, cannot lay claim to the making up of this defect, nor to exercise the several powers that would appertain to your fixed Bishop. Now, you have a fair opportunity of having this supplied by making Mr. Edgar your choice, which, if you do, you need not apply for a Mandate, but, without delay, send me up an Address or Petition signifying that you are satisfied with his Consecration taking place, and that in the event of it, you will receive him as your proper and fixed Bishop. Dear Sir, I intreat that, laying aside all other attachments, you would bestir yourself to induce your two Brethren to unite in gratifying us in what we are so desirous of, and taking this occasion to do service to this distressed Church, the like to which, perhaps, you may not again have in your power. I only add that, to do it to the best purpose, your and Brethren's favourable return should be at my hands in two weeks from the Date of this. I pray God direct you, and incline you and your Brethren to do what is judged desirable for you, and am,

Your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

(Signed) Rob. White.

Cupar, 14th Aug., 1759.

P.S.—My thoughts and words above are written in my son's hand, for giving ease to my eyes. I hope you'll excuse this.

VII.—*Rev. William Erskyne's Reply to the above.*

R. R. Sir,—Your Letter of the 14th instant, inclosed in one from Bishop Falconar of the 16th, came to my hands only yesternight, acquainting me that a majority of the Bishops are now determined to have Mr. Edgar soon promoted to the Episcopate, and that there is a District in view for him, but that Bishops F., R^t, and you, would think ours more eligible; and, for this end, desiring that I would bestir myself with my 2 Brethren to induce them to unite in petitioning you for his Consecration, and engage ourselves to receive him as our Bishop. And at the same time you tell me that to do this to the best purpose, our Address should be at your hands in 2 weeks from the Date of yours—that is, against the 28th, which is Tuesday, and this is Friday. How, Sir, is this possible, even supposing us in concert with you, and as willing as you could wish? I can say nothing on this subject in name of my Brethren, thô, for myself, I beg leave to say, as the proposal is new to me, I should like to have more than four days to think of the expediency of this step, before I gave my own consent. But as my Congregation would likewise be interested in this measure, I should think myself very much to blame, as no doubt they would, not to pay a proper regard to their sentiments in a matter which so nearly concerns them and me. Besides, Sir, I take it for granted from your fixing a precise time for our Answer, I should rather say our Deed of Election, that you and the other 2 Bishops (permit me to say, by the by, that I hope you do not mean exclusively of the other 2 Bishops) have agreed on a day for Mr. Edgar's

Consecration, in consequence of the Election of the Presbyters of that other District which you say is in view for him, in which case our interfering would not be altogether becoming. You may freely command me in anything within my power that concerns myself only; but in this affair I can be of no use to you, for the reasons I have given. I beg leave to offer my kind compliments to your Secretary, and, begging your Benediction, am, &c.,

(Signed) WIL. ERSKYNE.

24th August, 1759.

VIII.—*Bishop Falconar to Rev. William Erskyne. Of Mr. Edgar's Promotion.*

R. D. Sir,—Inclosed you have a Letter from the Primus, which, if the purport of it pleases you, and if it can be done in the manner he desires, would give him great satisfaction. The time, you see, is very short for going about what he desires you to do; and, therefore, if the plan is agreeable to you, you'll set about putting it in practice forthwith. I have been all this summer in a very bad state of health, and am just now at some small distance from Town for the sake of good air. You'll direct your Letter for me to the care of Mr. William Bell, in Dickson's Close. I cannot write much, being still but in a weakly condition. I wish you and all your concerns everything that is good and agreeable, and am, with sincere regard and affection,

Your most humble Servant,

(Signed) WIL. FALCONAR.

Cleland's Yards, Aug. 16, 1759.

IX.—*Rev. William Erskyne's Reply to the above.*

R. R. Sir,—I am extremely sorry to know by yours of the 16th that you are distressed, and most sincerely wish you a speedy and perfect recovery. You will see, by the inclosed, part of my sentiments concerning the proposal made me by the Primus, thô my compassion for the age and infirmities of the good man have kept me from being altogether so explicite as I might otherwise have been, considering the style of his Letter, which is more than enough to alarm me, who am so solicitous for harmony and unanimity amongst you Bishops; and did not doubt of it till now, that he so earnestly desires me to take this occasion to do service to this distressed Church, "the like to which, perhaps, I may not have again in my power." I am absolutely at a loss what to make of this. I have for several years looked upon you as thoroughly united, and was thankful for it. The Presbyters, as far as I know, are entirely devoted to you, except a few seditious firebrands, who yet can do you no real hurt while you do not divide among yourselves. But perhaps I am afraid where no fear is, which I had much rather was the case, thô this application of his, both as to the thing and manner of it, surprizes me. What occasion have we for a Bishop, so long as Mr. Alexander is so good as perform Episcopal Acts among us, which he can do without any great addition to his expense of travelling, as he has Mr. Græme's Bounds and mine to ride through before he reach his own District? If there was any occasion for our having a Bishop, he is the person we would make choice of, as upon all accounts the fittest; and our people, from their acquaintance with him, having so much regard for him that the bare proposal of another would give them offence; and I truly think it for our common credit that this affair should not be so much as

hinted to them—no more it shall. While writing is troublesome to you, if you have anything farther to say to me on this subject, you know a discreet Lay friend of mine who can be trusted, who, when you go to Town, will not grudge to write for you, and who mentions you frequently, knowing that it gives me a sensible pleasure. I beg your Benediction, and am, &c.,

Muthil, Aug. 24, 1759. (Signed) Wil. Erskyne.

X.—*Bishop Alexander to Bishop Falconar. Relating to Mr. Edgar's Affair.*

R. R. D. Sir,—Your Letter of the 7th came safe, and next Post brought me one from A. R., inviting me to meet you and him at the Ferry, to which I have made no Answer, nor do I intend it; but, if you please, you may give my service to him, and tell him from me that I wish him very well, but chuse not to enter upon a new negotiation with him, either by Conference or writing. To yourself, I say I repent I ever did, as it is now clearer to me than light itself, that they have no other intention in these than to worm something out of us that may serve them for a handle to expose and abuse us. As to your overture of my going to Cupar, I am sorry I can't close with it in the manner you propose. I hope my Brethren are all men of probity and virtue, which makes me suspect my own judgment when it differs from theirs; yet its dictates must be my rule till I am otherways convinced. I ask then, why all this hurry to advance H. E.? Surely to keep up the Succession is but a vain pretence; for, had the same zeal appeared since the first application of the Northern Clergy, that might have been done, and even he advanced before this time. The Succession lyes as near my heart as it can do yours—many an anxious thought and waking hour it gives me; and to keep up our Order is a duty incumbent upon us all. But then it should be done in an orderly way. You talk of a call of Providence, and, no doubt, Providence calls us to do our duty at all times; but it never calls us to do a thing of the legality of which we do but doubt. Such may be a temptation, and not a call from Heaven. Consider, Sir, you reject the call of Providence, which is manifestly on the side of these Clergy whom you despise. There we see a sett of regular Clergymen, who have a considerable *portio gregis*, a large extent of Country under their Charge, who have long been destitute and neglected by us, addressing us in a Canonical way—a way laid down to them by ourselves—to have a Bishop set over them; and many excellent ends such a settlement would serve. So that I think, instead of upbraiding them for not doing this sooner, and therefore slighting their suit, we should have been thankful to God, who, by His grace, had now put it into their minds, and in His good Providence had thereby given us so fair and so happy an opportunity of continuing our Order in a lawful way. We ought to have met them more than halfway, and done everything to encourage them. Had the same circumstances appeared in the affair of H. E., I should have been the first to have assisted; but, on the reverse, we there discern every contrary symptom, so that they must be blind indeed, who cannot here behold partiality and injustice in the highest degree. [Here your Letter of the 11th, with its inclosed from the Primus, comes in, takes off the veil, and makes a new and unexpected discovery.] Alas, for our poor Mother! but woe, woe to that man by whom the offence cometh! Pardon this extasy, which I was not able to restrain. But to return. Our Canons, in '31 and '43, provide that every Election shall be made by the Clergy of the District; but our wise majority, it seems, have

found out and sustained one to be a number. These Canons say that a Mandate shall be issued from the Primus and all the Bishops, impowering to Elect; but here the Primus, or rather the Primus' son, elicites a Letter of Petition from one, and would palm it upon our understanding as a Deed of Election from many. I have not now time to enumerate the absurdities with which this scheme is pregnant, as the Post hurries, and I must hasten to conclude. Perhaps more of them may meet you at Cupar, if this scheme go on. But I hope for better things of H. E., and that he will not, for want of a little patience, by so apparent an *ambitus*, give R. F., upon the comparison, so great an advantage over him; and that my Brethren will think better before they make the fatal breach, especially as it may be so easily prevented, and the thing yet perfected in due time before winter, by doing justice to the Northern Clergy. For thô you say they will adhere to their old Church, and not chuse one of themselves, that you cannot be certain of till the experiment is made, which may soon be done, and the Schism prevented; for, if they are obstinate not to chuse another, it will still be time enough for this measure to take place, and we then can do it at least with more show of consistency and justice. Meantime, if this pleases, I shall write to G. to advise them either immediately to Elect one of themselves, or refer the Election to us. And I am assured by those that know them, that both Taylor and Stewart are sufficient men, and either of them, being on the spot, can do more service than they who live at a remote distance; for I take doing service in his station ought as much to be considered in making a Bishop, as barely keeping up an Order of Drones, who have nothing to do but continue themselves; and this was the opinion of our best men not many years ago, not to say of ourselves. You are pleased to desire I may not alter my good opinion of you. I answer that indeed entirely depends upon yourself, and that so long as you act a consistent part, I shall not fail to continue, R. R. D. Sir, yours, &c.,

Friday, August 17. JOHN ALEXANDER.

P.S.—Notwithstanding all the haste I could make, the Friday's Post was gone before this could reach the Office, to which I shall make no other addition than to observe that in one of your Letters I think you make too light of the Ross Election when you say, "Let the Primus and these gentlemen discuss the matter betwixt them;" for you and every one of us have as much concern in that matter as the Primus. And if he is negligent in his Office, it is provided by our Canons, I think, that you, as next senior, do issue a Mandate, to be Signed by the other Bishops, for their Meeting to Elect; which therefore, if he refuses, I desire you may do with all expedition. Once more, I would have you look again before you leap, and think what a precipice this young phaeton is like to drive you upon. And if you apprehend your change to be so near, what a sad legacy you are like to leave to this poor Church! what a glorious monument to yourself! All this in friendship; perhaps I may never be so free again.

This Letter has had a strange luck. The Post now brings in yours of the 18th, to which I can say no more, but refer you to the above.

Monday, August 20.

XI.—*Of Bishop Edgar's Consecration. What passed at it about the Ross Affair.*

D. Sir,—Receive your Papers for a new supply. What follows is a succinct detail of what has past with regard to H. Edgar's Consecration.

The Pr. wrote me, of Septr. 18th, his design of inviting that Brother to be his Coadjutor, and desiring my concurrence in case he accepted. It was Post day, the 28th, that I received it, when I immediately wrote to G. for advice; which was—"you need, in my opinion, have no difficulty nor make any struggle in gratifying the Pr., &c." P.S., he says, "the only objection we could make would be that the Northern's should be first served; but that, I suppose, would be overruled." On this I wrote to the Pr., 8th Oct., telling him I had wrote to G. for his opinion, and we were both ready to concur with the design of H. E.'s being his Coadjutor, as I hoped he would be in doing justice to the Rossians. Of the same Date the Pr. writes me again that he had made the above offer to H. E., which he supposed he would embrace, thô he said nothing; and when the day was fixed he hoped I would attend. Before I answered this, I had another from G., of October 12th, expressing great uneasiness lest his last should have inclined me to follow the rash, unadvised counsel he had then given; for by Letters to him from both the Pr. and F., it was now evident to him that the Pr. would "quickly accomplish all his designs." I could not, however, now draw back; only told the Pr. in my Answer to him, that it was not for me to make such a journey at this season of the year upon a bare supposal; and therefore, before I set out, wanted, by a written Certificate from both, that the one had given and the other accepted the Coadjutorship, as I would not, thô on the spot, join in Consecrating a Bishop at large. Before mine could reach him, there comes another from the Pr., of October 15th, appointing All Saints for the day of Consecration. By this time I understood that G., in his Answer to the Pr., had refused his concurrence with the scheme, and in some sort protested against, unless a Mandate were issued to the Ross Brethren. I therefore, in my Answer to W., of October 19, told him that I thought it most reasonable he should be gratified in this so just a demand; that I was resolved not to desert him, nor would I join in laying my hands upon any person till such Mandate was first agreed to; and that I waited his Answer to this before I set out, as there was time enough for it. In his Return, which was sent open to F., and inclosed by him, after urging me strongly to attend, he says—"Concerning the Mandate to Ross, I entertain such scruples as I cannot get over, and therefore must defer saying anything of it till we have the happiness of meeting." He also assured me that he was to be Coadjutor, and no Bishop at large. F. says—"I have suggested to the Pr. the wrong of keeping back a Mandate. I hope we shall prevail with our Brethren, and am persuaded that Mr. Edgar will be a means of making us all agree;" and in a posterior Letter pressed me most earnestly with fair promises, &c. In my Answer to which, I told him my resolution was fixed not to desert G., who had wrote me of the 23d that he was fully resolved never to countenance or consent to any more Consecrations in whatever shape, till a Mandate be issued of justice done to those hitherto so neglected and provoked Northern Presbyters; and I mentioned to him, according to your proposal, his making a bold stand, and threatening to withdraw if this was refused.

Thus matters stood when I set out, October 31, for Cupar, where I found all Chapterly convened. After some general conversation, I called F. aside, and asked him what progress he had made, or how matters stood with the Brethren. He said they would listen to nothing, nor hear of a Mandate. Then, said I, you have brought me into this snare and betrayed me; but it

shall not avail, for, be the consequence as it will, if the Mandate is not granted, I set out to-morrow morning in my return to whence I came. He used all the persuasion he was master of to make me drop insisting, but in vain. I desired him to call in Mr. E.; but he was in the same time, and to my no small surprize, in the whole conversation, showed an unbecoming vehemence, which I thought savoured too much of the *ambitus* which a wise man would rather have striven to conceal; insomuch that I was obliged to give him a gentle check—"Mr. E., how come you to express such keenness? I expected you was to be a reconciler; sure you have no vote in our consultations as yet?" He stood a little abashed at this, and attempted an apology, and indeed seemed more moderate, at least was more silent after. You may judge what a trial I underwent with the other 2, who like tygers set upon me, and I was soundly catechised. How came I to dictate? What connexion had the Mandate with the end of the Meeting? Why at this time? Why G. prompt the Northern's? &c. Many "whys" I got, but little room to speak for noise; but stuck to my point. At last the old Tyrant began to charge me as if I had been guilty of some crime, upon which I arose in warmth and went up to him. "Now, Sir, you accuse me before my Brethren, &c., of something you will not speak out; but I insist you shall, that I may have opportunity either to vindicate myself or submit to censure, as your proof comes out; for I will not sit with such abuse." He was something perplexed at this, and his heart failed him. He would tell me before we parted. "No, Sir, now is the time, and the accusation was public." And what was the great affair when it came out? Why because they said I would not promote the Election for Dunblane. I durst not give the true reason, but told them I would not push a thing which I well knew would not only be in vain but perhaps might be dangerous; for they well enough knew the Laity in these parts was not to be meddled with. "Well, but why not advise the Clergy?" I said I had proposed it to them, but they would do nothing without the Laity's consent, and that they would not venture to ask. I might have added that the Candidate was far from being their choice; that he, who was once connected to some, and Rait to others, might be presumed to have more weight with them than I: why then should I bear the blame? But since this was all, I dropt it, as not worth contending about, and returned to the Mandate, insisting that as F. and I had never seen the Address for it, it should be produced. James was sent to seek it once and again, but it could not be found. I persisted, and at last it comes out—a very becoming, well-worded Paper. Then the Date is examined—September 7th, 1758. Why, says I, has the Mandate not been granted before this, 14 months being near elapsed? He said he had some scruples which he could not satisfy himself about. But why then did you not communicate them to your Brethren, and take their advice, who were equally concerned? This could admit of no answer. But what, asked I, are those scruples? or why after so long delay should they now be refused? As we were all met, and could Sign at once, whereas by circular Subscriptions much time would be lost; and by doing the thing now we might all be united, for I should undertake that G. should adhere to the Consecration if we issued the Mandate; if we did not I behoved to depart *re infecta*, for I would not desert him. Rait, snarling, said, much better I had not come. True, said I, but I told the Pr. beforehand what I would insist on, and yet he urged my coming, so that I have been trepanned in the whole affair.

The Pr. began to bluster again—Why, let him go. And truly I will go, said I, if my terms are not granted. Here observe that when F. and I were together, I told him it was in his power to bring them to terms. As how? said he. Even by openly declaring that you would not concur in the Consecration unless the Mandate be granted. Then, said he, they would fly off, and a breach would happen. You need not at all be afraid of that, answered I; take my word for once. Well, thô he had given me no assistance hitherto, except in calling for the Address (F. here interposed), indeed I think that by our Rules we cannot be accountable for refusing a Mandate after so long delay. I instantly caught hold of this, and as I had before been bullied by R^{t} with the word "majority"—Now, Brethren, said I, I put it upon your own footing: here is an evident majority for a Mandate—F., G., and I—and therefore I require it of you. Then the scruples came out, and what were these? Why, truly, the Northerns had taken upon them, without our authority, to unite the Districts of Ross and Caithness. This looked like fishing for faults. I told them if that was any crime, I was sure it was a sin of ignorance in them, who, I was persuaded, intended us no affront; but R^{t} would hear of nothing to be done till they should first acknowledge their fault. So we were *in statu quo*, and no medium like to be found, till at last the Primus stumbled upon one which ended all, and it was this—That he should immediately write to the Rossians, telling them their error, and desiring them to acknowledge it; that in consideration of their Address, the Bishops had now united the 2 Districts, and Signed a Mandate to them to Elect a Bishop to themselves, which was lodged in his hand, immediately to be transmitted to them upon the receipt of their Letter of acknowledgment.

Thus matters were compromised, and I was glad to come in, as I could not make a better of it. The rest of the evening the Pr., on one side of the fire, sat in an elbow chair telling old stories, and F., on the other, echoed back his applause; while Rait and I, in the same opposition, sate entirely mute; for indeed I was unwell, as the long ride had brought on my gravel. After supper I left them and went to my quarters, and next day the Papers were extended and Signed after the Consecration. Immèdiately before, I took H. E. aside and asked whether he was satisfied to accept of being Coadjutor to W. Yes, he said, but his friends advised him also to accept of Glasgow, as he might be of some use. But, Sir, said I, I concur in your Consecration only as Coadjutor to W.; and had time to say no more. After it was over, W. began to move the same thing—Might he not be appointed upon D. L.'s Petition? I told them I had already given my reasons against that, and was not prepared for the question; they might do as they pleased. So it was dropped; but as no Certificate of the Ordination was offered to me to be Signed, I suspect the majority has sustained the thing. And let them even be doing, I cannot help them; and trust I shall never have so much dealing with them again, as I see 'tis only giving myself pain, and submitting to all manner of indignities from the supercilious pride of fiery and capricious men, to no manner of purpose. H. E. will, I find, be a tamperer for the Edin^{rs}; and F. (who has them so much at heart) and he will, I'm afraid, play mischief. R^{t} brought R. F. upon the carpet, and many silly, huffy things he said of him. I told him that was not properly a matter of our present deliberation, nor were we to examine objections till we knew who the person returned was, lest we might be found to wound characters fighting

with our own shadows. He, however, would have the Mandate clogged, and F. joined him, with one of their own number or near neighbourhood, who might be most serviceable to them. If R. F. is returned, it will be a new squabble, for F. will desert him unless he goes north, and E.'s vote will be sustained, thô he ought to have none; and I could observe him Sign the Mandate, which he had no title to do. But I took no notice, I had contended enough to little purpose. We parted decently, and I came back to Falkland that night, and next day arrived here in health *(D. G.)* I must beg you to return these hasty scrapes, as my memory is very treacherous, and I have no time to transcribe, nor to add more, but that I ever am, &c.,

Alloa, Nov. 9, 1759. JOHN ALEXANDER.

P.S.—F. has stood his ground, and would not agree with the other two to have Glasgow in the Commission.

XII.—*Bishop Alexander to Bishop Falconar, concerning Bishop White, and Bishop Edgar, as his Coadjutor only, and not for Glasgow.*

R. R. D. Sir,—Thô I have had no Answer to the Line I wrote you upon my return from Cupar, I reckon myself bound in justice both to you and myself to lay before you what I learn by a Letter last week from G., inclosing one from the Primus, wrote by his son's hand, Novr. 2nd, when I suppose you were present; but, in case you was not, I transcribe the following paragraph from the Original now before me:—"Yesterday being the Feast of All Saints, Mr. Edgar was Consecrated here—all your Brethren being present and concurring. You know that, supposing Mr. Edgar would not accept of Glasgow, I proposed he should be Coadjutor to me, but, previous to his Consecration, he declared himself willing to accept of that District, to which F. and R. most heartily assented, and A., when I spoke of it to him, said repeatedly we might do in it as we pleased. But he going off in a hurry, without giving time for expeding forms, nothing more was done while he was present, which being the case, we did not chuse to go farther without acquainting you and having your opinion, thô F. and R. think with me, and have desired me to tell you so, that it should be immediately appointed for him as his Charge, and he recognized and confirmed in it." Now, Sir, I only ask—Is this the way to maintain peace among us? Is this a just representation of my words? This serves indeed to explain the secret of training me to Cupar, *per fas aut nefas*, to make me subservient to their anomalous designs. You might observe, and he will not deny, that before his Consecration I asked Mr. Edgar whether he was willing to accept of being Coadjutor to W. He answered he was, but his friends thought he might be useful also in Glasgow; but, said I, remember I concur in your Consecration, as you are to be Coadjutor to W. only. After the Consecration, when W. moved his being appointed to Glasgow, you heard me say that upon the faith of his Letter I had come thither to assist in Consecrating a Coadjutor to him, and in that shape only I had concurred. Upon his pushing the thing farther, I said I came not prepared for such a question; I have given my reasons against it; you may do as you have a mind. You know how I have been reproached for, as they say, pretending to dictate to my Brethren. That they might then not have that handle against me, I added these words, which in these circumstances could only imply a physical power in them to do the thing, but no concurrence of mine, or approbation

of it when done as morally good; and I appeal to yourself, if in conscience you could take them in another meaning. No, Sir, I never can approve of such a measure. My opinion is that what cannot lawfully and Canonically be done, ought not to be done. But that this cannot be Canonically done, I have already shown in my former Protest, to which I still adhere. You know what a pother was made against the poor Northern Clergy for breaking a Canon, I dare say without design, and how they are obliged to cry *peccavi;* and shall we presumptuously and deliberately do the same? This is Halkerton's Cow with a witness—tell it not in Gath! Perhaps I shall be bullied here with the majority, as I was on the Eve of All Saints, where I met with a pretty swatch of Cupar justice. But you'll pardon me to say, that a majority of 3 to 2, or any whatever number even to one, cannot make wrong right or right wrong. And it may be worth considering whether a majority, or anything less than the enacting power, can suspend or dispense with Laws made by the whole; nor can I see any onerous cause for our taking such a latitude, other than to put a feather into E.'s cap, whose keenness in his own cause, where modesty and a decent reserve would have better become him, showed that he wanted it, and betrayed an *ambitus* which was no recommendation. It was highly shocking to me; but Charity thinketh no evil, and I hope he'll make amends; but we would do well to be upon our guard. If he wants a vote in our Councils, that may in due time be granted him, without incroaching upon our Canons; but not with my consent till the Ross Clergy be settled, which the Primus' late management makes me suspect may not be in haste. The poor man is vain, and under unlucky influence. The Lord pity him, and us with him. This is now the second time he has made use of my name to impose upon and circumvene my worthy Brother G. Some time ago, after repeated complaints (which I have *in retentis*) of you, and holding forth your unfitness to manage Ed^{r}, he proposed and pressed that I should agree to get R^{t} recommended to that station. I told him that I had no objection to R^{t}, and, as I was independent of Ed^{r}, it was equal to me who was there; but was absolutely against a foreign Nomination, which he pointed at. And yet in his next Letter to G., to procure his assent, he told him I had cordially gone into it. This I challenged, and, as I still think I had reason, called insidious. Upon which he returned my Letter, and I sent him a pacifick one, to make up matters and please him; but I find the resentment of that disappointment still sticks, thô I am not sure that the design is yet dropt. It was diverting to hear them threatening G. with their censure for meddling in the Ross Election, and me at the same time for not meddling in that of Dumblane—like the Bailie of Leith, who fined one man for keeping swine, and another for not keeping them. I know there are but too many in the world who stick at no means to compass their designs; but it strikes me with grief and horror to think that such principles and practices should obtain amongst us. I shall only add two words—"Take care, you are in a slippery path, and if by this step you throw a majority in their hands, you may come to feel the smart of it as soon as any other, when they have served their ends of you, however they cajole you now." I pray God to guide us all well, and am, &c.,

JOHN ALEXANDER.

November 26th, 1759.

In the "British Almanack and Glasgow Register for 1801," p. 129, appears, for the first time, a List of the

BISHOPS AND CLERGY OF THE SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Diocese of Edinburgh.

Right Rev. William Abernethy Drummond, in Edinburgh—Bishop.
Edinburgh—Alex. Allan, John Webster, James Walker.
Leith—Simon Reid.
Stirling—George Gleig.
Glasgow—Alex. Jameson.

Diocese of Dunblane and Fife.

———— Bishop.
Muthil—Alex. Cruickshank.
Alloa—John Rhind.
St. Andrews—William Robb.
Pittenweem—David Low.
Cupar—William Nicoll.

Diocese of Dunkeld.

Right Rev. Jonathan Watson, at Laurence Kirk—Bishop.
Forfar—John Skinner.
Kirriemuir—John Buchan.
Meigle—Alex. Nicoll.
Perth—Alex. Walker.
Strathtay—John Robertson.

Diocese of Brechin.

Right Rev. J. Strachan, in Dundee—Bishop; James Bruce—Assistant.
Arbroath, ————
Brechin—James Sommerville.
Montrose—David Moir.
Lochlee—Peter Jolly.
Drumlithie—Robert Spark.
Stonehaven—George Garden.
Muchalls—William Millne.

Diocese of Aberdeen.

Right Rev. John Skinner, in Aberdeen—Bishop.
Aberdeen—Roger Aitken.
Oldmeldrum—Arthur Walker.
Ellon—John Cruickshank.
Cruden—John Gleig.
Peterhead—Patrick Torry.
Longside—Jo. Skinner & Jo. Cuming.
Lonmay—William Sangster.
Fyvie—Alex. Christie.
Turiff—John Cruickshank.
Cuminestown, ————
Banff—James Milne.
Portsoy—John Cardno.
Arradoul—Alex. Shand.
Forgue—Andrew Ritchie.
Meiklefolla—James Innes.
Blairdaff, ————

Diocese of Moray.

Right Rev. Alex. Jolly, at Fraserburgh—Bishop.
Elgin—Hugh Buchan.
Keith—Alex. Christie.
Huntley—James Walker.

Diocese of Ross.

Right Rev. Andrew Macfarlane, in Inverness—Bishop.
Ord—William Paterson.
Appin—Donald Maccoll.

[Since 1801 the List has increased *Fourteen-fold.*]

From the above it is perceived that "Dunblane and Fife" are yoked together under "————, Bishop;" and this threadless tie continued till 1809, when the change was made to the "Diocese of Edinburgh and Fife," under

LVIII. Daniel Sandford, D.D. Oxon. A.D. 1809–30.

(*Seal given under Diocese of Edinburgh.*)

He was the second son of the Rev. Dr. Sandford, of Sand-

ford Hall, in the County of Salop, who for many years held Preferment in the Church of Ireland, but who resigned his Living in consequence of being obliged to return to England.

Daniel was Born at Delville, near Dublin, in 1766. His father Died in early life, and the education of the family thus devolved upon their mother, who was left a very young widow, accomplished and elegant. Sinking under her affliction, and unable to endure the scene of her married life, she almost immediately on her husband's death abandoned Sandford Hall. The old Mansion, which had been for generations the pride of the Family, was demolished, much valuable timber was cut down, and the Property was in consequence deteriorated. Mrs. Sandford removed with her family to Bath.

The name of Bowdler is immortal in the annals of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, for beneficence. For 60 years Daniel Sandford found a friend in Mrs. Harriet Bowdler, who displayed towards him a maternal affection, and who saw him enter, before her, into his rest.

When quite an infant, through some awkwardness on the part of his nurse, he got an ugly squint or obliquity in his eyes. The celebrated Dr. Darwin endeavoured to repair the mischief, but without success. He Published, in a Periodical, an Account of his experiments on this occasion, in which his patient is described as a "sweet and amiable child."

At the time of his mother's removal to Bath, Daniel was only four years old, and was sent with his brothers to the Grammar School, where he received his elementary instruction. His mother, however, trusted much more to the natural parts and assiduous habits of her sons, than to the assistance of masters. It may be questioned how far with most children her plan of education would have answered; but it appears that she used to incarcerate them for a certain number of hours every day, and that on their release the task was generally found to have been mastered. On the same principle she never allowed her son Daniel the aid of a Writing-master, and yet it is well known how beautiful was his penmanship. He used to say himself, and quote Lord Chesterfield in support of his assertion, that any

man with the use of his eyes and fingers might write what hand he pleased. Mrs. Sandford's sons were indeed occasionally very differently employed during these hours of imprisonment from what she supposed, for they were none of them deficient in those mischievous propensities, without which a schoolboy must be either better or worse than the generality of his species. Admitted, when still a boy, to the Drawing-Rooms of the Duchess of Portland, and of the celebrated Mrs. Delany, and accustomed to the conversation of the most intellectual persons, he saw and heard every thing that could interest and instruct. He loved to revert to this in after years, though he always spoke of it with a sigh, as what he should never see again. Mr. Sandford seems to have been always of a delicate habit; but when about 14 years old, he had a violent Fever, which confined him to bed for several weeks, and greatly impaired his constitution. As the Fever reached its crisis, he was for some time insensible, and his life was despaired of. The first sign of returning consciousness was displayed by his shooting a marble which lay on the pillow at a friend who had watched continually by his bedside. At the laugh which accompanied this exploit, Mrs. Sandford clasped her hands, exclaimed "Thank God!" and burst into tears. "*You* may be thankful," said the lady, "but *I* have nearly lost my eye."

Soon after this, it appears that he was placed at Southampton, together with the Earl of Bristol, under the charge of a Clergyman, of the name of Watson, afterwards Preferred to the Rectory of Rothbury, in Northumberland. Mr. Watson was an accomplished Scholar, and probably did justice to his Pupil's education; but he was a man of coarse mind, and it was greatly to Mr. Sandford's satisfaction that he was removed from his charge, and entered as a Commoner at Christ Church in 1784, under the superintendence of that great and good man, Dr. Cyril Jackson.

He encouraged him to apply to him on all occasions, frequently directed him privately in his studies, and treated him at all times with the most flattering confidence. In furtherance of the views which this partiality encouraged, Mr. Sandford was, at

the request of the Duchess of Portland, appointed by Dr. Moss, then Bishop of Oxford, to a Studentship of Christ Church. Among his intimate associates were the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Bexley, the latter of whom never forgot his College friendship, and was one of the very first to testify to his widow, after his Death, the esteem which he had always entertained for her deceased husband.

Mr. Sandford was greatly distinguished while at Oxford for accurate and accomplished scholarship, and especially for the correctness and elegance of his Latinity. In 1787, he won the Christ Church Prize for Latin Composition; and so well was his style known in College, that, on more than one occasion, when he had furnished Exercises for his friends, his assistance was immediately detected by the Dean.

He used to mention an instance which occurred while engaged in the composition of his successful Essay. Having been much occupied, before he retired to rest, with some refractory sentiment which he was unable to reduce to words, he dreamed that a Form appeared to him, and, like Order in the Fairy-tale, adjusted his entangled thoughts, and clothed them in elegant Latinity. On awaking he availed himself of the suggestion, and the Passage was afterwards pointed out to him by the Dean as the happiest in the Essay. It does not appear whether he acknowledged at the time the assistance he had received. He used to regret that Latin Composition was less insisted on now than it had been in his youth, as he always considered this accomplishment to be the surest test of Scholarship. He retained and cultivated his talent for it to the last; and it was the ground of much delightful intercourse in Edinburgh with that accomplished scholar and amiable man, Dr. Gregory.

At the Seat of the Duchess of Portland, where he spent his Vacations, when not at Windsor with Mrs. Delany, he imbibed a taste for Botany, which supplied him with an innocent and graceful relaxation in later life. He was an ardent Disciple of Linnæus in this interesting branch of Natural History; and he discoursed sweetly and instructively on such themes. He used to roam the fields in the neighbourhood of Oxford in pursuit of

his favourite Science, and dedicated to it most of the hours which were not devoted to graver Studies. His relaxations were not, however, always of so sylvan a character. His adroitness in the management of an Indian Canoe upon the River excited the admiration of his Compeers, and was one of the most popular attractions of Christ Church Meadow. This was, however, a more perilous enjoyment than his Botanical pursuits, for he was no swimmer. On one occasion he was nearly drowned through the spleen, and at another time through the awkwardness, of an Associate.

All Mr. Sandford's recollections of College life were pleasing, and he used to speak of the six years of his residence at Oxford as the happiest he ever spent. He was a thorough Christ-Church-Man, and he never discoursed more delightfully than when he spoke of its august Walk and Classic Meadow; of its Wits in his own day, the elegant Spencer, and the Classic Canning; of its awful Censorship, and Venerable Dean.

Mrs. Delany has been already mentioned as one of the persons who contributed to form Mr. Sandford's character. Her house at Windsor was always open to him, and he generally spent a great part of his Vacations under her roof. In her Drawing-room he used to meet most of the distinguished people of the day, and by her he was early introduced to the notice of Royalty. This lady was honoured by George III. and his Consort, Queen Caroline. They not only allowed her free access to themselves at all times, but were frequently in the habit of visiting her at her own house without intimation. On several of these occasions, Mr. Sandford was with Mrs. Delany when she was thus distinguished, and his own merits aided the recommendation of his friend in securing the favour of the Queen. Her Majesty condescended to employ him while at Oxford in the Translation of a favourite Author from the French, and her kindness naturally encouraged hopes of future professional advancement. That these hopes were not subsequently realized, was not owing, it will appear, to any want of kind intention on the part of the Queen.

His Studies at Oxford were interrupted by the illness of his

mother; and, by the permission of the Dean, he left College and confined himself entirely to her sick room. His devotedness at this time greatly injured his health, and almost endangered his life. Never leaving his mother's side while he felt he could be of any service, he spent the whole day in her room, in which, in the height of summer, she had a fire burning; and it was not until he was deprived by paralysis of the use of one of his arms, that the Physician could draw him from her apartment. From the stroke of paralysis he speedily recovered, but the illness which accompanied it told severely on his constitution.

No one was ever better fitted by habits and pursuits for Academic life than he was. Possessing neither health nor disposition for more public scenes, he loved the seclusion as well as the leisure of the Cloister, and, had he remained at Christ Church, would have enjoyed and adorned the Office for which Dr. Jackson designed him. But the intentions of his friend were defeated, and his future prospects determined by that common occurrence which spoils so many a hopeful Academician. In 1786, he had become acquainted with Miss Douglas, whose father, after fighting on the side of the Chevalier through the '45, and sharing the subsequent fortunes of his master, had some years before returned from France, and was then residing at Bath.

Mr. Douglas was a man full of chivalrous sentiment, highly accomplished, and of the most Courtly address. He was the son of Sir William Douglas, Baronet, of Kelhead in Dumfriesshire, whose representative is the Marquis of Queensberry. The manner of his introduction to his Royal master, is singularly illustrative of the state of feeling at that time prevalent in Scotland, and will account for his subsequent devotedness to Charles Stuart. As this Prince passed Kelhead on his march into England, Lady Douglas appeared at the foot of the avenue with two of her sons, whom she presented with the following Spartan address:—"Please your Royal Highness, here are my two sons; if they don't do their duty in a manner worthy of their name, hang them on the first tree."

Erskine Douglas accompanied his master in his disastrous

Expedition, and in his subsequent Retreat, and was exposed to many perilous adventures. At one time he and his companions were preserved by the fidelity of a former Domestic of his mother's, by whom they were apprized of the treachery of their host, who had sent for Troops to secure them. Their retreat was accomplished over the Garden wall, which afforded Mr. Douglas an opportunity of exhibiting his gallantry in aid of an unfortunate friend, afterwards taken and beheaded. This gentleman was of a corpulent habit, and being unable to climb the wall, must have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, had not his more agile associate assisted him over on his shoulders just as the King's party entered the Garden. One of the fugitives, who was rash enough to return for his purse, was taken. For some time Mr. Douglas wandered about in disguise as a female mendicant, and in that character made his appearance at Queensberry House, in Edinburgh, and with great difficulty gained admittance to his mother, Lady Douglas, who supplied him with a more suitable attire. Under a feigned name he found an asylum in the houses of different friends, and was sometimes present when his own perils were the subject of conversation. On one occasion, when some one was deploring the fate of poor Erskine Douglas, and expressing a fear lest he had been taken, a young lady in the company betrayed her interest by fainting. However he might have been flattered by such a disclosure on her part, he had sufficient self-command to keep his own secret. After the Battle of Culloden, in which he encountered one of his brothers on the opposite side, he made his escape to the Continent, where he remained with Prince Charles Edward for several years. He never spoke of the Prince but with tears in his eyes, and as "his dear master."

Mr. Sandford's Marriage, at the age of 24, with this gentleman's eldest daughter, Frances Catherine Douglas, in 1790, was considered by his friends to be justified by his expectations from Windsor. He had been previously admitted to Deacon's Orders in Christ Church Cathedral by the Bishop of Chester, and immediately on his Marriage he removed to Sunbury, from which he served the adjoining Curacy of Hanworth.

In the following year he was Ordained Priest by the amiable and exemplary Porteous, then Bishop of London. On this occasion, he strikingly exhibited the deep sense which he entertained of the responsibility of the Priestly Office. Overcome by his feelings during the Celebration of the Service, he fainted at the Altar, and it was necessary to remove him from the Church. Bishop Porteous conveyed him home in his carriage, and ever afterwards distinguished him by his friendship. During his stay at Hanworth, he was frequently invited to Fulham, and had opportunities of cultivating an acquaintance which had been so singularly commenced.

That he would be disposed to *make full proof of his Ministry*, might be inferred from his previous character. He had, on one occasion, rather a singular opportunity of doing so. Driving home late at night, he was stopped by a Highwayman, who, in no very equivocal manner, intimated his wishes by presenting a pistol to his breast. To his purse he appended an admonition, which excited the ruffian's surprise, though it elicited no very courteous acknowledgment. "So, then, you are a Parson," quoth he, "and you are a Simpleton too, for if you had lighted your lamps, no man would have dared to stop you." Mr. Sandford inquired how he should dispose of any of the same honourable Fraternity whom he might encounter on the road. "Oh, say that you gave all your money to the Gentleman on the grey horse."

At the close of the year 1790, Mr. Sandford lost his brother John. His boyish passion for the Sea was quite enthusiastic, and did not, as is sometimes the case, wear off with the gloss of his Uniform. It overcame the objections of his mother, who long resisted his importunity, and was only induced to yield when she saw his desire was insurmountable. "Daniel," said this determined Tar, "I never hide anything from you, for I know you are to be trusted. Do you see that wall? Over that wall I go this night, and off to Bristol, and I will get on board one of the Ships and away to Sea, for I can live no longer on Land. Now, don't you go and tell my mother."

John Sandford was present at the memorable Siege of Gib-

raltar. He had good hopes of rising in his profession through the interest of his connexion, the Earl of St. Vincent, and his kind friend Admiral Kempenfelt. The latter Officer's partiality to him was so great that he was encouraged by it one day respectfully to remonstrate with him on his profane habit of swearing. The Admiral thanked him for his advice, and assured him with an oath that he would not so offend again.

Admiral Kempenfelt perished in the "Royal George" when that vessel was sunk, by an extraordinary accident, in harbour. It was a lovely day: the water was studded with pleasure boats, and the decks of the Admiral's ship were covered with the crew, and with the women who were washing their clothes. John Sandford was standing in a vessel near, and turned to a friend to remark, "If the 'Royal George' takes another such lurch, she will go down." He looked back again, and there was nothing to be seen but a huge black keel, and a raging swell of waters.

"With the whole of his Patrimony, which amounted to some thousand pounds, and which was punctually paid, Mr. Sandford parted on the very day he received it, and, except in a solitary instance, the friends who were indebted to him never made even an offer of repayment." This is a strong and, doubtless, veritable assertion in the "Remains" of his dutiful son John, which ought to counterpoise another, by others who have told me that Bishop Sandford learned to be "*Scotch canny*," and was somewhat "needy and greedy" in the way of "Surplice Fees." This is my way of "doing business," to let it be known that Bishops are *sinners* as well as *saints—i.e.*, that the *best* of men are but *men* at the best. If candour would come out, every mortal is constitutionally a little fond of "filthy lucre." "It's a dirty bird that fouls its own nest."

Under these circumstances, as a residence at Sunbury proved very expensive, and he had no immediate prospect of Preferment, he was induced to entertain the suggestion of Mrs. Sandford's relations in Scotland, who recommended a temporary residence in Edinburgh. They represented the advantage which might accrue to an English Clergyman of popular talents, who should open a Chapel in that City, and receive Pupils into his house.

So he quitted his Curacy at Sunbury, and took up his residence in Edinburgh in 1792.

His Congregation at first was chiefly composed of English families residing in Edinburgh. The Place of Meeting was in a small Hall in West Register Street, which was afterwards occupied as John Moir's Printing Office. This was the first Episcopal Congregation in the New Town; afterwards S. George's, York Place. The want of increased accommodation soon became apparent, and a proposal was made by the Clergy of another "Episcopal Chapel" to associate him in their Cure. But he declined this offer, and, by the exertions of some of his hearers, a Subscription was raised in a few days, for the erection of a "suitable" Place of Worship. This was opened for Divine Service in 1797, under the name of "Charlotte Chapel," in Rose Street, near Charlotte Square, and in it Mr. Sandford remained until his removal to S. John's in 1818. His grandson, Daniel Fox Sandford, now holds the first Curacy there, and is praiseworthy for his Pulpit eloquence and works of mercy towards the outcast and the strayed.

It has often been observed that there is much of poetry in every day life, and that there are, perhaps, few individuals whose history, if truly narrated, would not exhibit incidents as marvellous as the most interesting fictions of romance.

Few men enter life with better professional prospects than Mr. Sandford did, and few men, in passing through it, have enjoyed likelier opportunities of fortune. In early life, he had been urged by a family friend, with fortune, and without children, to make choice of a secular profession. And his pious preference of the Church in this instance, as it afterwards appeared, lost him a bequest of £70,000.

Perhaps the Incident about to be narrated is one of the most striking instances of the methods by which God weaned him from the world. One morning in September, 1801, a packet reached him from Bath, which, on being opened, was found to contain a caricature and some other squibs, and was accordingly returned to the Post Office. On the succeeding day arrived a Letter bearing the same Post-mark, and purporting to come

from a lady whose name was unknown to any of the family, with information that a Solicitor had been inquiring after the family of Sandford, and in particular for himself, at the request of an old Gentleman of the same name, possessed of riches, who wished to present him with a valuable Living, and from whom he might cherish further expectations.

Livings seldom go a-begging, and heirs are not often to be sought for when rich old men are in question; and the present Letter was, therefore, naturally considered as a repetition of the witticism of the preceding day, and destined to the same fate. A friend, however (the Rev. Sydney Smith), to whom the circumstance was mentioned, knew, by name, the old Gentleman alluded to, and by his advice an answer was returned, intimating that Mr. Sandford was the person for whom inquiry was made. In reply the name and address of the Solicitor were given, with an episode on the "immense riches" of the old heirless Gentleman. He was very wealthy, very old, very ill, and very anxious for an heir. This was followed by a Letter from the Solicitor, dictated by his employer, confirmatory and interrogatory, especially as to the number and names of Mr. Sandford's children. A second, written in the same way, enclosed a draft for £100, as a testimony of regard, and a proof that the inquiry was not suggested by idle curiosity.

Most men would have been somewhat anxious to come into closer contact with this *man of gold*, and to have known the nature and extent of his intentions, but Mr. Sandford was satisfied to intrust his cause to the disinterestedness of an Attorney whom he had never seen, and to the kindly feelings of an old Humourist who had never seen him. He sent the old man a Volume of Sermons which he had lately Published, and Dedicated by permission to the Queen, and then felt that he had done all that a gentleman could do to secure the smiles of Fortune.

It would not, perhaps, have been surprising if nothing further had been heard of the Patron or of his Attorney; but, at the end of six months it was communicated that the former was "in a deplorable state of health, and without hope of alleviation," and an earnest wish was expressed that Mr. Sandford could make it

convenient to see him, as a visit might be attended with the greatest advantage. Mr. Sandford was at this time engaged in watching by the sick bed of a dear friend, and, at first, he determined not to leave home. But the entreaty of his friend prevailed on him to take the journey, at the close of which he was introduced to his opulent Namesake. He is described in a Letter from Mr. Sandford to his wife, as a "handsome, good-humoured man of 82, and, when out of pain, which was seldom the case, very lively." The old Gentleman expressed himself as pleased with him, and delighted with his Sermons; and the Agent, who was directed to conduct him over the Estate, and to point out the Living attached to it, assured him of the extent and certainty of his prospects.

It is amusing, but at the same time delightful, to observe the composure with which Mr. Sandford writes to the Confidante of his most secret thoughts upon a subject which would have agitated most men. The only allusion which he makes to his prospects is this:—"Unless something very untoward happens, I shall be a ——shire Laird. From what L——— tells me, I am sure of this fine Property, in the most lovely County you ever saw."

From his Namesake's house he repaired to Oxford, and took his Doctor's Degree; saw for the last time his venerable friend, the Dean of Christ Church; and then hurried back to his Pastoral Charge in Edinburgh. He had made an effort, but was too delicate to follow up his prospects with the urgency which would have marked a worldly mind. The old man grew worse, made his Will, Died, and, instead of his splendid Fortune, a Legacy of £700 was the reward of Mr. Sandford's delicacy!

Dr. Sandford had now been for some years officiating in Edinburgh as a "Presbyter of the English Church," and his character was generally known and respected. But his situation had been hitherto *anomalous*, and one in which a conscientious and scrupulous mind could not be entirely at ease. He had been officiating as an Episcopal Clergyman without the recognition of Episcopal authority! But on the 19th November, 1804, Dr. Sandford and his little Flock came into Communion with the

(Episcopal) Church of Scotland, and owned a legitimate Episcopacy. [*See "Annals of Scotch Episcopacy," and "Remains of Bishop Sandford."*]

The See of Edinburgh had been vacated by the retirement of Bishop William Abernethy Drummond, and important interests were involved in the appointment of his Successor. It is to the honour of the Clergy of Scottish Ordination, that they should have unanimously recommended a stranger to the vacant Office. To Dr. Sandford, "Episcopalians" were mainly indebted for the union which he brought about; and his manners, character, and connexions, eminently qualified him for the Episcopate of Edinburgh.

His Consecration took place at Dundee on February 9, 1806. The Primus, Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, Bishop Jolly of Moray, and Bishop Watson of Dunkeld, were the officiating Prelates. Mr. Walker, the friend of Dr. Sandford, and his Successor in the Diocese of Edinburgh, Preached on this occasion; and his Sermon, from Titus iv. 15, which excited considerable interest, has been given to the world.

For 20 years, Bishop Sandford had officiated in the Chapel erected for him soon after he settled in Edinburgh. In 1818 he had the happiness of Consecrating for his Congregation S. John's Chapel, which is an elegant specimen of Florid Gothic, and forms one of the most striking features of Edinburgh. It was built by voluntary contribution, and will long attest the munificent spirit which erected it, and serve as a lasting Monument to him who first officiated within its walls.

He united in Marriage his eldest surviving daughter in 1816 to the Rev. Charles Lane, and his two younger daughters were afterwards Married—the elder to Montague Baker Bere, Esq. of Moorbath House, Devon, and the younger to James Edmund Leslie, Esq., junior of Leslie Hill, in the County of Antrim. In these Marriages there was all that he could have desired for his children.

His eldest son, Erskine Douglas, Born 1793, was Sheriff of Galloway.

His second son, Sir Daniel Keyt Sandford, was Knighted by

King William IV.; ably filled the Chair of Greek for several years in Glasgow University; and Died of Typhus Fever, in one week's illness, on the 4th February, 1838.

His youngest son, John, Born 1801, was Presented, in 1827, to the Vicarage of Chillingham by the Bishop of Durham, and is now Archdeacon of Coventry. He compiled the Two Volumes of the "Remains" of his father (rather of the *Puritanic smack*), from which we have gathered the above.

On August 20, 1819, Bishop Sandford wrote from Fulham (where he was on a visit to the Bishop of London) to the Rev. David Low, Pittenweem, that he had expressed to the Primus a desire to resign the "Diocese of Fife" into the hands of the College of Bishops, on account of his oppressive complaint of Strangury incapacitating him for travelling, in expectation that the few Clergy in the Kingdom of Fife would Elect him, knowing his knack of "laying up in store," as also his great "mother wit" and shrewd common sense. This idea, however, ended only in *thought*, as Mr. Low succeeded that same year as Successor to Bishop Andrew Macfarlane of Ross and Argyle.

Allusions have been made to Bishop Sandford's delicate state of health. The illness, under which he laboured for many years, and which eventually terminated his life, originated in one of those slight indiscretions which are so often the foundation of serious complaints. It was in 1795 that he caught cold through exposure to the rain in thin shoes, and the complaint thus induced bade defiance to medical skill, and caused him almost continual suffering for 35 years. In 1830 it appeared to have reached its crisis, and for some weeks his life was despaired of. Prayers were offered up for him in Church; and several of his family, who were in the South, were sent for to receive his Blessing. His sufferings in body were acute, but on such occasions his character always shone forth with peculiar lustre. A few years before, he had undergone a most excruciating operation without a murmur; in the present instance, though his sufferings frequently amounted to agony, his affiance and composure were not for a moment disturbed. He was ready to depart; he could trust God with his family, and he gently expostulated with his

weeping family, and bade them not desire that he should live. It appeared likely that life would be at best but a prolongation of suffering, and his other prospect was that of a Land in which there is no more pain.

He lived to see all his children happy and prospering around him—even his youngest child had been blessed with his affection for 29 years; and at length fell asleep, at 11 P.M., on the 14th January, 1830, in the 64th year of his age, when he had served God for nearly half a Century. He is Buried at the East end of S. John's, Edinburgh, and the Congregation erected a Tablet to his memory within the Church, on the Gospel side of the Altar.

LIX. James Walker, D.D. Oxon. A.D. 1830-38.

The Title of the See was again changed to "United Diocese of Edinburgh, Fife, and Glasgow," and continued so till 1838. The subject of Memoir was Born at Fraserburgh, Aberdeenshire, on the 24th January, 1770. Educated first at his Parish School, and then at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he entered S. John's College, Cambridge, where he took B.A. in 1793, M.A. in 1796, and D.D. in 1826. His mother's name was Jane Ramsay, sister to the Rev. James Ramsay, who went to the West Indies as Chaplain to Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord Barham. He became Vicar of Teston and Nettlestead, in Kent. He was very influential in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and was a friend of Wilberforce.

On Sunday the 25th June, 1826, at his D.D. graduation, he Preached at Great S. Mary's Church, Cambridge, "On the Original, Successive, and Permanent Evidence of Revealed Religion." This Sermon was Published, along with others, in a Volume, at the request of S. Peter's Congregation, Edinburgh, in 1829. Like all Homilies of the time, these are constipate enough. The marvel is how they could be delivered at all.

He was Ordained Deacon in 1793, and Priest in 1805, by the Bishop of Kildare. After he took his B.A. Degree, he returned to Scotland, when he became Sub-Editor of "The Encyclopœdia Britannica," the third Edition of which was then passing through

the Press under the able surveillance of Dr. George Gleig, afterwards Bishop of Brechin. In the frequent absence of the latter, the former took a great interest in the "Encyclopœdia," and wrote several scholarly Articles in it. About this period, he also Published, from time to time, Pamphlets on controverted points, but without his name. Between 1793 and 1805, he was abroad with Sir John Hope, Bart. of Craighall, as his Tutor. While on the Continent he came in contact with the most eminent Philosophers in Germany, whose views on certain Metaphysical topics were then making great stir, and which he made himself thoroughly master of. The Article on *Kant's System*, inserted in the "Supplement to the Encyclopœdia," was written while he was resident at Weimar. He had an interview with Napoleon when First Consul of France.

As his heart was all along on the Profession which he had been educating himself for, when he returned home and received Priest's Orders, he settled in Edinburgh, and became "Minister of S. Peter's Chapel, Roxburgh Place," a Charge which he held till 1829, when feeble health necessitated him to resign wholly to his junior Colleague, the Rev. Charles Hughes Terrot, A.M., the present Bishop of Edinburgh. In 1811, "James Walker, Dean of Edinburgh," was chosen Prolocutor for the Lower Chamber of the Synod of Aberdeen, at the General Synod which sat there for two days (the 19th and 20th of June), whereat a Code of Twenty-six Canons was drawn up and enacted. The only Code of Canons which the Church in Scotland possessed hitherto was that which was known as "Bishop Rattray's Canons," being mainly got up by him. They were Sixteen in number, and were adopted only at a Meeting of *Bishops* in Edinburgh in 1743, but were not received at a General Synod of *Bishops* and *Priests*. However, folks were not then so particular and touchy about doubtful Rubrics and Canons as now-a-days. At this Synod, the "Scotch Communion Office" was declared, by the Sixteenth Canon, to be of "*Primary authority*"—titles and terms which subsequently entailed bitter party spirit. *Query.* —As there were multifarious versions of the "Scotch Communion Office" used throughout the different Districts, what and whose

version, with Date thereupon, was Thumbed, Tabled, and Canonized in Bishop Skinner's House, Longacre, A.D. 1811?*

Mr. Walker visited the City of Rome on November 11, 1817, and remained till after Easter 1818, where, in an "upper room," he conducted Divine Service for the edification of resident British

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* Scotch Communion Offices.

1637. King Charles I.'s.
1712. Earl of Winton's. Pen and ink.
1718. Nonjurors'.
1722. Bishop Hickes'. Pen and ink.
1723.
1724. Bishop Gadderar's. At this time, some, as Bishop Falconar, used that of 1637; some, as Bishop Rose, used the English Office, with the addition of the Scotch Prayer of Oblation; some, as Bp. Ouchterlony, used the English Office, with Transposition, as Bp. Overall.
1735. Bishop Gadderar now wrote Directions, &c., on the Margin of that of 1724, from which an Edition was circulated (as Bishop Gerard writes) "by two merchants, hoping to make a penny."
1735. Bishop Gerard's.
1743. May be said to be the first Standard Edition. "Recommended" by the Canons of this year.
1750. Dated with a Pen on the first page: no Title Page. Prepared by Bp. Rattray. In the British Museum.
1752. Very small size, without place or name.
1755.
1764. Bishop William Falconar's. "That they may become" introduced for the first time.
MS. Variations by Bp. Alexander of Alloa.
1765. Bishop Robert Forbes'.
1767. Printed by Robertson, Edinburgh.
1771. „ Chalmers, Aberdeen.
1774. „ Robertson, Edinburgh.
1780. Printed by Chalmers, Aberdeen.
1781. Printed at Edinburgh.
1792. „ London: 4to. Collated by Bishop Horsley. Reprinted in Skinner's Office Illustrated.
1796. Bp. Abernethy Drummond's: 12mo. Variations considerable. With Private Devotions.
1800. Printed by Chalmers for Ironside of Aberdeen: 8vo.
1801. Edinburgh: 12mo.
1805. "Forfar John's," under the eye of his father, Bishop John Skinner.
1806. Edinburgh.
1807. Aberdeen: 8vo.
1809.
Aberdeen Reprints—viz., 1811, 1812, 1818, 1819, 1835, 1839, 1843, 1844, 1847.
1830. Printed by Brander, Elgin: 12mo.
1842. University Press, Edinr. Agrees with those of 1764 and 1765.
1844. Printed by Neill, Edinr. Agrees with Skinner's, 1800.
1844. Printed by Neill. Agrees with no other Edition. Said to have been got up for S. Columba's, Edinburgh. It nearly found its way into the Church at Jedburgh. Suppressed. Demy 16mo.
1844. Burns, London: 4to. Black Letter, Red Rubrics, and Musical Notation.
1847. Lendrum's, Edinburgh.
1847. Aberdeen: 12mo. With "Companion to the Altar."
1849. Bp. Torry's. R. Lendrum, Edinr.
1866. Rev. G. H. Forbes', Burntisland.
1867. Rev. J. B. Pratt's, LL.D., Cruden.

A.D. 1792. Bishop Abernethy Drummond writes:—"Every single Bishop has made Editions, and even some changes and additions, according to their liking."

A.D. 1810. Bishop Gleig complains, in a Letter to Bishop Skinner, of "the useless alterations which were made by many of the Clergy in the Daily Service. . . . . Every man in my Diocese varied the Form according to his own judgment or caprice; and to such length was this most unaccountable rage for Innovation carried, that the very Communion Office was interpolated with long prayers."

Surely, after such a fluctuant Catalogue, *Stereotype Faith* has cogent claims.

subjects, "without Vestments and Music—Pope Pius VII. and his Ministers not only the whole time looking on and *winking* at our Proceedings, but being even gratified by the decorous and unostentatious manner in which we studied to conduct them." It is strange that in none of his Letters from Rome, either Published in Stephen's Episcopal Magazine or in MS., is there mention made of the exact Room or Hall. It was while here he met with the notorious Chevalier Bunse, Tutor to the Crown-Prince of Prussia. Bunse Married a "lady of quality," and Dr. Walker Baptized their first child.

He was Married to Madeline Erskine, on the 20th February, 1821, and had a family of estimable daughters.

On Wednesday, June 22, 1825, he Preached a Visitation Sermon in S. John's, Edinburgh, at which great exception was taken by the Rev. Edward Craig, of S. James' (of the extreme "Low Church," or "Evangelical Party"), who Printed a "Remonstrance" to the Preacher, who in turn Printed "A Serious Expostulation" to the fault-finder. This Synod Sermon advocated chiefly *Baptismal Regeneration by Water and the Spirit,* which the Scotch Episcopal Church had all along prominently held to and taught; but Mr. Craig's "Remonstrance" impeached the Church (which he had come down from England to find *pabulum* in), as a body, as not "Preaching Gospel Truth."

Mr. Walker was also Professor of Divinity to the Candidates for Holy Orders, and a general strong feeling prevailed that Bishop Sandford should proceed against the accuser in Synod. However, a Pastoral Letter was substituted therefor, denouncing the accuser and defending the accused. Bishop Jolly also came to the rescue of his great favourite and pupil, James Walker, in his "Friendly Address on Baptismal Regeneration." It was through Bishop Walker's counsel that Bishop Jolly willed his valuable Library to the Church. No. 8 Hill Street, Edinburgh, was bought and fitted up for the Books, and as the Pantonian Lecture Room for the Theological students. When the *School Move* run swift, and ere it ran out, a dozen years ago, the genteel substantial house in Hill Street (purchased by funds raised by Bishop Walker), was sold by his successors in the Trust, in an hour of

illusion, to help to buy "S. Andrew's Hall," in Leith Wynd, which shortly proved not only a monument of deplorable failure for Education, but remains as the "abomination of desolation." Bishop Walker's rotatory iron Consultarium still abides here.

He Published several Charges, and an Edition of Bishop Jolly's "Sunday Services," with a Memoir, in 1848.

On the Death of Bishop Sandford, Dr. Walker was all but unanimously Elected his Successor, on the 10th February, 1830, —the Rev. Edward Craig of S. James' Chapel, Broughton Place, and his Assistant (the Rev. B. B. Golding), refusing, on "old scores," to Sign the usual Deed. He was Consecrated at Stirling on Sunday, 7th March, 1830, on which occasion Dr. Michael Russell Preached a renowned Sermon from 1 Timothy iii. 14–15, on "The Historical Evidence for the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy." On the Death of Bishop Gleig in 1837, Bishop Walker succeeded as Primus.

While "Bishop of Fife," he was worried for years by the Vestry Meetings which two of his own Brothers carried on with an equally pugnacious Parson, named John Marshall, who was first Assistant, and then Successor, to his namesake, James Walker, Minister of the old Episcopal Chapel at Kirkcaldy. Marshall literally claimed the *power of the keys*, and exchanged the original set for one of his own, keeping the gates of the Fold open and shut at will—*No admittance except on business*. He was a Crow that kept his Church Wardens hard at work to Pluck. He continued the like litigious propensities with Bishop Torry and Dean Torry, in Letters and Pamphlets. Afterwards he built S. Catherine's Church, Blairgowrie, in honour of his beloved spouse; started (for a year) "The Scottish Episcopal Church Times;" smote a Policeman on the pate with his Gospel flail, in Portobello; "cut" on the charge of assault; became dissipated, and, as a *dernier resort*, "shuffled off the mortal coil," thus *spouting* Shakespare in his last literary necessity.

Bishops Walker and Low were great Confidantes, and rather good Paintings of both, before they were Prelates, adorn the Parsonage of Pittenweem, each arrayed in a black gown, the senior having a white head and the junior a red. These have

never been Engraved. In 1819 they took a mutual tour through the Western Highlands. An Entry in the "Preacher's Book" of S. Andrew's, Glasgow, in the handwriting of Bishop Low, Dated 12th September, 1819, evidences that they rested on the *Sabbath Day* in Glasgow, and took part in the Services.

It was usual, 50 years ago, when Scotch Bishops visited periodically the Congregations of their several Districts or Dioceses, for all the Members to come forward, kneel before the Altar, and receive the Bishop's Blessing with Imposition of Hands. At Social Tea Meetings—which were very common at the end of last Century, and quite reserved among "Episcopalians" —as one and two arrived, before saluting any one, they went first to the Bishop sitting in the best arm-chair, knelt down, and got his Blessing. Before taking a journey by land or water, the Blessing of their spiritual Father was always asked by "Scottish Episcopalians." Each Bishop had a formula of his own: this was Bishop Walker's:—"God Almighty bless thee with His Holy Spirit; guard thee in thy Going out and Coming in; keep thee ever in His Faith and Fear, free from sin and safe from danger. Amen." About the period referred to, older members were in the habit of *Reverencing towards the Altar*, before leaving Church. Not many years ago, this custom prevailed at Laurence-kirk; albeit, the Incumbent *bowed in return*, imagining that the honour was meant for himself.

In Stage Coach days, when the "Balcarres Coach" conveyed all sorts and conditions of mankind from the Metropolis onward to the "East Neuk of Fife," on one occasion when Bishops Low and Walker were crossing the Forth in a Pinnace at Pettycur, the sea was so boisterous as to alarm even a Newhaven Fish-wife, who was their fellow-mariner. "*We're a' gaun to* ——," quoth she, grasping Bishop Walker, as a tremendous surge nearly overwhelmed them, and when they were tolerably soused. At the instant there was no reply made to the startling aphorism; but when they got to the other side, Bishop Walker asked the Oyster-woman what for she made use of such a dreadful exclamation in the boat. "A weel," said she, "I'm a great sinner, and so are ye tae, and so is yer neebor there [pointing to Bishop

Low], and tho' we're lat aff th' noo, if we get our fairin' wese a' gang neist time." This was a case of "*Jouk and let the jaw gang by.*"

Capt. William Walker, another brother of the Bishop, latterly for several years resided with Bishop Low, as a companion and boarder, and Died and was Buried at Pittenweem in January, 1854. Very few of the many years' bulky Correspondence remain which passed between Bishops Walker and Low, as the latter requested that all his Letters should be destroyed or returned. I bewail this, as I should have used up the whole, dispensing with any inspector of weights and measures.

Bishop Walker was long a martyr to an incurable malady —viz., ossification of the joints, a chronic rheumatic affection —which he first felt symptoms of in crossing the Alps. For years he had to be wheeled about in a chair. He was well read, knew the world, was benevolent and consistent. He Died at 22 Stafford Street, Edinburgh, on the 5th March, 1841, in the 71st year of his age. He was Buried on the South side of S. John's, Edinburgh, where a Slab marks his Grave. A Tablet is also placed within the Chapel, on the North of the Altar, near Bishop Sandford's.

LX. Patrick Torry, D.D., A.D. 1841–52,

Was Born at Pennan, in the Parish of King Edward (pronounced *King Eddart*), Aberdeenshire, on the 27th of December, 1763. The Fishing Hamlet of Pennan was renowned for *Smuggling*. The primitive Cottages are romantically perched like nests high up on steep rocks. As is noticed below in Rhyme, the "but and ben" where Torry first saw this world's light was suddenly demolished, and his mother and a brother were smothered by the sad accident. He seems to have been Ordained and settled at Arradoul at the time of the casualty.

His grandfather, William Torry, a Farmer at Drakemyres, in the same Parish, at the beginning of the last Century, had five sons, two of whom may be noticed here, the one as the instructor of the future Bishop, and the other as his father.

John Tweed

James Torry, the second son, Born in 1715, was a zealous Jacobite, and followed Prince Charles Edward in 1745, as Volunteer with Sir Harry Innes, in Lord Pitsligo's Regiment of Horse. Like many other devoted followers of the Stuart cause, after the failure of the Prince's Expedition, he was compelled to abscond; and his nephew used to mention that he had often been in the hiding-place, on the banks of the Garneston, where the refugee was obliged to conceal himself, and where his mother secretly supplied him with food. When the Act of Indemnity permitted him to go at large, he returned to Elgin, where he had previously carried on the trade of a Weaver, or, to give a more dignified title, a Manufacturer and Dyer of woollen cloth; but not finding encouragement, on account of his Political principles, and the part he had taken, he went back to his native Parish and set up a School at a place called the Craig of Gardenstown, or Garneston. Under the tuition of this uncle, young Torry (our Bishop) received the rudiments of his education, and continued his Pupil for several years. He afterwards attended a School at the Village of Cumineston, to which he walked daily from his father's house, a distance of five miles.

Silver Matrix, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. The Good Shepherd, with the Greek Motto, from Acts xx. 24, "Take heed to all the flock."

Thomas, the fifth son of William Torry, and the father of the Bishop, was just a Weaver at the Wauk Mill of Garneston, where he also occupied a small Farm on the property of the Earl of Fife. He Married Jane, the daughter of William Watson, a neighbouring Farmer at Mains of Balmaud.

In those days, when the use of Tea had not been long introduced into Scotland, to possess a Tea-kettle seems to have been a mark of some distinction; and the Bishop used to tell that his grandfather had the third Tea-kettle in the Parish—the other two being possessed by the Laird of Craigston and the Minister.

Watson was a Presbyterian; and though his son-in-law was brought up in the Church, he was induced to join in Religious

Worship with his wife. Thus, Mr. Torry was Born and Educated a member of the "Establishment;" but he probably imbibed from his Uncle James not only those strong Jacobite feelings which clung to him through life, but also the germs of those Principles, which, when cherished by subsequent study, led him to seek the Ministry in the suffering Church of his Fathers. Of that Church his uncle was a devoted member; and the Bishop used to relate how, when he was his pupil, he had often listened at his chamber door during the intervals of teaching, to hear him reading aloud the Services of the Church.

The Rev. J. M. Neale, in his "Life and Times of Bishop Torry" (from which this Sketch is mainly gathered and abbreviated), states, at page 3—"As far as can be discovered, Mr. Torry never enjoyed the benefit of a University or College education. But his industry and perseverance, joined to good natural talents, triumphed over this disadvantage; for he became an accurate Greek and Latin Scholar, and acquired a considerable knowledge of Hebrew and Mathematics." But, from Letters in Dean Torry's possession, it is certain that his father went through the usual curriculum at Marischal College, Aberdeen.

James Watson, his mother's youngest brother, was, first, Teacher of the Parish School of Selkirk, and afterwards Rector of the Grammar School of Haddington. At this latter place, Mr. Torry became his uncle's assistant, and continued with him about a year, when he went, at the age of 18, to be Teacher of the Parish School of Lonmay, Aberdeenshire. He did not, however, remain long in that situation. Though hitherto a Presbyterian, he had, no doubt, as has been hinted, early acquired from his uncle at Garneston a predilection for "Episcopacy." But it was not till he settled at Lonmay that he seems to have had serious thoughts of submitting to the Church. There he formed an intimate acquaintance with the Rev. William Sangster, the Incumbent of the Episcopal Congregation, a zealous Jacobite of the old school. From his intercourse with him, his views in favour of "Episcopacy" were greatly confirmed; and they were afterwards ripened by connexion with a far more celebrated man, with whom he went to reside about the month

of June, 1782—the Rev. John Skinner, at Linshart, in the neighbouring Parish of Longside, the father of John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Scottish Church, and grandfather of Bishop William Skinner, his son, who filled both Offices.

Thoroughly charitable and tolerant as he ever was towards those with whom he differed in sentiment, it was therefore under the most conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of the change which he made, that Mr. Torry sought for and obtained admission to the Order of Deacons, at the hands of Dr. Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, in Sept., 1782. He could hardly have had a better instructor than Bishop Kilgour, who was a worthy Successor of Bishops Archibald Campbell and Rattray. He was deeply read in the early Liturgies, well acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, and the last Primus who filled that Office in the time of persecution. The disinterestedness of his choice was further tested by the fact that it was no wealthy or well-endowed Church to which he now joined himself, but one still suffering many hardships, and under the pressure of severe Penal Laws, imposed for her former adherence to the dynasty of the Stuarts.

It was the scarcity of Clergy induced by this state of things which alone justified the investing with Holy Orders a young man like Torry, who was three months under the age of nineteen—a thing which happened also in the case of some of his Contemporaries, among whom was his intimate friend and affectionate companion for many years, the holy and learned Bishop Jolly. After his Ordination, Mr. Torry was immediately sent to minister to the Congregation at Arradoul, in the Parish of Rathven [*Raffen*], Banffshire.

Bishop Torry states, in a Letter (August, 1847) to Lord Forbes, sanctioning the erection of a Cathedral in Perth, that he had "a small Congregation as an *Appendage* to Arradoul, to which he discharged the Pastoral duties every alternate Sunday, in the afternoon, for five or six years, in the *Kitchen* of a Shopkeeper in the Village where that little Flock was congregated." I think that this "Appendage" must have been Fochabers. Mr. Shand, who succeeded, took charge of Fochabers as well as Arradoul; and in a Letter in my possession, Bishop Macfarlane claims both

places as in the Diocese of Moray, and interdicts Mr. Shand from taking counsel from Bishop Skinner. Mr. Murdoch, of Keith, officiated alternately at Ruthven [*Riven*], Keith, and Fochabers—in the latter, for many years, in Mrs. Humphrey's *Peat-House* (the successor of the Shopkeeper's Kitchen); but this was only an arrangement between him and Mr. Shand. Before Mr. Torry's Appointment to Arradoul, I have MS. Sermons which were Preached at Cowfurrach, a short distance to the west.

Probably about this time it was that the catastrophe occurred which has been noticed at the commencement. "Tullochgorum," his old friend, composed on the occasion this Poetical Piece, addressing the mourner as "Lorenzo":—

To a Young Clergyman, on the Death of his Mother and Brother, crushed by the sudden Fall of their Dwelling-House.

How hard, Lorenzo, is the boon you ask,
And how unequal I to such a task?
I, whose weak muse, borne down with weight of years,
O'er common griefs might shed some tender tears,
But finds her powers of lamentation fail,
And sinks and sickens at thy doleful tale!
A Mother! (ah, the venerable name,
Which my young lips were never taught to frame)
She, whose warm bowels form'd thy infant span,
Whose tenderest watchings nurs'd thee up to man;
She, earthly image of the highest love,
Which ev'n the yearnings of a God could move!
A Brother, too! the next congenial tie
Of strongest force in nature's symmetry!
Thy partner thro' a course of prattling years,
In all youth's fondnesses, and all its fears!
Both in a moment robb'd of vital breath,
And quick and sudden hurry'd into death!—
No hasty fever, no slow-pac'd decay,
To snatch the young or wear the old away.
The humble cot, which, for convenience rear'd,
Harbour'd no mischief, and no danger fear'd,
Where, by the cheerful fire in peace secure,
They now had spent the pleasant evening hour—
Crush'd all at once by one stupendous shock
Of tumbling rubbish from th' impending rock!
No sturdy pillars to support the weight
Of such a burthen, thrown from such a height;
The unsuspecting victims, half undrest,
In preparation for a sweet night's rest;

No boding omen heard, no warning given,
No time to lift their souls and eyes to heaven—
Bury'd beneath the enormous mass all round,
And, breathing, tomb'd in dust above the ground.
Their shatter'd limbs all into atoms crash'd,
And bones and bowels to one chaos dash'd!
But why attempt description? words are vain!
The dreadful ruin mocks my languid strain:
And does my friend need counsel how to bear
This wound so piercing, a stroke indeed severe?
Then think on what thy hoary sire must feel
(For sure thy sire had not a heart of steel),
When by next dawn returned from distant toil,
In hopes of welcome from thy mother's smile,
He saw, and star'd, and gazed at this and that,
And hop'd, and fear'd, and wish'd he knew not what?
Till, like a voice, he heard from menial maid,
With wife and son in dire sepulchre laid,
Who ten long hours had groaned an age of pain,
And, just expiring, breath'd the how and when.
Now view him in a gulph of horror cast,
His heart-strings breaking, and his eyes aghast—
Like pictur'd patience, all benumb'd he stands,
And tries to lift, but drops his trembling hands.
No groan his heart emits, his eye no tear—
Good heaven! what more can mortals suffer here?
'Tis this, you say, that aggravates the smart,
'Tis this that doubly rends the filial heart.
True, unfledg'd sufferer, thou hast much to do,
To act the *Son*, and shine the *Christian* too:
Insensible to this what heart can be,
Not form'd of marble, or hewn out of tree!
Lorenzo's heart, thô cut, must not repine
At what, it knows, comes from a Hand Divine;
But strive in due submission to comply,
Nor boldly dare to guess the reason why.
The philosophic sage, from self's proud school,
May act, or feign to act, the heroic fool—
At nature's feelings may pretend to mock,
And wisely sullen, stand th' appalling shock.
The heav'n-taught Christian may, and must do more—
May grieve from Nature, must from Grace adore:
Adore the love of e'en a chast'ning God,
And kiss the gracious Hand that wields the rod.

A year after receiving the Diaconate, Mr. Torry was invested with the Order of Priesthood by the same Bishop who had Ordained him Deacon. While at Arradoul, old Gordon of Cairnfield one Sunday stood up in his Pew and denounced Mr. Torry's Sermon, as "not Gospel, nor Church of England doc-

trine." The Homily was handed to "Cairney" on the spot, with a request that he would send it to the Bishop. "The Bishop! and pray who the —— is the Bishop?" quoth the Laird; "this Chapel is my property, and on my estate; and, besides, both Bishop Kilgour and Bishop Petrie have been battling ever since I remember as to which of them the Enzie belongs. I shall be Bishop here myself." This colloquy dumb-founded the simple fisher-congregation, who threatened to throttle "Cairney," The brawl ended in Mr. Torry being called to Peterhead. The Rev. Alex. Shand (of the Shands of Templeland, in Forgue), his Successor, kept the fisher-wives in such terror of coming late into Church, that they pulled off their shoes at the door, in case of noise. Dean Shand's eagle eye was terrific to transgressors of the weaker sex. He was regular in attending the Markets at Keith, to sell "stirks." His faithful housekeeper, Jenny Simpson, devotedly pinned up her master's coat-tails on such journeys, in case of being soiled by the sweat of the pony. He was very asthmatic, and was obliged to chew black sugar in the Pulpit to encourage his elocution.

Besides the care of his Flock and his Professional Studies, Mr. Torry devoted a portion of his time to secular teaching, and for that purpose received into his house young men as boarders and day scholars. One of his pupils was the son of Sir James Gordon of Letterfourie, the head of a leading Roman Catholic Family in Banffshire. There were many other Families adherents of this Faith in that part of the Country; and Mr. Torry was brought much into contact with the members of the R. C. Church, both Laity and Clergy. This led him to study carefully her peculiar dogmas, for the purpose of Controversy and for the satisfaction of his own mind, and with the view of enabling him the better to instruct the people committed to his Charge. The Roman Catholic Priests in that quarter, called the Enzie, had mostly been educated in Spain, and were generally men of high attainments as well as of superior manners; and his occasional intercourse with them at the houses of the Gentry, as well as elsewhere, must have been a severe trial of his faithfulness to his own Church. He had frequent salutes with the great

scholar and eccentric character, the Rev. Alex. Geddes, LL.D., Priest at Auchenhalrig, who was rather a *Bore* to his Bishop at Preshome—the Right Rev. Dr. George Hay, whose valuable "Life and Times" are given in the JOURNAL AND APPENDIX to this Work. Dr. Geddes, in defiance of all Remonstrances from his Bishop and Brethren, Published three large 4to Vols. of "A New Translation of the Pentateuch." This is wonderfully ingenious and subtle, but full of private judgment, upsetting the whole received Text, as handed down and owned by the Church. Geddes was small of stature, but a prodigy for intellect. He was continually getting into scrapes. If his Bishop wrote one Letter to him, three in return were sure to be forthcoming. He occasionally found his way into Presbyterian Kirks, and was threatened with Suspension by Bishop Hay, for being on too intimate terms with the Minister of Banff, and for hearing Sermons within the Parish Kirk. He is said to have defied the *Fulmen Eccles.* thus—"You may take off my head, but try and take off my feet." Skinner of Linshart, "Tullochgorum," attributes these humorous Scottish Verses to Geddes:—

"There was a wee wifiekie was comin' frae the fair,
Had gotten a little drapikie, which bred her meikil care;
It took upo' the wifie's heart, and she began to spew,
And co' the wee wifiekie I wish I binna fou.
I wish I binna fou," &c.

The following Paper, entitled "A Few General Remarks on the Modern Plan of Correcting the Original Hebrew Scriptures, with some Critical Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Geddes' Specimens of a New Translation of the Holy Bible," was written by Patrick Torry in 1787, when a very young man:—

The great and arduous undertaking of a New Translation of the Holy Bible by Dr. Geddes, is now, it seems, nearly or altogether finished. A Specimen of the Work hath been offered to the public, and the whole is soon to make its appearance in the world.

The Author's inducement *for* undertaking such a laborious task, he declares to have been, "That he might thereby furnish those of his own Persuasion with a more perfect Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures than has hitherto been made, at least in the English language." This was certainly a laudable design; and should his Translation fall short of the perfection of our present Translation, we may say of Dr. Geddes what the Poet says of Phaeton, "Magnis tamen excidit ausis."

The pretensions of this Work to superiority are chiefly founded upon corrections which the Author has made upon the Original Hebrew, which, by his Accounts, hath been transmitted (down) to us in such a mutilated and imperfect state (alarming thought!) that scarce any profane Author has undergone so many corruptions. To restore, therefore, the Hebrew SS. to their original purity, he says the labours of the learned in this Age have been laudably exerted. And the Specimen now before us is ushered into the world with a positive assertion that, among the learned, it is now no longer a doubt that the Hebrew SS. have been handed down to us in a mutilated and imperfect state. The *truth* of this assertion, however, may very boldly be called in question. Many of the learned, perhaps the greater part of them, are abundantly convinced of the perfect purity and integrity of this part of the Oracles of God, and have written so forcibly and demonstratively in vindication of their genuineness, as might convince every one to their comfort, that, by the good Providence of God, they remain "*pure* and *perfect*, to convert the soul, to give wisdom to the simple, to enlighten the eyes of our understanding, and direct our footsteps in the way that leadeth to eternal felicity and glory." (Psalm 119th.) I shall mention a few who still remain firm in this belief, and who may justly be called the Luminaries of the Church of England in the present Age, viz.:—Dr. Hodges, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford; the Rev. Mr. Comings of Oxford College; Dr. Horne, President of Magdalene College, Oxford; the Rev. Mr. Holloway, Author of "Hebrew Originals;" the Rev. Mr. Bate, Author of a Hebrew Lexicon; the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst, Author of a Hebrew Lexicon and a Greek one; and the Rev. Mr. Jones. All these (and there may be many more with whose Writings I am not acquainted) have either written formal Treatises in defence of the present Hebrew Text, or have occasionally shown their conviction of its integrity in the course of their Writings. These are all men confessedly learned, and of great critical skill in the Hebrew language. How then can Dr. Geddes be answerable for boldly asserting that "it is now without a doubt among the learned that the Hebrew SS. have been transmitted down to us mutilated and imperfect," when so many truly learned men have strenuously defended their integrity? But it should seem that, with some Writers, such only are to be accounted learned who have espoused their side of the question; and a bold assertion of any Author that all the learned are of his opinion, is very apt to excite admiration, and procure implicit credit from such as will not be at the pains, or have not an opportunity, of enquiring into the truth of the matter.

"That such exertions," as those of Kennicot, De Rosse, and Geddes, "were not sooner made, was owing to an inveterate but unaccountable prejudice that the Bible was a Book that did not need to be corrected, but was entire and unpolluted in all its parts." And was not this a "prejudice" which every pious person would wish to be true, who allows the Word of God to be the *sole rule of his faith and conduct?* Is it not much more comfortable to any sincere Christian to be impressed with the belief that the Oracles of God remain pure and uncorrupted, than to believe that they abound with many and great mistakes? For, if the Bible alone can display the awful proceedings of Him who is infinitely exalted above the reach of the mere human eye; if it is from it alone that we have the least glimpse of the Divine economy with regard to man; if this holy Book only can instruct us in the knowledge of our Original, in the design of our Creation, and in the

means of arriving at the end proposed; if by this celestial light only we see the commencement, the progressive advances, and the final completion of that amazing plan, whose object was human happiness, begun, carried on, and perfected by Him who supports the various relations of Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of Mankind; if, I say, all these advantages arise from the Word of God, and, doubtless, they can be derived from no other source—*then* it is of the last consequence to have had it transmitted to us pure and uncontaminated from human corruption, and to convey it down to the latest posterity in the same state. On this not much, but all, depends; as no human knowledge, were it a thousand times greater than it is, could make amends for the want of that knowledge, which alone can be derived from Scriptures of eternal truth.

But let us consider for a moment the consequences which must infallibly ensue from this modern plan, should it become general, of exposing the Scriptures of God as mutilated and corrupted, and of boldly adventuring to correct them.

In the first place, it must greatly tend to invalidate their authority; for, if every man who pretends to a knowledge of Hebrew is to have a liberty of correcting the Sacred Text at pleasure, the Word of God must, in a little time, by additions and diminutions, *be* no longer a Scheme revealed from Heaven, but must dwindle down into a human composition. If every bold critic may alter the Original Text merely from conjecture (which is one of Dr. G.'s sources of emendation), it is obvious the authority of the SS. must daily decrease, and their evidence be less and less to be depended on. For, then every such critic will allow himself the liberty of altering the Original Text with little, if any, more evidence than what proceeds from the greater propriety which they fancy another expression might have. This was a liberty which Kennicot (whom Dr. G. louldly extols on every occasion) very frequently allowed himself. And his Antagonist, the Rev. Mr. Comings of Oxford College, said enough to convince him of the danger of his plan, and that more caution and farther examination were necessary for him, as all the Texts he condemned as erroneous, appeared, when attentively and cautiously examined, truly *glorious and divine*. From all this, it may justly be inferred that every one is at liberty to propose to the World any *Interpretation* of a Passage which the language will bear, and no other part of Scripture discountenances; but none can be allowed the liberty of *altering* any Passage to remove a difficulty which time and patience may clear up. To do this, is assuming a power with which no creature can be invested—a power of making Jehovah speak what we please, instead of what His own all-comprehensive wisdom has determined.

Moreover, if Christian Writers are thus to publish to the world their objections to the supposed corruptions of the Bible, and pronounce them unanswerable, the consequences must be very pernicious among the less knowing, especially the Laity. For, thô these objections should be fully answered, and the difficulties entirely cleared up to the satisfaction of proper judges, yet the less skilful in these matters, who know not the merits of either cause, will be naturally led to have less reverence for and dependence upon a Book, the integrity of which is so evidently controverted.

Again, should it become customary among the Ministers of Christ thus to correct the Original Scriptures at pleasure, other evils must necessarily ensue, such as these following:—No man could then refer to his neighbour's

Bible, nor would the Word of God give the same command to any two individuals. Moreover, what was tacitly allowed to be the authentic Revelation of Heaven to-day, might, when found inconvenient to retain it, be rejected as the insertion of some bold and careless Transcriber. And farther still, whatever difficulty was owing to the small proficiency of the Reader in Sacred Knowledge, this would be charged on the Scripture itself, which must therefore be pronounced unintelligible as it stands at present, and must be altered as every one should judge proper. This Dr. Kennicot's conduct obliges us to think would be the case; for the alterations which he introduced were both many and considerable.* And we are not to suppose that this rage for correcting the Original Scriptures of God will terminate in the labours of Kennicot or Geddes; others will, no doubt, arise and applaud them for having gone so far, but will lament that they had not gone farther, and will therefore set strenuously to work to supply their defects; that is, in plain terms, to mould the Bible to their own shape, or make it speak their own sentiments. Such bold and daring attempts have already been realised in the person of Dr. Priestley, who, as his fellow-labourer, Price says of him by way of commendation, "Hath with magnanimous openness rejected the Epistles of S. Paul as spurious and not worthy of a place in the Sacred Code."

It is therefore, in my opinion, highly necessary to discourage such unaccountable freedoms with the Word of God, and so prevent them from becoming general. This Sacred Book is not to be trifled with. The Almighty hath set His Sacred Seal to the following Decree, and determined for ever the duty of His creature, man—"If any man shall add unto the things of this Book, the Lord shall add unto him the Plagues that are written therein. And if any man shall take away therefrom, God shall take away his part out of the Book of Life, and out of the Holy City." For this is the treasure sent from Heaven to enrich the sons of men; this the light which is to direct their feet into the way of everlasting peace. This Sacred Depositum, therefore, the Church of God must deliver down to future Ages. To invalidate its evidence, is to strike at the root of human happiness, and will never be allowed by that God who has promised to His Church that "the gates of Hell shall never prevail against it."

These objections (and many more might be made) to the modern plan of correcting the Hebrew Scriptures, are by no means obviated by asserting that there are a vast number of Hebrew MSS. which differ from the present Printed Copy, and that, therefore, the present Copy may be corrected upon their authority and from other helps, as the Oriental Versions, the Septuagint Translation,† and the Samaritan Pentateuch. For here it may be asked, Do the Original SS. contain any internal marks of contamination? Dr. G. indeed says so; and that to Translate them one must make sense of nonsense, and give a meaning where there is none; but for this we have, as

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* The late learned and pious Dr. Johnson's observation on Kennicot's Biblical labours is highly noticeable. When some of the *Literati* at Edinburgh were mentioning the great expectations that were formed from Kennicot's researches, Johnson sternly replied, "I know no crime so great a man can be guilty of, as poisoning the sources of eternal truth!"

† This was a Translation of the Bible into Greek, by order of Ptolemy, King of Egypt.

yet, only his bare assertion. Dr. Kennicot went farther. He Published "An Examination of the State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament," in which he produced a number of Passages, and brought them as arguments for the corruption of the Original Text. This Work, however, was replied to by the Rev. Mr. Comings of Oxford, with great candour, zeal, and Christian meekness. The Passages objected to were re-examined, their meaning shown to be quite agreeable to the analogy of faith, and, in short, were evinced to be a part of the true Revelation of God.

Hitherto, then, no man has been able to prove that the Original Hebrew SS. exhibit any inward evidence of corruption. Difficulties they do contain; and, doubtless, there are many Passages, the meaning of which will never be fully comprehended till we arrive at those higher regions, where we shall no longer see through a glass darkly, but shall behold the fulness of the Godhead beaming forth in unclouded majesty and glory. But, till death shall be swallowed up of life, and corruption clothed upon with incorruption, we walk by faith. Let not, therefore, what God hath revealed as the object of our belief be, when unintelligible to us, pronounced a corruption or gross nonsense, for this were presumptuous and highly unbecoming such ignorant creatures as we, in our best state, are.

It may be asked, secondly, what reason is there for preferring the MSS. which, of late, have made their appearance in the world, to those ones which the Church hath always received as authentic, and which we are told the ancient Chaldee Paraphrasts (by many Centuries older than any MS. now produced) have exactly followed? No reason can be given for this preference in any instance where they disagree; but many reasons can be assigned for their being of infinitely less authority. One great reason for this, is their exceeding disagreement with one another. According to Kennicot's own Account of them, they have been carelessly and negligently Transcribed, and are full of very material mistakes, arising from the ignorance, haste, or inadvertency of the Transcribers. How absolutely unfit, then, to be put in competition with those Copies which the whole Church was intimately concerned to see faithfully Transcribed.

Another reason for their being reckoned of small authority, is their uncertain Dates, and the suspicious manner in which most, if not all, of them have made their appearance in the world. In settling their Dates, Dr. Kennicot makes some of them nine, others eight, others seven, and others six hundred years old. The method of ascertaining the antiquity of his MSS. being somewhat curious, I shall give it in his own words. Of the Hebrew MS. of the Pentateuch, which is reckoned the most ancient, he says—"It may, *perhaps*, be a moderate *supposition* to *imagine* it writ as long before the time it was presented as it has been since, which will set the antiquity of it at about nine hundred years." If this is the way we are to calculate the age of MSS., we may make them of what standing we please; for we need only call them very ancient, and then explain what we mean by very ancient, whether five hundred or fifteen hundred years. But I presume every cautious Christian will require some farther evidence in behalf of the antiquity of these MSS. than that of a "perhaps," a "supposition," and "I imagine," before he admits them as evidence against the authenticated Copies. Many such proofs as this we have for the age of the other MSS. which are reckoned most ancient.

Moreover, the circumstance of such a vast number of MSS. being never

heard of till lately, and having so suddenly made their appearance after rewards were offered for them, bears, in my view, a very suspicious aspect. The Jews, from their rooted aversion to Christianity, and desire of lucre (which seems to be their reigning principle), might have been induced to make these corrupted MSS., and lodge them in such repositories as that they could not escape the search of the Manuscript Collators. They would be convinced that if these spurious MSS. were admitted as evidence against the present Printed Copy, this, in the end, must effectually invalidate the genuine Hebrew Bible; and as the Christian Edifice rests upon the Foundation of the Prophets, as well as Apostles (Jesus Christ being the chief Corner Stone), if this part of the Foundation should be taken away, they would indulge the hope that the Edifice must tumble down—an event which, since its first erection, it has been their strenuous endeavour to bring about.

But if this suspicion against the lately found out MSS. should be deemed an invidious one, yet the most favourable way they can be accounted for is, that they have been made by private hands for their own private amusement or instruction. Their incorrectness, therefore, and disagreement with the authentic Copies, is not to be wondered at. Being the work of private persons, the Church could know nothing of them, or at least was no way concerned for their purity and correctness; on which account it need be no surprise that these Transcripts should abound with inaccuracies and corruptions. The only matter of surprise is that, among Christians, these corrupted MSS. should be admitted as evidence against the true ones, and their authority frequently made to supersede those which the Church of God has always looked upon as authentic, and has guarded with the utmost care and circumspection.

As to the Septuagint Translation and Oriental Versions, their only use in our Biblical researches seems to be to help us to come at the meaning of the Text, or, at least, to show us in what sense the Authors of them understood it; for whoever will compare the Septuagint with the Original, will soon be convinced that it cannot be a proper means of correcting the Hebrew Text. It is frequently so lax as scarcely to have one Greek word answering to one Hebrew word. Wherever there was any difficulty, the Authors did not give it a verbal Translation, but put their sense of the place into a paraphrase, by which we find how they understood it, but nothing farther. This has been shown by an induction of particulars by many of the learned, particularly the Rev. Dr. Pocoke, and Robert Spearman, Esq., a Layman of great learning, piety, and judgment. There are, besides, in this Translation, many known deviations from the Original, which many able pens have been employed in accounting for, and which have been in many cases attributed to the fear of offending Ptolemy and the Egyptians. This being the scheme which these Translators pursued, and these the liberties they took, they cannot be brought as evidence for any reading, which no Translation that is not verbally literal can be said to have preserved.

What has been said of the Septuagint may, in part, be applied to the Oriental Versions, which, by the consent of all, even Kennicot himself, frequently give us not a literal, but a paraphrastic rendering: therefore they cannot be affirmed to have preserved a reading, which we are to admit in preference to the Original Text.

The last thing I shall take notice of is the Samaritan Pentateuch, which, thô I cannot read in its Original Characters, yet I know as much of the History of it, and of those who used it, as gives me solid ground of objection against the prerogative that some would invest it with, of being a Correctorium of our Hebrew Bibles. The Samaritans were a people in perpetual enmity with the Church of God, consisting of Idolaters of various Nations, with some fugitive and Apostate Jews, and were ignorant and wicked to the last degree. The learned Dr. Prideaux gives this Account of them—"And then to prevent the Land from becoming desolate, he brought others from Babylon, and Cutha, and Avah, and Hamath, and Sepharvaim, to dwell in the Cities of Samaria in their stead." And again he says—"Samaria thenceforth became the common asylum of refractory Jews; and after some time the greatest part of that people were made up of Apostate Jews and their descendants, so that the Samaritans became a mongrel sort of people, made up of such of the Eastern Nations as Esarhaddon had brought there, and Apostate Jews." This is the known and acknowledged state of the people of Samaria. Can we, then, apply to such a race of wretches for a more authentic Copy of the Law than is to be found among them whose greatest glory was the Sacred Scriptures, and who reverenced them in an unparalleled manner? Shall we receive from the worst of Schismatics a Copy of the Law as authentic, without knowing in the least the care or fidelity with which it was Transcribed, and when we have no further Account of it than that it was picked up in the East in the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Century, and dispersed in Europe without any thing to establish it, or wipe off the aspersions which the character of the people from whom it was taken must unavoidably throw upon it?

Thus much upon the modern plan of correcting the Original Hebrew Scriptures, and the greatly extolled help in that business. Upon the whole, we see that the plan is a dangerous one, which, if generally carried into execution, would render the Oracles of God corrupted indeed! The Bible would then cease to be what it is—a Scheme graciously revealed from Heaven for the comfort and benefit of man—but would dwindle away into a mere human composition. Upon a review of the various sources of emendation, and examining their sufficiency for that purpose, they appear to me altogether incompetent. The Oriental Versions frequently give us not a literal, but a paraphrastic rendering, which shews us in what sense their Authors understood the Original, but nothing farther. The same may be said of the Septuagint Translation, which, moreover, abounds with many known deviations from the Hebrew, owing, as I hinted above, to a fear of offending Ptolemy and the Egyptians. As to the Samaritan Pentateuch, enough is known of the History of the Samaritans themselves to discountenance their Copy of the Law from any pretensions to authenticity or integrity. And, lastly, in regard to the MSS. which have lately made their appearance in the world, as they seem at best to have been the work of private hands for their own instruction or amusement; and as, consequently, the Church was no way concerned for their purity, therefore they must be of very little authority, and their deviation from the authentic Copies deserve no regard.

For all that hath been said, then, or ever can be said or done, the "Word of God," as its Author hath declared, "standeth *sure*." Like that unchangeable Being by whom it was indited, "it remaineth the same

yesterday, to-day, and for ever." "One iota or tittle of it shall not pass away till all be fulfilled."

To account for the human means by which, under the superintending Providence of God, its integrity and purity have been preserved, is no difficult matter. The care and circumspection of that unhappy people, the Jews, in regard to the purity of the Hebrew Scriptures, is highly remarkable. Bishop Walton says—"Imo tanta superstitione feruntur Judei erga sacros codices, ut in libro legis si unum erratum deprehendant, pro illegitimo damnant et abjiciunt." "So superstitious are the Jews with regard to their Sacred Code, that if they find one error in their Book of the Law, they condemn it as spurious, and reject it."

But, not to insist on this, it will not be denied, I hope, by any one who believes the Divine Inspiration of the Apostles, that they would be possessed of pure and authentic Copies of the Hebrew Scriptures. These they would bring into the Church with them, and make use of in their many disputations with their unbelieving countrymen. At least this must be admitted as to the more learned of those who were inspired in the Apostolic Age, such as S. Paul (the great Apostle of the Gentiles), the rich Barnabas, the eloquent Apollos, and the Evangelist S. Luke; and, no doubt, there were many others of whom the same may very fairly be presumed. By these means, and through such hands, the Bible would find its way among Christians in the first and brightest period of Christianity, and, from the zeal and fervour of those times, would spread and be multiplied in great abundance; and these old Copies, and Transcripts from them, would be traditionally handed down through such as Origen and Jerom to the era of Printing—handed down with the utmost care and circumspection, as the whole Church of God was nearly concerned for the purity and integrity of this inestimable treasure committed to its Trust.

In this belief and conviction, I rest myself abundantly satisfied; and I have great reason, with every fellow-Christian, to be thankful to God that He hath preserved His Holy Oracles pure and entire, to be a perfect Rule of Faith, as well as of moral conduct. Yea, let us be thankful that our minds are not perplexed with doubts and scruples about the integrity of this Sacred Book—scruples which at last must terminate either in a total disregard of it, or in sending us in search of another Rule of Faith and Conduct where it will be sought for in vain.

Remarks on the Specimens, &c.

Chapter I., Verse 1st.—"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." This is exactly the same with our own Translation. In a Note on this Verse, Dr. G. says, "The Hebrew word translated *God*, and pronounced *Elohim*, means the "Great," the "Mighty One."

Why Dr. G. should labour to obscure the meaning of אלהים, *Elohim*, which is a relative term for the Deity, and full of comfort to the sinner, by translating it the "Great," the "Mighty One," contrary to the opinion of the best Lexicographers, I know not. *Great* and *Mighty* are terms, when applied to the Deity, which represent Him in his absolute capacity, and hold forth none of that comfort and consolation, display none of that unspeakable mercy and grace, which are couched under the name *Elohim*. The only word in the Original Hebrew denoting the absolute and necessary existence

of the Deity is יהוה, *Jehovah*,* which signifies the self-existent Being. All the other names by which He hath been pleased to reveal Himself to mankind, point Him out in a relative capacity, or indicate that gracious relation which He bears to His creatures, especially the children of men. Of these, Elohim is one. It means *Fœderatores jure—i.e.*, "Covenanters upon oath" † —and is a term assumed by the Persons in Jehovah, by which they represent themselves as under a Covenant, made by oath, to perform certain conditions for the benefit and happiness of man.

Dr. Hodges, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, in his Treatise called the "Christian Plan," has evinced that this Covenant, which S. Paul says was made before all worlds, consisted of two parts—one relative to man in his estate of innocence; another provisional, determining what the Elohim would do farther for man, in case he should forfeit his first estate by an act of disobedience. When this latter should happen to be the case, they covenanted to restore man to his first estate by such ways as would display the infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy of the Divine Being. That there was such a Covenant, has been the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church; and this is the substance of the Doctrine, as deduced from the scattered Passages in Scripture which relate to it:—By virtue of this Covenant, Christ, as to His humanity, was enabled to overcome the Devil and all the enemies of man, and to perfect our Redemption; and from this Covenant it was that the ever-blessed Three in One were pleased to take that glorious but fearful name יהוה אלהים, *i.e.*, *Jehovah Elohim; glorious*, inasmuch as the transaction to which it refers displays in the most glorious manner the mercy and goodness of God; and *fearful*, inasmuch as by one part of the Covenant, eternal and infinite power is engaged to make the enemies of Christ his footstool. (See Psalm cx. 1—all which treats of this Original Covenant.)

The term Elohim, then, as applied to Jehovah, being founded upon that gracious transaction just now mentioned, represents the Deity in the most delightful relation to us, namely, as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the human race. To pervert this meaning of the word, therefore, which it evidently bears, is obscuring a truth which it is the sole purpose of Revelation to unfold and manifest to the children of men. And, moreover, to make Moses borrow this term from the Heathens is not only forgetting that he wrote by Inspiration of God, but is also, to use Dr. G.'s own phrase, "a pitiful and God-degrading idea." Instead of Moses borrowing it from the Idolaters of those days, they had certainly borrowed it from the Worshippers of the true God. These Idolaters applied it to the material heavens, and accordingly expected from them protection, victory, and happiness. Hence this glorious title is frequently claimed for Jehovah in exclusion of those Idols.

In another Note on Verse 1st, Dr. G. says,—"Whoever reads this simple but sublime Narrative with due attention, and devoid of theological prepossessions, will most probably agree with Whiston, that the Historian confines himself to the creation, or perhaps embellishment, of this terraqueous globe, and only mentions such other parts of the universe as became

* I see no barbarity in the pronunciation of Jehovah, and think it is a pity it should ever have been rendered *Lord*, as that word does not fully point out the meaning of the Original.

† So the Hebrew Lexicographers, Parkhurst and Bate, have proved.

eventually relative to it." But how can any one think that Moses confines himself to the creation of this terraqueous globe, when he expressly says, "In the beginning God *created* the heavens and the earth," hereby joining the creation of the heavens and the earth together; and when, afterwards, he makes mention of the creation of the sun, moon, and stars. Indeed, Dr. G. says, "It is by no means necessary to suppose that these luminaries were now first created: the Text does not say so." But I affirm the Text does say so. The original word here for "to make" is ויצש, which, through the whole Bible, never signifies to "render visible," the sense he would put upon it. If this Divine Narrative of the creation of the System of Nature is only to be admitted thus partially, words must cease to have a determinate meaning; and, by a similar conduct in other cases, we may make of the Bible what we please.

In the same Note the Dr. says—"Our little planet, then, was originally, according to the Hebrew cosmogony, a chaotic mass of earth, water, and dense tempestuous air, decompounded and brought to perfection in the space of six days, for reasons best known to the wise Architect, which it is as useless as it is vain for us to attempt to investigate." That the great Creator had many good and wise reasons for taking the space of six days in creating this material system, which we cannot know in our present condition, must be readily admitted; but that He had also other reasons which it does concern us to know, ought not to be denied. It appears, then, that He proceeded in this manner to exhibit, as in a picture, that wise scheme of duty by which man was to be allowed to employ himself in the necessary affairs of life for six days following, but no longer. And as God rested, or ceased from His work, on the seventh day, thereby sanctifying it and making it holy to Himself, and separating it for His immediate service; so on that day, man was not only to cease from the ordinary labours and employments of this world, but was also to exercise himself in the more solemn duties of religion, as a means of preparing himself for that eternal *Rest*, which the Apostle says remaineth for the people of God. The Creator's working six days, then, seems to have been in order to the sanctification of the seventh, and the sanctification of the seventh appears to have had a double view. As it looked backward, it directed man to the knowledge of the way and manner in which the great work of creation was performed and completed. As it looked forward, it had respect to the end of time, the dissolution of the world, and the eternal state of rest that shall then succeed. From this, I think, it may fairly be inferred that, to investigate the reasons of the Divine procedure in this matter, is neither useless nor vain; but, on the contrary, will always afford us much delightful instruction.

Verse 2nd.—"The earth was a desolate waste." Here Dr. G. leaves out entirely the conjunction ו, evidently with a view to render plausible his translation of the two following words, viz., תהו ובהו, *teu ubeu*. Why he translates them "a desolate waste," unless to make them favour his idea that the earth existed *for ages of ages* before Moses' Account of it, seems unaccountable. According to my great Lexicographer, Mr. Parkhurst, these words signify "unformed and hollow," which agrees with our common translation, "without form and void;" and this meaning he supports from many other Texts of Scripture where the words occur. The unscriptural notion of the earth's existence before the Account given of it by the Jewish

Legislator, is, in my opinion, entirely overturned by the first Verse of the Bible, which, when literally rendered, is, "In the beginning God created the *substance* of the heavens, and the *substance* of the earth." Dr. G. indeed endeavours to evade this rendering by fixing the meaning of ברא, *bera*, to "fashioning or reforming." But fashioning or reforming cannot be the meaning of ברא here, because it follows in the 2nd Verse, "and the earth was without *form*." So that in this place ברא denotes absolute creation or production into being. In like manner, in Verse 27th, where it is said, "God created man in his own image," ברא refers to the *creation* of the soul, as well as *formation* of the body: therefore the word must here also denote absolute creation, unless it be supposed that our souls existed *for ages of ages* before Adam's creation, and that our bodies are prisons prepared for them by way of punishment for their former misbehaviour—a conceit foolishly maintained by some, but pretty much akin to this favourite fancy of Dr. G.

Yet he thinks it a God-degrading idea to suppose that no worlds existed above six thousand years ago. But why? Does that supposition derogate anything from God's glory? By no means. God is infinitely glorious in Himself from all eternity. He cannot receive any additional glory even from the works of His own hands, nor can His glory be diminished should they all cease to exist. His works declare or show forth His glory; and for His pleasure, as the Psalmist says, they were created. But nothing can make Him more glorious than He is of Himself; and had the System of Nature never been in existence, He could have been no less glorious. We must, therefore, retort Dr. G.'s accusation upon himself, and say that, to insist on the existence of worlds before Revelation gives any Account of them, on the supposition that it is a more rational or religious sentiment, is founded upon a wrong conception of the Deity, as it implies that He can receive additional glory from His works; and hence it is a God-degrading idea indeed!

In 1787, Mr. Torry was Married to Christian, daughter of Bishop Kilgour, whom he had the grief of losing two years after, and by whom he had no issue.

Bishop Kilgour required an Assistant for his Charge at Peterhead, and to that Office in 1789 he called Mr. Torry, then in the 27th year of his age. Two years afterwards the ex-Primus Died, and his Assistant became his Successor.

Peterhead was one of the few places where, under the influence of a powerful Patron, the Episcopal Incumbent retained his Benefice till 1715. The Church was erected at an expense of £320, and was called S. Peter's Chapel. This was its fate, as recorded in the Minute Book:—

"1746. *May* 16.—'To cash paid tradesmen, &c., for pulling down our Chapel (the Managers being forced thereto by Lord Ancrum), in order to save its being sett on fire, which would endanger the town being burnt;' to

which the following Note is appended :—'The Chappell of Peterhead was destroyed the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of May, 1746, and the Managers were obliged to employ workmen and pay them, in order to prevent its being sett on fire, which would endanger burning the town. It was done by Lord Ancrum (Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord Mark Kerr's Dragoons), who was at the entering of the people to work.'"

Here Bishop Kilgour settled, as Bishop Dunbar had done before him; and, thirty years ago, individuals were alive who could recollect his performing Divine Service twelve or fourteen times on the Sunday at different houses, where as many attended as could join in the Service without being seen by the Priest, or could collect without attracting the notice of the Military.

In a few years, however, this severity was so far relaxed as to enable the Clergyman to receive the Congregation in his own house; but it was not till the Accession of King George III., that they could again venture on erecting a Building avowedly for a Church.

However, even after this period, when on a Vacancy at Lonmay, Bishop Kilgour had, in accordance with his own sense of duty, and with the principles of the great body of the Lonmay Congregation, Instituted a Nonjuring Incumbent, the consequence was the shutting up, by the Sheriff, the Churches both of Lonmay and Peterhead. This Interdict, indeed, so far as regarded the Peterhead Church was not of long continuance; but in the meantime a misunderstanding had unfortunately arisen between the Proprietors of the Church and Bishop Kilgour, respecting its management. It ended in the Proprietors, who were bound for a debt of £250, withdrawing themselves, and a small minority of the Congregation, from under the superintendence of the Bishop, and inviting Dr. William Laing, a Clergyman "qualified according to Law," to be their Pastor in the Church, while Bishop Kilgour, for the large majority who adhered to him, built a Place of Worship in a Court on the South side of Broad Street.

In this place Mr. Torry's lot was thrown, and it had its conveniences. Only 30 miles from Aberdeen, and with the easiest water communication, it gave him ready access to this Metropolis; not more than half that distance from Fraserburgh, it allowed him to interchange many a visit with Alexander Jolly.

In September, 1791, Mr. Torry Married Jane, daughter of Dr. William Young, of Fawsyde, Kincardineshire, by his wife Ann, the eldest daughter of Thomas Gordon, Esq. of Buthlaw, in the County of Aberdeen, and had by this Marriage three sons and four daughters, viz.,—John, Dean of St. Andrews, &c.; Thomas, late Incumbent of S. Paul's Church, Dundee; Mary Anne, wife of Captain Sims, R.N.; and Christian, unmarried, who continued to live with her father till his Death. At Peterhead he was not only earnest in the discharge of his other Pastoral duties, but also became very acceptable as a Preacher, to which a fine voice, a clear and forcible style, and a pleasing manner greatly contributed: and so successfully did he pursue his calling, that in less than three years after his appointment to the Charge, the Church in which he officiated becoming too small for his increasing Flock, a new one was built capable of holding 500 persons, the expense of which was upwards of £800.

Towards the end of 1802, a proposal was made by Dr. Laing of Peterhead, to submit to his Diocesan. This Priest had been schismatically Ordained about 1770, by Dr. Trail, then Bishop of Down and Connor, while on a tour through Scotland, at Peterhead; though Bishop Kilgour was actually resident in that Town at the time.

While Mr. Torry gave much of his time to Pastoral duty and Professional studies, he devoted many of his spare hours to the cultivation of the Fine Arts, Music, Poetry, and Painting. In the latter two he did not attain much proficiency, though various creditable specimens of both remain; but in Music he was more successful. Naturally of a scientific turn of mind, he completely mastered the Theory of Music, and even went the length of propounding some original ideas on the *Chromatic Scale*. He also attained some skill in playing several Instruments, especially the Organ. He had several Organs built in Peterhead, doing with his own hand the most delicate parts of the work; and one of them, formerly in his own drawing room, was first used in the Church at Elgin, and afterwards in that of Forgue. Much of his Correspondence, especially with Primus John Skinner and Bishop Macfarlane, turns on this subject.

To the Rev. Mr. Jones, Rector of Paston, Northamptonshire.

Rev. Sir,—By the favour of my Ordinary, Bishop Skinner, I am encouraged to address you on a subject which has much engaged my attention for several years past; and I hope you will excuse this trouble from one who has long been an admirer of your character, both as a Divine and Philosopher, and who is happy in having this opportunity afforded him of expressing his gratitude for the instruction and pleasure he is constantly deriving from your labours both in Philosophy and Theology. I can safely say that some one or other of your Works is almost my daily companion; and had it not been for your Physiological Disquisitions, I should probably never have had the happiness I enjoy at this moment of addressing you. From that excellent Work, where Music is discussed as a branch of Natural Philosophy, I have chiefly derived the knowledge I possess of the grounds and principles of harmony; which, combined with a natural mechanical genius, put me upon an *experimental* attempt to rectify the Musical Scale on the Organ, the result of which I am now to communicate to you.

It is admitted on all hands that we can only have one perfect key on the Organ or Harpsichord, with the harmonic intervals just, and the due order of the tones, major and minor; and that in order to make more keys such as the ear will be satisfied with, we must sacrifice the perfection of our standard key, and have recourse to a system of mean tones, by lowering the 5^{ths} a quarter of a comma each, which enlarges the 4^{ths}, and reduces the minor thirds, but keeps the major thirds to their true measure. But this system, althô perhaps the best hitherto devised, leaves 13 of the 24 keys in such a state of imperfection as the ear can scarcely tolerate, and completely destroys the most striking beauties of some of Handel's finest Compositions on the major key of E, and even that of D when he modulates into the related keys. Likewise Pergolesi's celebrated "Stabat Mater" is by this system greatly deprived of its power of producing the intended effect; for I am persuaded that in Pergolesi's time, keyed instruments were tuned by a series of perfect 5^{ths}, which renders the intervals in that Composition very good. Any person may be practically convinced of this by first playing over the Piece on a Harpsichord tempered in the usual manner, and then retuning the Instrument by a series of perfect 5^{ths}, and playing it over a second time, from which he will be made to feel how much more wonderfully striking, and even heart-rending, it is. The truth is, that the ear will never be satisfied with false harmony, where, from the nature of the interval, it is entitled to expect a just relation and sweetness of sound. But as this cannot be obtained but on a small number of keys, on the Organ as commonly constructed, I think it would be accounted an acquisition to the Musical Art, if any one should furnish an instrument that a performer could play on with equal satisfaction on all the 24 keys.

Having a Chamber Organ, and being strangely impressed with this idea, I began, about four years ago, to revolve in my mind, how it might be carried into effect. I communicated my design to such of my musical friends as are acquainted with the Principles of Harmony, who all treated it as romantic and visionary in the extreme. Not discouraged, but rather stimulated, by this opposition, I employed such intervals of time as the more immediate duties of my Profession allowed me, in putting my scheme into execution; and you may believe I have no small satisfaction in being now able to declare that I have succeeded even to the utmost extent of my own

sanguine expectation. A performer may play on my Organ with equal satisfaction on any key which the system of the Octave affords, without the least perplexity to himself; for there is no division of the flats and sharps, with different pipes, to express the different capacities in which they are often used. All that he has to attend to, is previously to put his left foot on one or other of two Pedals, according to a written direction on the front of the Organ, by which all the false intervals in the extreme keys are immediately corrected, and rendered perfectly harmonious.

I must now request that you will not only forgive this freedom and trouble, but even favour me with your opinion of the improvement which I have now been communicating to you. If it meets with your approbation, perhaps you may point out the means by which it might be brought into public notice, and submitted to the examination of some of the best practical Musicians in London.

Before I conclude, allow me to thank you again for the valuable information and singular pleasure I have derived from your Literary labours, which I have now been conversant with for nearly nineteen years. And permit me to assure you that I consider myself, in common with the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, as under the greatest obligation to you, for the honourable testimony you have borne to it in your Life of the much-revered and eminently learned and pious Bishop Horne. For this, and the many other valuable services you have rendered to the cause of Christianity, I trust that God will remember you concerning these things, and spare you, according to the greatness of His mercy, in that Day when an awful distinction shall be made between those who have faithfully served and those who either have openly opposed or secretly betrayed His cause. I have the honour to be, with the utmost sincerity and esteem,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

Peterhead, March 29, 1799. PAT. TORRY.

Mr. Torry had been requested by the Editor to write an Article in "Adam's Religious World Displayed." The Bishop frequently mentioned that the Editor had used, without acknowledging, his assistance.

Mr. Torry was in 1807 invested with the Office of Treasurer to the Scotch Episcopal Friendly Society, and much of his Correspondence was taken up with applications to its liberality.

Bishop Watson of Dunkeld, in the summer of this year, sank from a complication of diseases, at the early age of 47. He was a good, if not a great man, and had been presented to the Church of Laurencekirk by Lord Gardenston, who, though a Presbyterian, not only built but endowed it for him with £40 yearly, and 40 Bolls of Oatmeal.

The Primus having issued his Mandate for the Election of a

Bishop of Dunkeld, the Clergy met at Alyth, on September 14, 1808, and Messrs. Gleig and Torry being proposed, the former was Elected by a majority of one. He had been Elected before in 1786, but was opposed by Primus John Skinner; and his son John, at Forfar, opposed his *second* Election. So he declined. Mr. Torry was then chosen unanimously by John Buchan, John Skinner, and David Moir. John Buchan was Proxy for John Robertson. He was Consecrated in S. Andrew's, Longacre, Aberdeen, 12th October, 1808, by Bishops Skinner, Macfarlane, and Jolly.

Before Bishop Torry's Consecration, the great age and mental imbecility of Bishop Strachan of Brechin, rendered a Coadjutor necessary. Dr. Gleig was now unanimously chosen, and the College Confirmed him without difficulty. Only 18 days after his own elevation to the Episcopate, Bishop Torry had the satisfaction of assisting at that of his friend, on the Festival of SS. Simon and Jude, at Stonehaven.

At the Episcopal Synod of 1809, the question of a General Synod of the Scotch Church was mooted, and the Charge of Bishop Gleig in the next year rendered it still more necessary. He alluded to a habit of the Primus of not adhering to the exact words of the Liturgy, and a somewhat angry Correspondence ensued. The Bishops began to give their attention to the preparation of the Canons then to be enacted.

The Synod met at Aberdeen on the 19th of June, 1811, and consisted, besides the Bishops, of the Deans, and one Deputy from each Diocese. It was here that the famous Fifteenth Canon (which is now the Twenty-first) was drawn up, by which the Scottish Communion Office was declared of *primary authority*. The Synod sat two days, and the Canons were forwarded by the Primus, with a Circular Letter, to the English and Irish Bishops.

Bishop Torry was most vigilant in maintaining his beloved Office on all possible occasions. Thus he writes, under Date April 1st, 1812, on Inducting a Presbyter:—

> There are two things, however, which I must stipulate for—first, that the Scotch Communion Office be retained in these Chapels, and that the minds of the people be not distracted by any proposal of a change; and,

secondly, that you remain more at home among your Flock and Family than you have been accustomed to do, and not go abroad (but when urged by a reasonable cause) in search of that enjoyment which you will always more certainly find in the pursuit of professional knowledge, in attention to the duties of your Pastoral Charge, in frequent intercourse with your own Flock, and in the endearments of domestic life.

On the Death of Dr. Laing, at Peterhead (the Priest who had been schismatically Ordained by Bishop Trail, but who since the union had distinguished himself by zeal in the interests of the Scotch Church), the two Congregations determined to unite under the Charge of Bishop Torry.

The Committees appointed by the two Episcopal Congregations of this place to deliberate upon their junction, being met, and having seen Bishop Torry's Letter, agreeing to the proposals made to him for relinquishing his own Chapel and becoming Pastor to the united Congregation, are much gratified by the Bishop's frank and easy acquiescence, and by the very obliging manner he writes upon the subject. The Committees think it proper to give, in writing, the terms which they communicated to Bishop Torry by a Deputation from them, viz. :—

That Bishop Torry's present Chapel is to be turned into and properly fitted up for dwelling houses, at the expense of the Proprietors of the joint Chapel, they getting the pews and seats. And whatever these dwelling-houses yield of rent to him short of £35 per annum, to be made up by the Proprietors of the joint Chapel (during the Bishop's life), who are to pay to Bishop Torry a Stipend of £150 a year, without other Emoluments, or £130 a year, with the Offertories at the Sacraments, at the Bishop's option.

It being fully understood that, in the event of Bishop Torry's Death, the united Congregation shall have it in their power to Nominate a Successor, to be approved of by the Bishop of the Diocese.

Peterhead, 24th July, 1812.

This led to the erection of the present Chapel at Peterhead, at a cost of £3,500, a large sum for that time and place. The poverty of the Scottish Church, notwithstanding her relief from Persecution, still remained Apostolic, as the next Communication may show :—

Right Rev. Sir,—If at any hereafter period you should hear of or receive a Suit of Episcopal Robes, you will please to attribute them to a request I have made lately to Mr. Horsley of Dundee, to ascertain whether he had any left belonging to the late Bishop of S. Asaph, his father, and, if he has, to confer them upon you. The reason that led me to do this is, that as the Primus and Bishops Sandford and Gleig have Suits, and they in use of theirs, and as your Diocese is situated contiguous to them, and many persons of rank residing in it, they naturally would conceive it strange that you should be visiting your Clergy in a Black Gown, when the neighbouring Bishops are now otherwise arrayed : they little, however, consider the heavy

expense attending the purchase of such Vestments, and that it is not perfectly essential that they should be worn. Certain it is, that at the Consecration of the Scottish Bishops in London, in the time of the Second Charles, for the establishment of Episcopacy in this Country, those Prelates were clothed in Lawn and Black Satin; and for the sake of that, and the close communion between our Episcopal Church here, and where its establishment is so considerable in the by far greater part of the United Kingdom, is so much desirable, an uniformity therefore in Dress as well as Liturgy (the latter of which is now happily completed, except in the Communion Office, which no reasonable person can complain of) should be attended to. I should like to hear that the two Surplices sent some time back had somewhere been put to use. Bishops Sandford and Gleig wear their Robes *every* Sacramental Day, and I hope the Primus, who wears them on Episcopal occasions, will begin to follow their practice on the approaching Festival. I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

Stonehaven, 14th Dec., 1812. ALEX. MITCHELL.

On Christmas Day, 1814, the new Chapel at Peterhead was opened; and the Sermon which Bishop Torry Preached on that occasion was afterwards Published by him, under the title of "The Duty, Dignity, and Beneficial Effect of regularly frequenting the Public Worship of Almighty God."

About this time we are introduced to a Correspondent whose sympathy and support must have greatly cheered the declining years of the Bishop's life—Mr Bowdler of Eltham, whose liberality to the Scottish Church was really unbounded.

Mr. Bowdler to Bishop Torry.

I have now perused once more your Letters of November and December last, and am more than ever struck with the smallness of the sum, and the *excessive* modesty of the manner in which you ask it, for the repairs of these Chapels. It is also a cordial to my heart to observe that all the opinions you have occasion to state, and the very phrases you use, are exactly those which I was taught in my youth by my excellent parents, and from which, I thank God, I have seen no reason to depart in my old age.

It is now too late to begin any large expensive works this year, and such must not be attempted without computing the cost and comparing their utility with that of others. But if any sum not exceeding £50 can be so laid out within your Diocese before winter as to promote *pure Religion, or the decent and commodious Worship of poor and pious Christians*, pray let me know it, and I will immediately order the sum you name to be at your command. Let no Christian want means of *kneeling before his God*, and let all your Lay Members know that their friends in England lay much stress on this, and *much more* on their dutiful submission to their spiritual Fathers, their Bishops. And if (which God forbid!) any of your Clergy are deficient in this most important part of Duty and Doctrine, let them know that all the assistance, countenance, and support, which they have received, is owing to their Bishops.

I am a great friend to *open free sittings* instead of *pews*, and we are promoting such as much as possible here.

Eltham, August 4th, 1815.

Mr. Bowdler to Bishop Torry.

I beg you to let me know without delay whether there are now any Chapels in your Diocese which need repair, and whose Congregations are unable to repair them, and what sum it would require to repair them. . . . . Your Diocese has had less aid from my fund than any other, except Bishop Jolly's, which has had none as yet.

As there is a Chapel at Perth, I am willing to hope it will sooner or later come under your jurisdiction; at present at least I cannot contribute towards a new one there, for I am very earnest to get one built at Fort William, and should be very glad to get one at Ayr, and also in or near the Western Islands.

Eltham, March 14th, 1816.

The continued difficulties made at Brechin, with reference to the Scotch Office, fomented by the efforts and Writings of the Rev. Norman Sievewright, gave occasion to a Correspondence among the Prelates.

Bishop Torry to Bishop Gleig.

If Mr. Stratton's people choose to come under Mr. Moir's Pastoral care, he need not fear that his adherence to his former practice will prove any bar to that *desirable measure*. At least were I in his place I should not fear it. A similar case has occurred to me in this Town, where the prejudices, till of late, were as strong against our Church as anywhere in Scotland; yet, when on the Death of Dr. Laing, an union was formed between his Congregation and mine, I departed *in no instance* from my former practice, and they have since been partakers of the Eucharist from my hands without even a whisper of discontent. I, for one, therefore, am for a strict adherence to the letter of the Canon, without presuming, however, to dictate to my Colleagues. This slight difference of opinion will, I am persuaded, occasion no diminution of mutual regard between us.

Peterhead, December 5th, 1816.

On 28th June, 1819, the Rev. John Skinner of Forfar addressed a Letter to his Bishop, insisting upon a Charge and a Diocesan Synod, to which came the following Rejoinder:—

The holding of Synodical Meetings is, in my view, purely a question of expediency, and not of indispensable duty; and the expediency of holding them in the Diocese of Dunkeld did not hitherto appear to me, any more than to my two Colleagues in the North, Bishop Jolly and Bishop Macfarlane (now with God), neither of whom ever delivered a Charge to their Clergy Synodically assembled, and neither of whom would have omitted any thing that seemed conducive to the welfare of their respective portions of the Household of Faith. I am willing, however, to allow the credit of the best intentions to those of my Colleagues who have done it, and to say with an

Apostle, that "they have done it to the Lord;" while I claim for myself and my Northern Colleagues the right of applying the same Apostle's language in our own behalf, and to say, "to the Lord we have done it not." But the time may come, and may soon come, when I shall judge it a measure both expedient and tending to edification. Much indeed will depend on the harmony that may appear among the Clergy of my Diocese at my ensuing Visitation; and, in the meantime, I may take the opportunity of annexing to my Address to the Candidates for Confirmation, some thoughts on the duties of the Clerical Office, which ought to be habitually predominant in our minds and exemplified in our practice. But I have no intention of giving my thoughts the formality of a Charge, nor of convening, for the present, a greater number of my Clergy in any place than what are usually to be seen on such occasions. So that what I intend to do need not prevent your *threatened appeal*, which has excited in my mind neither the least apprehension nor the smallest resentment, as I shall prove by acepting your invitation to Inchgarth; though perhaps a similar invitation was never given with such an appendage annexed to it. With the utmost Christian goodwill, therefore, I commend you and your concerns to God's blessing, and am your affectionate and faithful Brother in Christ,

Peterhead, August 14, 1819. PATRICK TORRY.

In August, 1821, Bishop Torry lost his eldest daughter.

In July, 1822, Scotland was thrown into a fervour of loyalty by the intelligence that George IV. proposed to visit Edinburgh. The Bishops naturally felt themselves on very delicate ground; and were confused by the variety of advice they received as to the manner in which they were to appear at Court. Primus Gleig seems to have been the only man who maintained his presence of mind on so exciting an occasion.

To Bishop Skinner.

At the Levee, I have the Archbishop's authority for saying that we are to appear in our Gowns and Cassocks; but should the King receive us on his throne, which is very little probable, we must appear in our Lawn Sleeves. We should surely meet if possible at least a day or two before we go to Court, and I hope that each of us will bring with him the scroll of an Address, that from the whole a clean Copy may be drawn up. I need not tell *you*, but perhaps it may be necessary for you to tell the Bishops Jolly and Torry, that we must not appear at Court without *buckles on our shoes;* and that no Clergyman, except when in Procession as a Member of one of the Universities, has ever been received in Court, since the Accession of the House of Hanover, in the Gown of a Master of Arts! Mr. Horsley was once refused admission because he appeared in the Gown of a Master of Arts, and was obliged to hurry home for another Gown. I remain, &c.,

Stirling, July 19, 1822. GEORGE GLEIG.

Good Bishop Jolly took the matter in his own way, and thus writes to Bishop Torry, July 22nd, 1822:—

If we must go forward on this astonishing journey, I beg that your fraternal kindness will take me in charge, and make me sharer in your plan, sending me the earliest notice. God grant that all may aim and end well. I take comfort in our mutual prayers.

Alas! the good man little knew what mental anxiety he was at that very moment causing some of his Brethren. It appears that he was in the habit of wearing a certain most exceptionable Wig; of which the Primus declares, "the King will never be able to stand the sight of it."

Whether Bishop Jolly followed the advice of his Brethren, and provided himself with a new Wig, does not appear; but the King was, at all events, excessively struck with his appearance, and made particular inquiries respecting him.

Towards the end of 1824 a proposal was made to the Scottish Church for the Consecration of Bishop Luscombe.

Bishop Torry to Primus Gleig.

My opinion is, and always has been, in favour of Dr. Luscombe's Consecration; not for the purpose of forming (as he expresses himself) "a visible *Church of England* in France," which cannot be, but for the purpose of forming a regularly constituted Protestant Episcopal Church in France, which I shall hail as a grand event.

I am, however, decidedly unfavourable to a Consecration at large, without previous Election, which, if done, may be a dangerous precedent, and the subject of much humiliating altercation afterwards.

If the Episcopal Clergy presently in France be not hostile to Dr. Luscombe's views, I can see no difficulty in obtaining the suffrage of two or three at least, to the Charge of whom, with their Flocks, he might be regularly collated as their head under Christ, the Universal Head. Unless this be done, it does not appear to me that the Consecration can be, in the Apostle's language, "εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν."

But, as I said before, if my Colleagues shall determine differently, thinking that the peculiarity of the case warrants a departure from the common rule, to such determination, although I cannot alter my opinion, I shall bow with deference, and heartily pray for a special blessing on the work of their hands.

The result was the Consecration of Dr. Luscombe at Stirling, on Palm Sunday, March 20th, 1825, by the Bishops Gleig, of Brechin; Sandford, of Edinburgh; and Low, of Ross and Argyll. Bishop Low often said to me that "he would never do the like again." He saw his error in contending so valiantly for what was an invasion and false mission.

In 1826, Bishop Torry, through the influence of Bishop Low,

received the Degree of D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. The same honours came to Bishop Jolly.

Bishop Gleig to Bishop Torry.

I completed my eighty-first year yesterday, and have not been able these five years to go into bed or come out of it, and far less to go up and down stairs, without help. The consequence is, that I have not visited my Diocese these six years, nor has the Sacred Ordinance of Confirmation during that long period been regularly administered in it. I have learned that you intend to visit your Diocese this season, and may I beg the favour of you to Confirm likewise in mine? I do not expect you to take the trouble of visiting *every Chapel* in my Diocese; but if you will agree to my request, and name the days when you can officiate in Stonehaven, Brechin, and Dundee, I will order the Ministers of other Chapels to bring their Candidates for Confirmation to these or any other places that you may name as more convenient for yourself. I have repeatedly asked for a Coadjutor, which, I believe, was never before refused in this Church to any aged and infirm Bishop.

Stirling, May 13, 1835.

The same to the same.

I never make use of the Sign of the Cross in administering the Rite of Confirmation. Bishop Rait never did; and he performed all his Episcopal duties in a more dignified and impressive manner than any other of my Predecessors whom I have witnessed. When you are at Coupar-Angus, might not you and your son make a trip to Stirling, and pass a day or two with me? I have much to say to you of great importance to this poor Church, and am not able to go to you; and you and your son are likely to meet with my son and John's friend, who proposes to visit his father, perhaps for the last time, about the end of July; and from them we may get some information that may be useful to our Church.

Stirling, May 26, 1835.

Bishop Torry readily complied with the wish of the good old Primus to Confirm for him in his Diocese; and on the 30th of May thus wrote to his son:—

It is my full intention to commence my journey (with God's permission) to Perthshire, on Monday morning, the 6th of July. After resting a few hours in Aberdeen, I propose to go forward, by the Mail, to Stonehaven, to Confirm in the Chapel there on Tuesday; and, on Tuesday afternoon, to go on to Laurencekirk, where I should like very much to meet you, if old *Trusty* [his son's horse] be able to bring you on, in your gig, to that Village. On Wednesday morning, early, we would start, in your gig, for Brechin, where I would Confirm that day all the young people presented to me by Mr. Moir, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Cushnie, Mr. Goalen, and Mr. Jolly. We may remain for the remainder of the day at Brechin, or, if the evening be dry and pleasant, go on to Forfar, where we would find Mr. Skinner waiting for us. At any rate, I must do duty in Forfar Chapel on Thursday, which will conclude my labours for that week. My subsequent peregrinations in

the Highlands, you already know. After returning, in the end of the week, to Baldinny, and stopping over a second Sunday with you, we will go down to Dundee on Monday afternoon, where I am to Confirm in Mr. Horsley's Chapel, on Tuesday the 21st of July, which will conclude my labours be-north the Tay. I will return with you from Dundee to Baldinny, for the third time, and after resting with you for another day, I will take a place in the "Defiance," and go to South Queen's Ferry, where Tom is to meet me.

Bishop Gleig intreats me to visit him at Stirling, and wishes to see you also, because you would have a chance of meeting with your old friend, Robert Gleig. He writes that he has much to say to me about the state of our Church. Of this we can talk when we meet.

A severe affliction befel the Bishop about this time—the Death of his youngest daughter, Mrs. Smith, at Bellary, in Madras.

While assiduous in the duties of his Office, the Bishop occasionally amused himself with lighter occupations. He thus writes to his son, the Dean of St. Andrews, &c.:—

You must know I was a Poet in my youthful days, or at least thought so. But, as my Muse seemed more inclined to lash the follies of my neighbours than to correct my own, I had the sense to see that it would be an act of wisdom to restrain her. There is one subject, however, on which I have a wish to exercise my poetical genius, if any yet remains. It is the Divinely recorded fact of Christ Walking on the Water of the Galilean Sea. It is a noble theme, and I have never seen it handled, not even alluded to, by any Poet. But, alas! with me planning and executing are very different things: I have not yet written a single line of it."

In a subsequent Letter, of February 3, 1837, he says:—

I am engaged with my Poem: I propose dividing it into three Cantos, and have finished the first, consisting of one hundred and two lines.

CHRIST WALKING ON THE SEA OF GALILEE,

With allusions to various circumstances preceding, accompanying, and following that wonderful exhibition of Omnipotent Power.

Canto I.

A theme, a mighty theme, before me lies,
And glorious scenes in quick succession rise.
Oh, for a Southey's or a Wordsworth's skill,
To paint the wonders which my mind do fill!
The grand display of power with meekness join'd
(Resistless power with Heav'nly love combin'd),
Which shone in Him Who came a world to save,
And rescue sinful mortals from the grave—
The grave from which Himself victorious rose;
As shall the faithful who on Him repose
Their hope and trust, in this brief span of life,
And, like Him, live in peace, abjuring strife.

The faithless, too, shall rise, but not to joy—
Their Judge omnipotent shall them destroy.
Oh! that in time the thoughtless would reflect,
And not the terms of Heav'nly bliss neglect;
For He Who Satan's wrath and Man's outbrav'd,
Wills none to perish, but that all be sav'd.
For this He left the Realms of glory bright,
Assum'd our form, and pour'd a flood of light
On this benighted world; and peace proclaim'd
To all with sin and Satan's thraldom pain'd,
Who Heav'nly bliss prefer to earthly gains,
And seek deliv'rance from their galling chains.
His mighty work what mortal tongue can tell!
Access to Heaven, deliverance from Hell.
This none but He could merit, none obtain
Such boon to those whom Sin and Death had slain.
"It must for ever have been let alone,"
If God and Man had not been join'd in one.
In progress of that work, it once befel,
As His inspir'd Evangelists us do tell,
That, tir'd with labour in His work of Grace,
He sought retirement in a desert place,
And food and rest both for Himself and friends,
On which our nature, while on earth, depends—
Even He claim'd not exemption from that law,
But, like all others, was content to draw
Refreshment to His pure, but mortal frame,
As other mortals *must*, devoid of blame.
Yet of His patience, *this how great the test*,
To have no place to lay His head to rest.
But do we read His anger thence was mov'd?
No, it His great compassion only prov'd;
For though of sin He is the deadly foe,
And will at last adjudge 't to endless woe,
Yet while on earth, to sinners He was kind,
And cur'd their ills of body and of mind;
And still in Heaven He hears their piteous cry,
When they before Him in prostration lie.
As night approach'd, still studious of their good,
His power Divine provided for them food;
Nor did He them dismiss at close of day,
Each hung'ring, lest they'd perish by the way;
For many came from far, as well as near,
His power to witness, and His truths to hear.
They saw His wondrous power, such truths they heard,
As kings and righteous men had never shar'd.
Five barley loaves and fishes only two,
When bless'd by Him to wondrous plenty grew—
A store exhaustless till the guests were fill'd,
Five thousand guests had thence their cravings still'd.
O power omnipotent, divinely great!
O bounty far beyond our power to state!

Yet not alone were these displays of might
A proof of love; but demonstration bright
That He who all things made, and them controls,
The promis'd Saviour was of human souls.
The wondrous miracles of various kinds
Did each its moral teach to thoughtful minds.
The blind who had his sight restor'd, might see
That He who op'd his bod'ly eyes, could free
His soul from mental darkness, and display
The path that leads to never-ending Day.
And to this light, in order to be blest,
He'd but to look; and thus of all the rest.
Such wondrous mercies daily God bestows,
On mortals still thô prone to break their vows.
They love the gifts, the Giver they forget;
The bounty charms, but who so apt to fret
As he who has been bless'd with ample store,
And yet who has a quenchless thirst for more?
From such content, that sweetest blessing flies
To humble hearts, or to its native skies,
Whence every good and perfect gift descend,
To cheer and guide us to a happy end;
And us our Benefactor teach to love,
And thirst for happiness in the Realms above.
'Tis thus our deadly foes we can withstand,
And learn t' obey our Heav'nly Lord's command;
That freed from this world's turmoil and its strife,
We labour for the Food of Endless Life.
Be this my aim, that I, through Heav'nly Grace,
In peace with God and man may close my race.

Canto II.

The shades of eve were now approaching fast,
And nature's robes of grey were round her cast;
And barren rocks, and hills so lately green,
In strange confusion now were dimly seen.
Then, ere the night her sable robes put on,
Christ bade His chosen friends depart for home,
Till He the multitude should send away,
And close the Heav'nly work of that blest day,
By sending each recipient of His grace,
With heart enlarg'd, to His own lowly place.
Which done, it was His purpose to repair
In that abode of solitude to Prayer.
His friends obey'd, and straight made haste to take
Their ship to cross the Galilean Lake.
Nor, that command receiv'd, deem'd they it meet
To ask *where* they again their Lord should greet;
Nor *when*, nor by what means, He should return
Unto the wonted place of His sojourn.
For the wonders wrought that day on the distress'd,
With awe mysterious had their souls impress'd;

That day when sickness, pinching want, and grief,
In joy retir'd, each having found relief.
Nor was it strange that such displays of love,
This boundless power to simplest minds should prove.
But of His presence thus to be bereft,
An air of sadness on their hearts had left.
And yet, from disobedience being free,
Without reluctance they prepar'd for sea.
  Scarce was their Bark upon the waters launch'd,
And they had but a little way advanc'd,
When signs of change on sky and sea appear'd;
The sky did lower, the sea its waves uprear'd,
While adverse winds their passage did impede.
They ply'd their oars, but little progress made.
It was a night of toil and dire dismay:
He was not there, Whom winds and seas obey.
Their Guide in doubt, their Shield in danger near,
Was absent when their hearts were fill'd with fear.
They could not then, as when in like distress,
Say—"Save us, Lord, the stormy winds repress;
We perish else. Awake, and set us free
From danger great, and our Deliv'rer be."
We need not doubt His absence they bewail'd,
When thus in jeopardy their courage quail'd.
Perhaps they reason'd—"Had our Lord been here
(Our gracious Lord), we'd had no cause of fear.
In danger did we e'er to Him repair
And miss a gracious answer to our prayer?
Oh! were He *present now*, when peril's great,
'T would cheer our hearts, and confidence beget.
No hazard, then, of finding wat'ry graves—
His word would calm the winds and still the waves;
For such deliv'rance we have found before,
And *now* would find, if we could Him implore."
Thus spoke, at Bethany, His friends well tried—
"Hadst Thou been here, our brother had not died."
Such thoughts and words bespoke a slow belief
And knowledge small of Him their glorious Chief.
It seemed as yet their faith and views were weak
Of Christ the Lord; else, where the need to seek
His bod'ly presence, Who all space doth fill,
And all things guide according to His will?
Nor time nor space can sep'rate man from Him—
That mischief springs from unrepented sin.
  This truth, the cordial of all those who see
An omnipresent Lord in Christ to be,
Was faintly known (how strange!) and dimly seen
By those who daily witnesses had been
Of power Divine, of knowledge without bound,
And mercy mild, in none else to be found.
  During these fears, that border'd on despair,
The Saviour was engag'd in solemn Prayer.

By Him the troubles of His friends were known—
Yea, sent in love to make them more His own;
To teach the value of His guardian care,
And train their hearts for trials to prepare;
To bear their Cross, fulfil their works of love,
And follow Him to gain the Realms above.
That this, and much besides, He for them sought
When fixed in rapt'rous intercourse of thought
With 's Heav'nly Father, Whose most blessed will
He came to earth, in mercy, to fulfil,
We need not doubt; nor need we less believe
How blest the answer was He did receive.
What for a world of sinners could avail,
When offer'd for His *chosen* could not fail.
How high the joy, how cheering 'tis to know,
That we, corrupt and sinful here below,
May, if in Him our confidence we place,
Find easy access to the Throne of Grace.
The Father loves, the Spirit grants His aid,
To all whose confidence on Christ is staid.
'Twixt God and us the variance wrought by sin
Had made us sad, and hopeless but for Him;
Yet, thro' His grace and interposal kind,
Our blessings lost we shall not fail to find;
If with desire we seek, we shall not miss
To find, thro' Him, the way that leads to bliss.
Our cause He pleads, He strengthens with His grace
All those who strive to run their Heav'nly race.
To man infirm, corrupt, and with sin stain'd,
The need of Prayer is easily explain'd;
But whence the need to Christ, unstain'd by sin,
Spotless without, more glorious still within?
His human frame within it did enshrine
A Heav'nly Guest, essentially Divine;
Which, thô united thus, the Fruit of love,
Is Lord of all on earth and heav'n above:
All nature owns His universal sway,
And powers and principalities obey.
These rights possessed, what need of Prayer had He
To pray, at Whose blest Name all bend the knee—
All things in heav'n and earth must own Him Lord
Who call'd them into being by His word.
With rev'rence then be it ask'd again, what need
Of Prayer had He to whom all Prayer is made?
And yet we know herein He greatly joy'd—
The Mount and Desert saw Him thus employ'd;
Yea such was His desire and love to pray,
That oft for *this* He rose before 'twas day.
It hence arose: Our nature He assum'd
To save us from the wrath by justice doom'd,
And make atonement for man's dire offence,
Because none other could such grace dispense.

The nature that rebell'd the price must pay,
And none but He the ransom down could lay.
No creature could, how high soe'er his grade,
The payment make, which sin had needful made:
To merit our deliv'rance, none but One
Could equal be, and He both God and Man.
As Man He shar'd our frailties and our fears,
And, therefore, pray'd with crying strong, and tears.
While thus engag'd He felt, His soul within,
Our whole infirmities, excepting sin;
And the burden of that guilt He had transferr'd
Upon Himself from us who'd solely err'd.
His need of Prayer for support under these
Was strongly felt, nor did less greatly please.
And thô for us He chose our griefs to bear,
Yet that He was Divine He made appear;
For, lo! those friends whom for a time he left,
And of His blest society bereft,
Beheld a sight which terrifi'd their minds,
Above the terrors rais'd by waves and winds.
Amid the darkness of that stormy night,
The object seen was compassèd with light:
A human Form it seem'd, and mov'd in state,
And in its motion spread a radiance great
Upon the liquid surface of the deep,
Which form'd a solid pavement for His feet.
Where'er the Figure mov'd its splendour shone,
And seem'd to hush the storm, and say, "Be gone."
But still, as this mysterious Guest drew near,
The Apostles' minds were terrifi'd with fear.
They shriek'd aloud, unconscious of His love,
And judg'd Him sent a Spirit from above,
Perhaps their awful doom then to proclaim,
And all their hopes of safety prove in vain.
Form'd on the liquid surface of the main,
But 'scap'd from thence they wildly rage again;
Thô all around tumultuously they rag'd,
Like crowds untrain'd in deadly broil engag'd.

Bishop Torry resigned his Pastoral Charge of S. Peter's, Peterhead, in the Autumn of 1837. His Successor in the Charge was the Rev. Charles Cole, at present Incumbent of S. John's, Greenock. He was a Blue Coat School Boy.

In the Episcopal Synod holden at Aberdeen in 1844, the ancient title of *St. Andrews* was substituted for that of *Fife*. From that period, instead of the title "Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Fife," Bishop Torry assumed that of "St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane."

The Bishop's determination to defend "The Scotch Communion Office" was illustrated by a Letter which he addressed to the Rev. H. Malcolm, of S. Mary's, Dunblane, on June 23, 1845. At the Consecration of this Church, "The Scotch Office" was used and manfully insisted on to some influential members of the Flock by the Rev. Dr. John Alexander, of S. Columba's, Edinburgh, who preached an outspoken and excellent Sermon for the occasion.

> On the whole, as the Spiritual Father of the Congregation of S. Mary's, whom I am bound by many considerations highly to respect, I have thus deemed it my duty to recommend most earnestly the continued use of the Scotch Communion Office, as most profitable for them, by contributing most effectually to the health of their souls; but the idea of attempting to *force* them to its adoption is altogether out of the question.

The leading feature of the Bishop's character, was called into play by two circumstances which occurred during the present year, viz.,—The discussion on the subject of the Communion Office to be used at Trinity College, Glenalmond, now approaching its completion; and the Blairgowrie Appeal. The Council of Trinity College was very nearly balanced in its preference of the two Offices. On the one hand, it was proposed that the English Liturgy should be exclusively adopted; on the other, it was contended that the two should be used alternately, or during stated and alternate periods. The leader of the "Anti-National party" was Bishop Low, who tried to annul "The Scotch Office."

A small Congregation had been formed in the Village of Blairgowrie, by the exertions of the Rev. John Marshall, who at one time was stationed in Kirkcaldy. [See *Scotichronicon, vol. ii., p.* 328.] "The Scotch Office" had been here primarily used by him, but under the Rev. John Peter Alley, Ph. D., the English Liturgy was adopted. Mr. Alley was Ordained by Bishop Low, who opined, at the time, that he had caught a man of fortune. The Rev. Duncan Mackenzie, now a Sheep Farmer in New Zealand, late of Duror and Portnacroish, happened to stroll up to Edinburgh Castle to view Mons Meg, &c., when he met with our Adventurer. The two, in the course of conversation, came to discuss *The Church*, whereupon "Hielan Duncan" informed his fellow-traveller that he was on his way to Pitten-

weem to be Ordained Priest, and invited him to accompany him on the morrow, which he did. Bishop Low received our quondam Irish Officer very complaisantly, and even promised to Ordain him forthwith; but he must, in the first place, take a voyage to Stornoway: he was nearly drowned on the way. On second thoughts, the Bishop proposed that Alley should take his Degree at Trinity College, Dublin; but, cognisant that he had no chance of success there, he struck out for Giessen, and paid £60 for A.M. and Ph. D. On coming back to Pittenweem, in the Autumn, with the Deed of Honours, Mr. Alley unfortunately called at five o'clock, when the Bishop was feeding. When his Lordship's health was asked for, a curt rejoinder was made—"Oh! are you here again? I'm very poorly. You'll find an inn in Anster. Call to-morrow. Good night to you."—This Act, without the Scenes, is lost: I only witnessed the latter half. Before I was up in the morning, the Bishop sent me a summons of immediate attendance, when I was asked—"What for are you harbouring that fellow here? I'm told that you have kept him all night. Tell him that you and I are not bound to keep up house for wayfarers. However, since he is here, you can bring him over."

The Bishop denounced the produced Diploma for Doctor of Philosophy, &c., as an imposture, and ordered the amateur Parson about his business. On calming down, however, Alley was sent as a Boarder to Carslogie, the residence of the Rev. G. G. Milne, of Cupar, where he was schooled for a twelvemonth. Bishop Low at last Ordained him, by Deputation, for Blairgowrie, where he got into debt and poverty, being necessitated latterly to dwell and sleep in his Vestry. He quite lost caste with the "Scotch Office Party," whose chariot wheels then rolled heavily. He cheated me out of several pounds on his transit to the Emerald Isle, and the last rumour of him was that he was there trying the art of "Dominie" in a Dame's School.

The Congregation at Blairgowrie petitioned Bishop Torry to have "The Scotch Communion Office" discontinued, and to have the English Office instead, but were refused; and one Sunday the whole of the people went out, except Miss Elizabeth Robertson, when a Clergyman proceeded, on commission, to Celebrate

according to the "Scottish Use." The Congregation gained their Appeal, from the Bishop's inflexibility, to the Episcopal Synod.

We come on now to a remarkable incident in our Bishop's Episcopal life, viz., *The Appeal of Bishop Luscombe on Passive Communion.*

The Rev. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, and in Deacon's Orders, had been for some time anxious to re-establish Communion between the Church of England and the Church in Russia. He was residing in St. Petersburg, with this end in view, and he found among other obstacles which prevented his being admitted to Communion, the scandal arising out of a recent occurrence in connexion with the British Chaplain at Geneva. Two Russian ladies, a mother and daughter, had been admitted by him to Communion, as Converts from their own Church. Mr. Palmer maintained that the Chaplain had no right to do as he had done, and appealed to the then Bishop of London, under whose License Mr. Hare, the Chaplain, was acting. The Bishop maintained that it was no concern of the Clergyman's whether the ladies came as Converts or not. If they felt themselves impelled by conscientious convictions to Communicate, he held that no one had a right to interfere with them, if they were persons of good life and conversation. This was "Passive Communion." The daughter seems to have returned to her pristine Communion, but the mother found her way to Paris, and placed herself in connexion with Bishop Luscombe. The Bishop being accredited by the Scottish Bishops, Mr. Palmer now came to this Country with Letters Commendatory from Bishop Luscombe. During the negotiations, Bishop Luscombe Died, and Mr. Palmer was then adopted by the Bishop of St. Andrews, who alone in Scotland was favourable to his Appeal. Mr. Palmer received a Formal License to officiate in the Diocese, pending his Appeal to the Scottish Church. He had his Appeal Printed—an 8vo Volume of 780 closely-printed pages, and a most singular evidence of persevering zeal in wearing a principle down to exhaustion.

Under the Incumbency of the Rev. George Wood, "The English Chapel" (now S. John's Church, Perth), in January, 1849, after having been about 90 years in a state of Schism from the Church, placed itself in connexion and Communion with the Bishop of the Diocese.

In December, 1850, S. Ninian's Cathedral (after, as a matter of course, all sorts of opposition) was duly Consecrated. Let the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D., tell his feelings thereupon:—

It was just about sunset on a fine December day that I arrived in Perth. There had been a slight fall of snow on the Grampians, and the stillness of the Fair City, and the setting in of the frost, seemed to bring out in greater relief the bustle within the walls of the Cathedral; and the glare of its lights, as the workmen were hurrying to the conclusion of their task, was in strange contrast with the darkness and quietness of the adjacent street. That night

I shall ever remember as one of the strangest in my life. Many of the most necessary arrangements had been driven off till the very last; the carpenter's hammer and the mason's chisel were still to be heard; a crowd of workmen were yet engaged in putting the finishing touch to their respective departments; the frescoes were still incomplete, and in the later hours of the evening the Choir was practising the Chants and the Hymns for the next day. An English reader can hardly form any idea of the interest and curiosity with which our proceedings were regarded by Presbyterian spectators, to whom the whole Ritual of the Church was then so utterly unknown, that, as I remember, the leading Perth Newspaper of the following week gave an elaborate description to its readers of what was meant by Chanting. Perfect silence settled down over the City; but still as we visited the Cathedral at twelve, at two, at four, and at six, the workmen were still engaged in their various occupations; nor was it till the late morning of a Scottish December day had fairly broken that everything was prepared for the approaching Solemnity. I may be allowed to describe the Service itself as I described it in a contemporary Periodical.

The doors of the Cathedral were open at 10.30, and by a simple arrangement the members of the Scotch Church were separated from others, whom curiosity or a better feeling drew to the Ceremonial. In the meantime the Choir, which is exceedingly elevated, was gradually filled by the Canons, Clergy, Lay-Vicars, and Choristers, to the number of about 50 in all. The Bishop of Brechin, who officiated for the Bishop of St. Andrews, arrived at 11.30, and was met at the Western Door by the whole body of Clergy, by whom he was conducted to the Altar. The usual Formularies having been gone through, the Procession was formed in the following order:—Choristers, Lay Vicars, Deacons, English Priests, Scotch Priests, Canons of S. Ninian's, Dean's Verger, Pro-Dean, Bishop's Verger, Bishop, supported by his Chaplains. Proceeding down the Nave, and round the North and South Aisles, they returned up the Nave, and such was the length of the Procession, that the foremost Chorister had already passed the Chancel Doors, on his way to the North Aisle, before the Bishop had reached the West Door. At that moment the Precentor intoned "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is;" and the Choir thundered out, "The compass of the world, and they that dwell therein," with the rest of the Psalm (from Helmore's *Psalter Noted*, as were all the Psalms). The Bishop, having again taken his place at the Altar, pronounced the usual Prayers of Consecration: that for the Font being followed by the Anthem, "If ye love Me;" that for the Pulpit by "The Lord gave the word;" and that for the Altar by the Hallelujah Chorus. The Clergy then returned into the Sacristy, while the doors of the Church being thrown open, it was soon crammed. The Bishop having taken his seat in his Throne, Prayers were Sung by the Rev. H. F. Humble, Chanter; the Lessons were read by the Rev. J. Haskoll, Sacrist, and the Rev. J. C. Chambers, the Chancellor; and Litany by the Rev. T. Helmore and the Rev. A. Wilson. For the Anthem, the Hymn, *Angularis Fundamentum* (Hymnal Noted).

The Holy Communion was Celebrated according to the Scotch Use, by the Bishop, assisted by the three Canons, as Epistler, Gospeller, and Assistant Priest. After the Nicene Creed, Letters Missive were read from the Bishop of St. Andrews, by which he erected the Collegiate Church of S. Ninian into the Cathedral of the United Diocese. The Sermon was

Preached by the Rev. J. M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College, from S. Matthew vi. 5, the Lord's Prayer having been appointed for the subject of the Dedication Sermons. In the Evening, the Sermon was Preached by the Rev. T. Chamberlain. On Thursday, during the Morning Communion, J. Comper was Ordained Deacon. The Sermon was Preached by the Rev. E. B. K. Fortescue. In the Evening several adults were Baptized; and several, who had received Presbyterian Baptism, were admitted into the Church according to the Scottish Form. The Converts knelt at the west door, and were admitted with the words—"We receive this person into the Congregation of Christ's Flock," &c. After Prayer, these, with several of those who had just been Baptized, were Confirmed by the Bishop, according to the Scottish Form—"I Sign thee with the Sign of the Cross, and I Lay mine hands upon thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Defend, O Lord," &c. On account of the extreme length of the Service, which was not over till ten o'clock, there was no Sermon. On Friday morning, after Prayers, the Bishop was enthroned (by Proxy) and the Canons were Installed. The Rev. C. T. Erskine, of Stonehaven, represented the Bishop, was received at the west door by the Canons, and conducted to the Altar, where Prayers were said over him, and thence to the Throne, after which the *Te Deum* was sung. The Sermon at the Early Communion was Preached by the Rev. C. T. Erskine, that at the second Celebration by the Rev. P. Cheyne, and that in the Evening by the Rev. A. Lendrum.

When Bishop Torry was in his 86th year, at the request of seven of the Clergy of his Diocese—(the Very Rev. John Torry, his son, the Rev. John Macmillan, the Rev. Alexander Lendrum, the Rev. Thomas Walker, the Rev. John Charles Chambers, the Rev. Thomas Wildman—all Presbyters; and the Rev. William Palmer, Deacon)—he gave his Imprimatur to an Edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which purported to be in strict conformity with the Usage of the Church of Scotland, and he recommended it to the use of the Clergy of his own Diocese. The Address, Signed by these "Seven Wise-acres *at Muthill*," stated that they were "deeply sensible of the importance of having the Liturgy and Usages of the Church in Scotland, for the last Century, attested by a Prelate of Bishop Torry's age and experience, and begged to express their desire that such a Book might be Edited, under his sanction, to serve as a Document of reference and authority, in regard to the practice of our Church." This Volume (Printed in 1849 at Edinburgh by R. Lendrum & Co., Hanover Street) was Condemned as a Fiction by the Episcopal College, at a Synod held at Aberdeen, April 17–19, 1850—Bishop Forbes of Brechin alone dissenting.

Extract Minute of Proceedings of the Episcopal College at their recent Synod (April 17-19, 1850) at Aberdeen.

The attention of the Synod was called to a Prayer Book lately Published and Issued by Mr. Lendrum of Edinburgh, purporting to be a Prayer Book according to the Use of the Church of Scotland, and containing many matters which are neither contained in any parts of the Book of Common Prayer adopted by this Church, nor adopted by any General Synod as the use of the Church of Scotland: to which Book is prefixed a Recommendation from the Bishop of St. Andrews, &c., to the Clergy of his Diocese.

The Synod Resolved—That the Publication of a Book, purporting to be a Prayer Book according to the Use of the Church of Scotland, without any sanction from a General Synod, nor even from an Episcopal Synod, is an instance of High Presumption on the part of Mr. Lendrum and those who have employed him; and that the sanction of a single Bishop, which has been obtained, does not extenuate the offence of which Mr. Lendrum and his employers have been guilty. The Synod directs that this Resolution be communicated to Mr. Lendrum, with the expression of the earnest hope, and command (so far as its command can legitimately be issued) that Mr. Lendrum and his employers take all possible means to recal any Copies that have been issued, and to suppress the remainder of the Edition; and the Synod directs that the Bishop of St. Andrews, &c., be requested to withdraw his Imprimatur.

W. J. Trower, Bishop of Glasgow, &c.,
Clerk to the Episcopal Synod.

Bishop Torry wrote a Memorial to his "dear Colleagues in Christ," refusing to withdraw the Prayer Book. At the Autumnal Episcopal Synod, held 5th September, 1850, the Book was again Condemned, and a Circular sent to all the English Bishops to that effect. This "Muthill Prayer Book" still continues to be used, notwithstanding Admonitions and Prohibitions. In July, 1850, Dr. Torry sanctioned and recommended a Collection of 127 Hymns and 27 Anthems for the use of his Diocese, which were said to have been mainly compiled by Robert Campbell, Esq. of Skerrington, Ayrshire. These, together with a Calendar, were marvellous Reforms, compared to *Scotch Uses* in this respect hitherto. It is a great pity that those who got up this new Prayer Book did not make a better job of it than they did, and avail themselves of the Doctrinal and Ritual Knowledge spread abroad so extensively during the last half score years.

It may be worth while to call attention to the following *Advertisement*, prefixed to "An Historical Catechism, containing in short the Sacred History, and the Doctrines of Christianity as taught in the Primitive Church, with an Explanation of the

Festivals and Fasts. Intended for the use of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head. MDCCLXXV." Bishop Innes' Catechism is founded upon this. I have never seen any Copy but my own, and no Catechism ever pleased me so well for clear Dogmatic teaching.

The learned Reader will perceive that the following Catechism is perfectly agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, as explained by the ancient Catholic Church, though somewhat different from the Articles in the Common Prayer Book. And as that difference may surprise many people who have been in use to consider the Episcopal Church of Scotland only as a Branch of the Church of England, holding all her particular Principles and Tenets, therefore the Editors think it proper to undeceive them in that matter, and to acquaint such as are ignorant of the History of their own Church, that she always has been, and still is, a Society distinct from, and independent upon that of England; and, therefore, that although she honours the Church of England as a Sister Church, she never did homologate her Articles, nor require them to be Subscribed by any of her Members, either Laity or Clergy. And farther, that although our Governors found it convenient to connive at the introduction of the English Liturgy into this Country, yet, by no Law or Canon, have they ever tied themselves or their Clergy to the use of it, however excellent a composition it may be; that it is upon the main the best Collection of Public Devotions extant, must be acknowledged; but it had been still more perfect, because more agreeable to primitive Christianity, had the Communion Office been permitted to remain as it was first Reformed. And it is a pity that by the junction of it and the Morning Prayer and Litany, the Lord's Prayer and Doxology should be so frequently repeated; and that there should be two Creeds, two Blessings, and frequently two Confessions, and two Absolutions at one Diet of Worship; because these are evidently imperfections, which, with some other Improprieties in the choice of Lessons, &c., stand in need of being corrected, and, it is hoped, will receive proper alterations soon.

All the faults and deficiencies of the Book of Common Prayer "according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland," which are at the present day so loudly complained against, as not according to such *Use*, are, in the "Muthill Prayer Book," perpetuated in redundancy, even to the caution, "A Man may not Marry his Grandmother;" and a number of traditionary *Scotch Uses* are entirely omitted. One remarkable *Use and Wont* of the Church of Scotland, as occasion required, is unnoticed, viz., *The Office for Absolving Fornicators.* I have witnessed repeatedly, in a Chapel where *Scotch Uses* were rigidly adhered to, this impressive Form, or "Cutty Stool Office," which I possess. The door was carefully snibbed during the time of

Absolution, which was always given with Imposition of Hands; and the Delinquent, for the time being, stationed on the Stool of Repentance, was termed "*Houghmygandy.*"

Torry's Book was to serve as an Authoritative Document of reference in regard to the Uses and bygone Practices of the Scotch Episcopal Church. It fails throughout in such pretensions, and contradicts the Editor in his Letter to Lord Forbes, Dated August, 1847, where he exhibits what a Skeleton of Divinity the Scotch Episcopal Church was, even in his own reminiscences. With the utmost reluctance he himself gave up the use of the *Black Gown*, worn throughout the entire Service, even when he had been presented with a Surplice; and yet King Edward VI.'s Rubric stands in the forefront of *his* Prayer Book, implying that "such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, were retained and in use in the Episcopal Church of Scotland from the days of the second year of that Monarch's Reign." The Rubrics prefixed to the Forms of Marriage, Burial of the Dead, Ordination of the Clergy, &c., are not correct exponents of the *Uses* of the Scotch Church. And, to give out, as a Document of Reference and Authority, that the *Use* of said Church was to *Sing* the *Psalter Pointed*, is indeed an old wife's fable. Alas! the Scotch Episcopal Church had great ado to sing even *Tait and Brady*. Another omission is—no reference to the general *Use of Tokens*. It was ill done of those who planned this Prayer Book to wheedle the good Patriarch, æt. 86, to endorse such a would-be Catholic Miscellany.

For the "Scottish Communion Office" he may almost be said to have lived for the last 20 years of his life. His Letters, his occasional Papers, all bear witness that this was the subject uppermost in his thoughts.

The concluding portion of the life of the Bishop is given by his son, Dean Torry, who, extraordinary to relate, Signed the Petition for his father's Book of Usages, and afterwards recanted.

After his visit to Crieff, in 1847, he did not leave his home for any long journey; but he continued to enjoy good health to the end of his career with very little interruption; and he retained his powers of locomotion and com-

parative activity, until his last illness, which seized him ten days before his Death. About twelve months before that happened, and when he had nearly completed his 88th year, such was his remaining vigour, that he paid his annual visit to his near relations, Mr. and Mrs. Ellies, at Buthlaw, several miles from Peterhead, and spent the day in lively conversation with them. To the very last he was blessed with a sound mind, and kept up his habits of mental activity and regularity. Although living in a kind of seclusion for several years before his Death, time never seemed to hang heavy on his hands. He often refreshed his memory with the Works of Ken, Hickes, Collier, Brett, and others, Authors on whom he ever looked as models of Catholicity in their principles.

In his concluding years, and until it was interrupted by his last illness, his usual mode of spending the day may be given as follows:—After breakfast, at nine o'clock, he read a part of the Greek New Testament, and then a portion of the Works of some of his favourite Authors, three of which may be said to have been his daily companions—viz., "Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*," "Jones' Life of Bishop Horne," and "Williams' Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection." When his reading was over, he devoted a great part of the remainder of the day to Epistolary Correspondence, chiefly on the business of his Diocese, and to other writing, being very particular in making with his own hand Copies of all his business-Letters. It may be mentioned as a proof of his industry in this respect, that he Copied over in his latter years, in a fair hand (for which he was remarkable to the last), various Sermons, both of his own and of others; and a 4to volume remains, into which he had Copied, after he was 84 years of age, many particular Letters to various of his Correspondents.

Ten days he lay on the bed of sickness, occasionally distressed with a painful and weakening disease, but for the most part with intervals of ease, in which, no longer occupying his mind with worldly concerns, he was evidently, when awake, rapt in heavenly meditation. At length, in his 89th year, on the morning of Sunday, the 3d of October, 1852, surrounded by all the living members of his family, without a groan or sigh, his spirit returned to God who gave it.

At the earnest solicitation of the Provost and Canons of Perth, it was agreed by his family that his remains should be interred in that Cathedral. They were removed from Peterhead to Aberdeen on the 12th of October, were received in that City by the Primus and by some of the Clergy, and by them escorted to the Southern Railway. At the Perth Station, the Canons and others of the Cathedral body were in waiting; the Choristers and Vergers preceded the Hearse to S. Ninian's, and the Coffin was deposited in the Nave under a Canopy of black cloth, emblazoned with the Arms of the Three Sees. The Provost of the Cathedral, having laid on it the Pastoral Staff and the Mitre, took his place at the head, and every three hours the various Watchers, all of them connected with the Cathedral, were relieved. The inhabi-

tants of the Town were admitted about nine o'clock, passed round the Coffin, and went out by the same door at which they had entered. It was very late before all that wished had visited the scene; the doors were then closed, and the rest of the Watch was kept by the Cathedral Clergy alone.

On the following day the Funeral took place. The Pall was borne by the Warden of Trinity College and seven other Clergy of the Dioceses. The Bishops of Brechin and Moray were in attendance, and by the former the Service itself was performed. The Psalms and Anthems were Chanted by the Choir, by whom also, at the conclusion of the Solemnity, the *Dies Iræ*, from the Hymnal Noted, was sung.

The Bishop was Buried on the North Side of the Choir, and, as the ancient custom was, facing the West. The Funeral Sermon was Preached by the Rev. J. B. Pratt, Incumbent of Cruden.

Important Addenda.

The following Emendations have arrived in time. They are specimens of how three Doctors differ. I was indebted to Dr. Rorison of Peterhead for telling me that Bishop Torry was Born at "Pennan," and also for its Topographical Description, and for the Smuggling propensities of its denizens.

. . . . I have just gone over the Sketch of the Life of Bishop Torry in your *Scotichronicon*, where there are some things which, I am sure, when pointed out, you will see the necessity of correcting. You say that he was born at Pennan, in the Parish of King Edward. Pennan is not in the Parish of King Edward; nor was the Bishop born there, but at Garneston, where you state that his father was "a Weaver at the Wauk-Mill." His father was not a Weaver, but a Dyer or Litster—a grade considerably above that of a common Weaver, and requiring in those days especially, when the science was less studied, a practical knowledge of Chemistry.

You mention also that "the Cottages in the fishing Hamlet of Pennan, are perched like nests high up on the steep rocks." Here again you are wrong. The Village of Pennan is built along the *base* of the Cliff, it being not an unusual thing, at very high tides, to have the houses flooded to the depth of a foot or two.

The place where the accident happened to the Bishop's family, was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Old Kirk of Aberdour, about two miles East from Pennan. It was occasioned, not by a fall of the rocks, but by a land-slip, the marks of which may still be seen; and the little Mill-lead yet

remains which Thomas Torry conducted from the Dour, along the face of the Brae, to turn the wheel of the Wauk-Mill which he erected at that place.

There is, in the immediate vicinity of the land-slip, the vestiges of which may still be seen, a sort of hut, embedded in the clay slope; so that one might really pass by it without observing it, the door being shaded by a sort of bramble, and only the front, or little more, visible. Some years ago, Dean Torry and I, with others, visited this locality, when we found, to our surprise, the hut inhabited by an old man, a sort of hermit. Whether he is now alive I know not, but he was an intelligent carl; or whether his hut forms any part of the house occupied by the Torrys, I do not think that we asked, or if we did I have forgotten.

I feel sure you will excuse the liberty I have taken in pointing out these things to you. . . . JOHN B. PRATT.

St. James's, Cruden, April 30, 1868.

. . . . Neither Dr. Pratt nor Dr. Rorison has given you correct information of my father's Birth-place, or, so far as I can see, of my grandfather's occupation. What I have of my father's place of Nativity is undeniable, being testified by an Extract from the Baptismal Register of the Parish of King Edward, as it was given by the Registrar to my late cousin, Dr. Torry, in Aberdeen; and what I am to send you of his ancestors, &c., was taken from his own mouth at Peterhead in 1848, when I was at a visit to him. The Extract is as follows:—

"January 1st, 1764.—Thomas Torry, in Waukmill of Garneston, and Jean Watson, his spouse, had a son Baptized named Peter. Witnesses, Peter Torry in the Craig of Garneston, and Peter Torry in the Waukmill of Strathairy.

"Extracted from the Register of Baptisms at King Edward, this 18th day of October, 1843, by "JAMES STEINSON, Sess. Clk."

[The Bishop's name was *Peter* then, not Patrick.]

Now, this corresponds in Date with what my father always told me, that he was Born in the Parish of King Edward on the 27th Dec., 1763, as I have stated in his "Life," &c. This place, Garneston, is many miles away from Pennan, and also from Dr. Pratt's supposed place of Birth [Accident], near the Auld Kirk of Aberdour. This is evident to any one who will consult Thomson's Maps of the Parishes of Scotland, a Book in my possession, where the place Garneston is marked; and also Balmaud, not far from it, where my father's mother was Born, *her* father being Farmer at Mains of Balmaud. It also corresponds with what my father told me, that when a grown up boy he used to walk five miles daily to a School at Cumineston, that place being distant from Garneston about five miles, as you may also see by the said Map. It may be that my grandfather had eventually gone to the Parish of Aberdour, where is the place, as alleged by Dr. Pratt, of his mother's and a younger brother's sudden death; but that has nothing to do with the place of his Birth, and it is plain that his father had not left Garneston till the son (my father) was a grown up lad, able to walk five miles a day to School and five back, and therefore capable of remembering what his father's occupation was, as in the information given by him to me, *viva voce*, and which I took down at the time, and send you a Copy of.

It may be that "Tullochgorum" is right in his Poem about the "humble cot" in which my grandmother is said to have met her death, as pathetically described by that true Poet; but that has nothing to do, as I have said, with the *House* in which the Bishop was Born; and the removal could not have taken place for some years after his Birth, as he continued during his boyhood at his father's house at Garneston, first under the tuition of his uncle, and then attending the School at Cumineston.

The following information was taken down by me as related to me by my father at Peterhead, in September 1848:—

"William Torry was a farmer at Drakesmires, in the parish of King Edward, about the beginning of the last Century. He kept a greyhound, and was fond of sporting. He had by his wife five sons—Alexander, James, Peter, George, and Thomas, the youngest, who was my father. Several of my uncles were manufacturers and dyers in Elgin. James, the second son, was a zealous Jacobite, and followed Prince Charles Edward in 1745 as a volunteer with Sir Charles Innes of Coxton, in Lord Pitsligo's Regiment of Horse. After the failure of that expedition, he was obliged to skulk, and I have been often in the Cave, on the banks of the Garneston, where he used to hide, and where his mother secretly carried food to him. After the Act of Indemnity, he returned to Elgin for the purpose of following his former occupation; but not meeting with encouragement in consequence of his political principles, he returned to his native Parish of King Edward, and took up a School at a place called the Craig of Garneston. He was a man of piety and considerable scholarship, and I was for some years his pupil. During that time I have repeatedly listened at his chamber door, in the intervals of teaching, and heard him reading aloud the Prayers of the Church. He was a man of fine appearance, and when dressed out in his black clothes, three-cocked hat, and large bushy wig, he looked more like a dignified Bishop than many who have actually held that Office.

"The fifth son, Thomas, my father, was Born, as far as I can discover, about 1728. He was settled as a Manufacturer and Dyer at the Wauk Mill of Garneston, on a stream of that name, where he had a small Farm, on the property of the Earl of Fife. He married Jane, the daughter of Mr. Watson, a Farmer at Mains of Balmaud, in the same Parish, a man of considerable substance, who was able to settle his three eldest sons—George, Alexander, and William—in Farms. James, his youngest son, was at first Teacher of the Parish School of Selkirk, and afterwards Rector of the Grammar School of Haddington, and was father of John Watson, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh; and Alexander, the present Minister of Leuchars, in Fife. I was assistant to my uncle for about a year; and then, at the age of 18, I went North, and was for a time Teacher of the Parish School of Lonmay, in Aberdeenshire."

So far my father's narrative to me. In reference to his grandfather, William Torry, I find the following Extract from the Baptismal Register of King Edward, already referred to:—

"July 19th, 1717.—William Torry, in Drakesmires, had a son Baptized named Peter. John Duncan and Peter Sangster, both in Yonder Garneston, witnesses."

The mother's name is not given, which I see is the case in regard to various other Baptisms of the time.

Since writing the above, in looking over my cousin Dr. Torry's Papers, I have found the following Inscription of a Grave-stone in the Church-yard of King Edward, which fixes the time of my grandmother's death :—

"This Stone is erected by Thomas Torry, at Wauknill of Auchmedden, in memory of his wife, Jean Watson, and son, Alexander Torry, who both Died March 8th, 1784. The mother was aged 58, and the son 23 years."

Now, as my father was Born the end of 1763, this shows that he was somewhat above 20 years old when his mother and elder brother were killed.

St. Anne's, May 21, 1868. J. Torry.

LXI. Charles Wordsworth, D.C.L., Oxon., A.D. 1853,

Is the second son of the Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, sometime Dean of Bocking, Rector of Lambeth, and afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. His mother was Priscilla, a daughter of Charles Lloyd, Esq. of Bingley House, Birmingham. The Family of Wordsworth came from Penistone, in Yorkshire, and can be traced back to the end of the fourteenth Century. Our Prelate was Born at Lambeth in 1806, and was Baptized in the Private Chapel of Lambeth Palace—the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Manners Sutton, after whom he was named, being one of his godfathers; the other was his uncle, the Poet. He was educated at Harrow School under Dr. George Butler, and from thence proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in the year 1830, obtaining a

Crest, a Mitre supported by two Pastoral Staffs, crossed behind the Shield; on the dexter side, a St. Andrews Cross, the Arms of the See; on the sinister, Three Church Bells, the Arms of the Wordsworth Family; motto, "Veritas."

first-class *in literis humanioribus*. He had previously successfully competed for the Latin Verse Prize in 1827; and in reward for this distinction the Dean gave him a Studentship. He also gained the Latin Prize Essay in 1831. After taking his B.A. Degree, he remained at Oxford for two or three years, as a private Tutor, during which time he reckoned among his Pupils the late Duke of Newcastle, Mr. (now the Right Hon.) W. E. Gladstone, Mr. W. K. Hamilton (now Bishop of Salisbury), Mr. H. E. (now Archbishop) Manning, and Mr. James Hope (now Hope-Scott of Abbotsford). It will be seen afterwards that his early intimacy with two of these was the occasion of his coming to live in Scotland.

He was also well known during his School and College career as a successful Competitor in Athletics, attaining to unique distinction both in the cricket field and on the river. One of the *Eleven* in the *first* (1827), and also in the *second* (1829) Cricket Match played between the two English Universities, he rowed, moreover, as one of the *Eight* in the first Boat Race (also in 1829), pulling against the now Bishops Selwyn and Tyrrell; so that he took part in both encounters, which fell not only in the same year but in the same week—the Boat Race being on Wednesday and the Cricket Match on Friday. On all three occasions he was *victorious*.

Mr. Wordsworth was Ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Oxford in 1834, and was content to remain in the Diaconate till 1840, when he was Ordained Priest by the Bishop of Winchester.

He continued to hold a Studentship in his College until his Marriage in 1835 with Miss Charlotte Day, eldest daughter of the Rev. George Day. She Died in 1839, leaving an only daughter. The Latin distich which he composed as an Inscription for her Monument has been much admired:—

> I, nimium dilecta, vocat Deus; I, bona nostræ
> Pars animæ: mœrens altera, disce sequi.

Lord Derby, among several others, has attempted a Translation of it into English Verse, which appeared in the London *Guardian* for May 1, 1867. It is as follows:—

Too dearly loved, thy God hath called thee; Go,
Go, thou best portion of this widowed heart:
And thou, poor remnant, lingering here in woe,
So learn to follow as no more to part.

On the second Mastership of Winchester College becoming vacant in 1835, he was chosen to succeed to that Office, which he continued to fill for ten years with great credit and success—being the first instance of one Elected as a Master on that Ancient Foundation who had not been educated at the School. Those who wish to see more fully his method of treating his Foundation Scholars at Winchester, would do well to consult his "Christian Boyhood at a Public School," 2 Vols. 8vo, 1846. In this latter year he also Published "The College of S. Mary, Winton, near Winchester," *Illustrated*, small 4to. He had previously become known as a Preacher and Divine by a Sermon on "Evangelical Repentance," which he delivered in Winchester Cathedral, in aid of the two great Church Societies (S. P. C. K. and S. P. G.), on November 11th, 1841; and which was Published (by request) with a Dedication to the Warden of Winchester. The Sermon attracted a good deal of attention at the time, as it advocated the restoration of Primitive Discipline, according to the express wish of the Church in the Commination Office. It was followed by a large "Appendix" of authorities, both ancient and Anglican.

Mr. Wordsworth's reputation as a Greek Scholar was confirmed by the attempt which he commenced in 1839 to put an end to the confusion then caused by the use of various Grammars in the different English Public and Private Schools. His "Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta in usum Scholarum," which first appeared in that year, and is Published by the Oxford Clarendon Press, has now reached the Seventeenth Edition, having superseded almost every other Work of that kind in England: A full account of the labour and difficulty he had to encounter in accomplishing this task, and of the principles upon which it was executed, may be seen in a Pamphlet which he recently Printed, on the occasion of his Grammar having been formally accepted by the Head Masters of the nine principal Public Schools. It is

entitled "The School Greek Grammar. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Moberly, Head-Master of Winchester College. Edinburgh: 1866."

The zeal with which Mr. Wordsworth devoted himself to his scholastic duties proved injurious to his health; so much so that in the Autumn of 1845 he was compelled to withdraw from his post at Winchester, and seek the benefit of rest and sea air at Brighton. His father, who then resided in that neighbourhood upon his living at Buxted, and was himself in declining strength (he Died on the 2nd of the following February), was averse to his returning; and the consequence was that he withstood the earnest solicitations of the Warden and Head Master, and resigned his Office as Second Master (worth more than £1400 a-year, with a suitable residence) at the Christmas of that year.

After his father's death, he returned to Winchester for the sake of the society of old friends, and was living there privately in a hired house, when, on the morning of Whitsun Eve, 1846, he received unexpectedly a Letter from Mr. W. E. Gladstone, then in office under Sir R. Peel, to say that he was coming to see him that night, on important business, and to stay with him the next day. The "important business" turned out to be a request on Mr. Gladstone's part that Mr. Wordsworth would accept the Office of Warden of Trinity College, which was then being raised near Perth, in Scotland, upon the banks of the Almond. It was urged that his past career, especially his experience of the system of English Public Schools, would be likely to prove of the greatest assistance to the new Institution. Mr. Wordsworth objected, that he was "a broken down horse," quite unfit for the labour and anxiety of such an undertaking. To this it was replied that he might have a year to recruit, as the College Buildings were not sufficiently advanced to admit of its being opened till the following Spring. In point of emolument, the proposed Office was not to equal, by less than one-half, the value of that which he had resigned a few months before; but when he found that Trinity College had been mainly set on foot by two of his old Oxford friends and pupils—Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. James Hope—for purposes in which he

entirely sympathised, all his scruples and objections gave way, and he consented to allow his name to be submitted to the College of Bishops for appointment to the Wardenship. There is reason to believe that he felt bitter disappointment when, shortly after, the latter of these friends joined the Church of Rome; and the former began to deviate from the Political, or rather Politico-Ecclesiastical, Principles which they had once held in common.

In confirmation of the foregoing Narrative, it may be added that, at a dinner given in Edinburgh, on September 28th, 1853, to the Seven Bishops and the Clergy of the Church, by Lay Members of the Church Society, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, in proposing the toast of Trinity College, and speaking of the Warden, then become Bishop of St. Andrews, stated that Mr. Gladstone once said to him—"The best day's work I ever did, was when I went down to Winchester and persuaded Wordsworth to come into Scotland as our first Warden of Glenalmond." The name *Glenalmond* was given to the College by Mr. Wordsworth, who was greatly taken by its poetical sound.

In token of the general esteem in which Mr. Wordsworth had been held at Winchester, it is due to mention that, when he resigned the Second Mastership, the Boys presented him with a splendidly bound Copy of "Dugdale's Monasticon, 1846," as one whom his Scholars had found "per decem annos blandum, simplicem, et in alumnos animi paterni notissimum." His former Pupils subscribed to place in the College Ante-Chapel a beautiful Window of stained glass, by Wailes, "as a tribute of gratitude" to his memory; which, besides the initials "C. W.," bears, under suitable emblematic figures, in the four lower compartments, the following Inscription:—

Baptizatos—Catechesi—per Confirmationem
ad Sanctam Eucharistiam—et ad omnia
Coelestia, Pastor, Magister, memores gratosque
discipulos ducebat.

After Baptism—by Catechising—through Confirmation—to the Holy Eucharist—and to all heavenly things, he was wont, as a Spiritual Pastor and Master, to lead his Disciples, who thus express their Remembrance and Gratitude.

Moreover, from the Assistant Masters (8 in number) he received, "in amicitiæ et observantiæ testimonium," a valuable collection of Theological Volumes of several kinds; while, by the request and at the expense of the Head Master, his Portrait, painted by G. Richmond, has since occupied the place of honour over the Chimney-piece in Dr. Moberly's Library; and Copies of the same were to be seen similarly distinguished in the houses both of the Warden and of Mr. Wickham, who succeeded Mr. Wordsworth as Second Master.

In reference to the word "Catechesi" in the Inscription mentioned above, it may be added here that an Educational benefit similar to that which he had rendered by his "Greek Grammar," but still more important, he hoped to perform, for boys of the Upper and Middle Classes, by the publication of his "Catechesis, or Christian Instruction, preparatory to Confirmation and First Communion," which first appeared in 1842. It is now in the Fifth Edition; and, besides being used in Schools, is required as a Text Book for Deacons' Orders by some of the English Bishops.

In the Autumn of 1846, while still residing at Winchester, Mr. Wordsworth married his second wife, Katharine Mary, eldest daughter of the Rev. W. B. Barter, and niece of the late Warden of Winchester; after which he set out with his Bride for Italy, where he spent the following Winter and Spring. By this lady, who is still living, he has a numerous family.

Meanwhile his Nomination to the Wardenship by Mr. Gladstone having been ratified by the Episcopal College, he came down to Scotland, in order to be present at the Laying of the first Stone of the College Chapel by Sir John Gladstone on September 8, 1846. On that occasion he delivered, as Warden, an Inaugural Address, which was afterwards Printed by desire of the three Bishops present, viz., Bishop W. Skinner of Aberdeen (Primus), Bishop Russell of Glasgow, and Bishop Moir of Brechin. At the Public Dinner after the Ceremony, the following Latin Epigram, in the style of Monkish Verse, was recited by Bishop Russell as the Warden's Composition, who also supplied an English Translation. Sir John Gladstone had just

before been made a Baronet, and was a munificent contributor to the College Buildings.

> Mactus honore novo, proprio cognomine lætus,
> Fundamenta domûs Virque Lapisque jacit.
> Quem Lætus-Lapis ipse jacit, lapis, omine lætus,
> Stet, stet in æternum, mactus honore novo!

> In honours new for high deserts arrayed,
> Gladstone, auspicious name, this Basement laid.
> Glad stone, laid here by Gladstone's bounteous hand,
> Blest still with honours new, for ever—ever—stand!

It was not till more than three years afterwards that the Chapel was completed and ready for Consecration. The Architect's estimate of £5000 for the Building ultimately rose to £8500; and the Warden, who had given the former sum in order that it might be applied for this purpose, subsequently increased his donation by £3500, rather than allow any portion of the cost to fall upon the Funds of the College. The College was opened for the Junior Department on May 4, 1847; but more than another year elapsed before it was sufficiently advanced to receive Theological Students. Some "Lines on the Fourth of May, the Anniversary of the Opening of Trinity College, Glenalmond," composed by the Warden, after the manner of Burns, may be seen (without his name) in the *S. E. Journal* for May, 1852, p. 108.

In August, 1847, the Chapel which had been built by Sir John Gladstone on his Estate at Fasque, was Consecrated by the Primus, Bishop W. Skinner of Aberdeen. Two Sermons Preached on the occasion—one by the Bishop of Oxford (S. Wilberforce), and the other by Mr. Wordsworth—were Published by desire and at the expense of Mr. Gladstone. Later in the same year, on the Festival of S. Simon and S. Jude, the Warden also Preached the Sermon when Mr. A. Ewing and Mr. A. P. Forbes were Consecrated together to the Episcopal Office in S. Andrew's, Aberdeen —the former as Bishop of Argyle and the Isles, the latter as Bishop of Brechin.

It was the express and urgent wish of Bishop Torry, in whose Diocese Trinity College was situated, that Mr. Wordsworth should receive Institution as a Presbyter of the Diocese, in order

that he might assist at the proceedings of the Annual Diocesan Synod, which the Bishop himself, in consequence of his advanced age, had now ceased to attend. He was thus drawn to take a more active part in Church matters than was perhaps desirable for one in his position, especially at a time when party spirit was strong, and anxious matters were continually coming up. Of this kind was one then well known by the name of "Deacon Palmer's Appeal," made "to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion." It was upon the great question of *Passive or Non-Passive Communion*. Bishop Torry recommended the whole matter, as embraced in the closely-printed thick Volume published by Mr. Palmer, to the consideration of his Synod; and when they met to discuss the question, Mr. Wordsworth read an Address, ending with four Resolutions, all of which the Synod adopted *unanimously;* and at the same time thanking him for his Address, ordered it to be Printed, and Copies to be forwarded to the other Synods of the Church. It should be stated that the case out of which the Appeal arose had reference to the Russian Church. The principal Resolution was to this effect:—"That we, the Members of this Diocesan Synod, for ourselves, for our own branch of the Church, and for the branches also with which we are in Communion, do solemnly disavow and repudiate the position, that no person can be rightfully prevented from taking the Communion in our Churches, provided only he profess himself to be a member of the same."

Mr. Wordsworth followed up his Synodical Resolutions with "A Letter to the Primus" (Printed for private circulation), enforcing his views with special application to the divided state of Scotland. These early efforts indicated the deep sense which he already entertained of the evil of separation. Mr. Palmer, who is a man of great ability and indomitable perseverance, had been an Oxford friend of the Warden's, and though they differed materially upon some points, the Warden was evidently anxious to support his cause as far as he conscientiously could. He has since separated from the Church of England, and, after showing for some time a strong inclination towards the Eastern Church, is now a member of the Church of Rome.

In 1850, when occasion was unhappily given for Controversy by what was called "Bishop Torry's Prayer Book," Mr. Wordsworth, though he always entertained the greatest respect for the Bishop himself, was one of those who did not consider it competent for a single Diocesan, without the cognizance or concurrence of his Episcopal Brethren, to set forth and recommend to the use of his Clergy, an Edition of "The Book of Common Prayer," purporting to be "according to the Use of the Church of Scotland," but, in fact, differing in several important particulars from any that had been before Published. Consequently, when the Synod of St. Andrews' Diocese met at the end of June, he thought it his duty to support the authority of the Episcopal Synod in their censure of that step; and when an adverse Report of the proceedings of the Diocesan Synod had appeared in the London *Guardian*, he defended himself and the majority of the Presbyters, including the Dean and Synod-Clerk, who had voted with him, in a series of Letters to the Editor of the same Journal (afterwards collected and Published under the title of "Seven Letters to the *Guardian*"), and also in a Pamphlet addressed to Bishop Torry himself. By the arrangement which the College of Bishops had then made for Trinity College, the Warden was required to use the Scotch and English Communion Offices on alternate Sundays; and he considered himself placed in an awkward and unfair position by his Diocesan's Recommendation of a Prayer Book which omitted the English Office. His principal opponent in this Controversy was the Rev. G. H. Forbes of Burntisland, who, it was believed, had assisted in the preparation of the Bishop's Book.

It was natural that the Warden of Glenalmond should feel an especial interest in the state of the Church in Perth. The Congregation of S. John's, which for nearly half a Century had been in a state of separation from the Bishop, was received back into Communion by the Dean, the Very Rev. J. Torry, acting for his father, on January 25th, 1849—a happy result, earnestly desired for many years by Bishop Torry, who had addressed an affectionate appeal to the Separatists; and when that was not properly responded to, had recently sent the Rev. J. C. Chambers, who,

by his assiduous and devoted Ministry, especially among the poor, succeeded in establishing a new Mission. Both Congregations being in want of a suitable Place of Worship, they were intending to build at the same time; or rather, in the case of the Mission, it was proposed that Lord Forbes' scheme—to constitute a Cathedral at Perth—just then suggested, should be adapted to receive it. Mr. Wordsworth was of opinion that it would contribute greatly to the consolidation and eventual increase of the Church in Perth if both schemes could be combined. With this view he Published, anonymously, "A Call to Union; respectfully addressed to the Members of the two Episcopal Congregations in Perth, 1850." It may be questioned whether the combination which he recommended was practicable under the circumstances; but it can scarcely be doubted that the Church might have been developed in Perth, as it has been at Dundee, far more rapidly and effectually out of one large, united Congregation (having Daily Service and Weekly Communion, as the Warden recommended) than out of two stunted and partially discordant bodies. As generally happens in such cases, the "Call" met with a favourable response from neither party. Mr. Wordsworth, however, proved his interest and impartiality in the matter by contributing largely and equally to both undertakings, which resulted in the new and very insufficient Church of S. John's; and in the new, and as yet imperfect, Cathedral of S. Ninian's.

In the same year, Mr. Wordsworth exerted himself by preaching in various Churches throughout the Country, on occasion of the Offertory which had been directed by the Episcopal Synod to be made on behalf of Trinity College. One of the Sermons which he delivered for that purpose (from Ps. cxiii. 9) was Published, by request, and dedicated "to the Seven Bishops of the Church in Scotland."

The following year, 1851, was in several respects an eventful one. It witnessed the first appearance of *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*—a Publication suggested and planned by Mr. Wordsworth, and, with large assistance from him, ably and successfully Edited for some years by Mr. Walker of Bowland. The Consecration of the College Chapel took place on May 1, S.

Philip's and S. James' Day; and the Morning Service having been preached by Dean Ramsay, the Warden, preaching at the Second Service, took occasion to allude—as he had also done in his Fasque Sermon, but speaking now more openly—to the fears which he entertained of a tendency towards separation of Church and State; having reason to suspect the change which had begun, and is now being plainly developed, upon that subject, in the mind of Mr. Gladstone, who was present on both occasions. The Sermon, under the title, "The Church, Home, and School," may be seen in the *S. E. Journal* for May. These occurrences, however, did not put a stop to friendly relations between the Warden and that distinguished Statesman, who, at the request of the former, contributed to the July Number of the *Journal* the Review of "Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate," p. 151. How much the mind of Mr. Wordsworth was running at that time upon the great Politico-Ecclesiastical question just referred to may be further discovered not only from several Articles which he contributed to the early Numbers of the *S. E. Journal*, but from an elaborate Sermon which he delivered in the Autumn of the same year, at Kidderminster, on occasion of the Jubilee of the S. P. G., and which his friend the Vicar (the Rev. T. L. Claughton, now Bishop of Rochester) requested to be allowed to Publish at his own expense. It was entitled "National Christianity an Article of the Christian Faith." An eminent High Church Layman attacked the doctrine of the discourse in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle;* but from the Votes which the same Gentleman has lately given, and the Speeches which he has made, in Parliament, it may be inferred that he has since seen cause to change his opinion.

In January, 1852, Mr W. E. Gladstone, then M.P. for the University of Oxford, Published his "Letter to the Right Rev. W. Skinner, D.D., Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus, on the Functions of Laymen in the Church," the primary and avowed object of which was to urge the admission of Laymen as Constituent Members of Ecclesiastical Synods. This Letter was thought by Mr. Wordsworth to give public evidence of what the writer's mind must eventually come to in regard to the severance

of Church and State. He therefore lost no time in giving the needful warning against what he considered a very dangerous position; and in the following month (February, 1852) appeared his "Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, on the Doctrine of Religious Liberty, as propounded in his Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus." In this Pamphlet, which was allowed by one of its severest critics and impugners to be "a masterly performance," there were remarks made which *now* appear as though they did

"Attain
To something like prophetic strain."

But *then* there were not *many* who saw the matter in the same light. There were, however, *some*. Among these may be named the loved and revered Isaac Williams, and the then Dean of Christ Church, the celebrated Greek Professor, Dr. Gaisford; the latter of whom wrote to Mr. Wordsworth as follows:—"I take this opportunity of thanking you for a Copy of your Letter to Mr. Gladstone, *wherein you have proved to my satisfaction that this Gentleman is unfit to represent the University.*" Mr. Gladstone kindly acknowledged the courteous manner in which Mr. Wordsworth had conducted the personal part of the Controversy; but the strictures upon the principle at stake were felt, it is believed, to be of some weight, and Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet, though soon out of Print, was never Republished. A second Edition of Mr. Wordsworth's Letter was issued, though not by himself, later in the year, and widely circulated for Electioneering purposes. It was not till more than thirteen years afterwards, viz., in July, 1865, that a majority of the Electors for the University of Oxford came to the same conclusion which Dean Gaisford had arrived at so long before.

In June Mr. Wordsworth again took up his pen, and prepared an Address upon the more immediate subject of Mr. Gladstone's Publication, when that matter came for Discussion before the Diocesan Synod. The Address was Published, by request of the Synod, in a Pamphlet entitled "Lay-Membership in Church Synods considered with reference to the Constitution of the Church in Scotland." Its arguments appeared to give general

satisfaction, and by tending to mould the decisions of the other Diocesan Synods, had the effect of quashing all further agitation of the question for some years.

Four months later in the same year, viz., on October 3, Bishop Torry Died. He had always looked upon the Warden as his probable Successor; but this was not to come to pass without difficulty from causes which must now be touched upon. During the whole of his Episcopate, Bishop Torry had been obliged to reside at a distance from his Diocese, being Incumbent at the same time of Peterhead, North of Aberdeen; and during the latter years of his life he was unable even to attend the Meetings of his Diocesan Synod. These circumstances were unfortunate, both in other respects and because they had given rise to the upgrowth of a more than usual amount of party spirit, and to the formation of opposing cliques among the small body of his Clergy, then amounting to 16 only. This state of things had caused the Election of a Successor to be looked forward to with more than ordinary interest and anxiety, not only in the Diocese but throughout the Church. Mr. Wordsworth had previously shown no desire for the post, as was proved by the fact (which came out in evidence before the Bishops upon the subsequent "Appeal") that when, some months before Bishop Torry's death, he had been applied to by the Senior, and one of the most respected, of the Presbyters (the Rev. J. C. Lyon of St. Andrews), to allow himself to be brought forward when the Vacancy, which could not be long distant, should arise—upon the plea that the opposite party among the Clergy would be sure to be ready with their Candidate—he sent *no answer* to the communication. Afterwards, when the Vacancy had occurred, he received a similar application from the Dean of the Diocese, the son of the late Bishop, and with this he complied; contrary to the wish of his friends in England, who were greatly averse to his settling himself in this country. When the day of Election (Nov. 10) came on, the Votes being 8 and 8, it was manifest that if any settlement was to be arrived at, Mr. Wordsworth, being the 17th Voter, must be placed in the dilemma either of allowing the 8 Clergy whose Candidate he was to be defeated in his person

by Voting for his opponent (who had, moreover, recently become Bishop of another Diocese), or by giving his Vote in his own favour, as they had requested him to do. The Warden (who was not a man to allow any cause in which he was engaged, and about which many others, he knew, felt even more keenly than he did himself, to be worsted, if he could lawfully help it) adopted the latter course. At the same time, he announced that he should request the College of Bishops to cancel his Vote if they disapproved of the step he had taken, and he wrote to the Primus to that effect. The next day, however, wishing to give the adverse Clergy an opportunity of reconsidering their position, he declined to accept the Election as it then stood. Accordingly a Mandate was issued for a new Election to take place on November 30, S. Andrew's Day. In the interval a remarkable—not to say providential—circumstance occurred which put the matter in a new light. The Warden's brother, the Learned Canon (now Archdeacon) of Westminster, in the course of an investigation relating to the affairs of the Abbey Chapter, was led to notice a provision of the Canon Law, by which it is ruled that in case of a Capitular Election, where one of the Candidates is a member of the Elective Body and the other is not, if the Votes are equal the former is, *ipso facto*, to have the preference, provided he agree to the Election, without giving his own Vote—a solution which, with obvious justice, precisely met the existing difficulty in the St. Andrews Diocese. And, further, it appeared that this principle had been accepted by authorities in England since the Reformation as part of the Ecclesiastical Law. When the day of Election came on a second time, the antagonist party so far relaxed in their determination that they offered to elect Mr. Wordsworth *unanimously*, provided he would promise at once to resign the Wardenship—thus acknowledging that their opposition was not founded upon any supposed moral or intellectual disqualification. To this proposal he did not feel himself at liberty to give consent, but only replied that if he found, upon experience, the duties of the two Offices incompatible, he would do as desired. It should be mentioned that the College Council, most of whom were anxious for his Election, had come to a Resolution

just before, "that the Office of Warden is compatible with that of Bishop, and that this opinion be placed on record in their Minutes." The answer of Mr. Wordsworth not being deemed satisfactory, another Candidate was named, and the Voting proceeded—only to arrive at the same result as before. An Appeal was taken to the College of Bishops, who, after full hearing, unanimously rejected it; and having before them an opinion of Mr. (now Sir) Roundell Palmer to the effect that the Canon Law was clearly and unquestionably in Mr. Wordsworth's favour, confirmed his Election. The two principal Appellants were the Rev. A. Lendrum (who was then at Crieff, but has now left Scotland), and the Rev. G. H. Forbes.

It is undesirable to enter further into the peculiarities of this case, for fear of disturbing feelings which, it is hoped, have been long dormant, never to be re-awakened. In this Country the merits of the contest were generally appreciated, especially by the Laity, from whom Mr. Wordsworth received a very cordial Address—an unprecedented mark of confidence and respect. Even in England it was understood, for the most part, what the nature of the circumstances really was. For instance, from Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was then in his 99th year, and who had always taken a remarkably strong and intelligent interest in our Church, the Warden, though personally unknown to him, received a Letter of congratulation, "only regretting that it was not the *Arch*-bishopric of St. Andrews to which he had been Elected." Even Dr. Neale, though a great admirer of Bishop Torry, and though he differed from Mr. Wordsworth upon some points, spoke of the Diocese of St. Andrews as one "which was so fortunate in its late Prelate, and *certainly not less so* in his Successor." [*Preface to Life of Bishop Torry, p. viii.*]

The Consecration took place on the F. of the Conversion of S. Paul (January 25th, 1853), at Aberdeen, the Primus being assisted by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

It may be mentioned here that the Revised Code of Canons of 1863 provides for the first time "that no Clergyman shall Vote for his own Election." But it is also provided, for the first

time, by the same Code, that "if any question shall arise as to the interpretation of the Canons or of any part thereof, the general principles of Canon Law shall be alone deemed applicable thereto"—a Provision which would have secured Mr. Wordsworth's Election without his own Vote. The former Clause, however, of the new Canons gave alarm to his delicacy of feeling, and when it came on for discussion he not only withdrew altogether from the General Synod, but resolved at once to offer the Resignation of his Bishopric. Whereupon respectful Addresses and Letters, from the Primus, in the name of his Episcopal Brethren, and from his own Clergy (including every one of those still in the Diocese who had opposed his Election) and Laity, flowed in, deprecating any such course. The result, and a fuller Account both of these particulars and of those which attended the Election itself, may be read in a Printed Letter which the Bishop addressed "To the Very Rev. J. Torry, Dean of the Diocese of St. Andrews," under Date February 19, 1863.

The first business of importance to which the new Bishop was called to give his attention, was the position of the Church and Clergy of S. Ninian's, Perth; concerning which, though it had now been Consecrated and in full use for more than two years, and claimed to be the Cathedral of the United Diocese, no authoritative communication had yet been made to the Presbyters either in or out of Synod. For this purpose a Special Diocesan Synod was called by the Bishop, and held at Trinity College on April 6. Some idea of the difficulties which Mr. Wordsworth had to encounter in the first instance from the party action which had existed among the Clergy, may be conceived when it is stated that every one of those who had supported him at his Election, concurred in resisting the attempts which he now made to adopt and place the Cathedral on a proper basis; while he was supported by every one of those who had before opposed him! Thus, the Votes being equal, nothing could be then determined. He himself announced, in the Sermon preached on that occasion (and afterwards Published, with the Report of the Proceedings of the Special Synod), the principle upon which he desired to act in his administration of the Diocese, viz., *so as to have regard not to*

this or that part only, but to the whole of the Ecclesiastical Body. Eventually he succeeded in making the Cathedral Scheme acceptable to all; and the new "Code of Statutes," carefully prepared by him with that view (the original Constitution having been objected to not only in the Diocese but by the Episcopal College), were unanimously adopted at the ordinary annual Synod, held also at Glenalmond on July 6th. So far the issue of the Bishop's exertions had been prosperous. It was not long, however, before it began to be perceived that the Diocese was not yet prepared for a style of Ritual, &c., so advanced as that of the Cathedral was designed to be, especially in a Church which had also to discharge the duties of a new Mission. Happily, however, the Bishop had insisted upon securing from the principal Founders—Lord Forbes and the Right Hon. G. F. Boyle—an Endowment (of £200 per annum) for the Provost, and (of £100 per annum) for one Canon —previously there had been no Endowment at all;—and thus the Institution, though still insufficiently supported and waiting for better days, cannot fail, it is hoped, to be completed in God's good time, and so to stand as long as the world shall last. The Bishop was enthroned in the Cathedral with due solemnity on S. Matthew's Day (September 21), and Preached the Sermon, afterwards Published, on "S. Matthew an Example for the Church in Scotland."

Previously to this, and within a few months after his Election, Mr. Wordsworth received a very honourable and gratifying compliment from the University of Oxford. At the Grand Commemoration, on June 5th, when the Earl of Derby was installed as Chancellor of the University, our Bishop was admitted, with several other persons of high distinction (including Mr. D'Israeli), to the degree of D.C.L., "honoris causâ," and his name was greeted with marked applause in the Theatre. When the cheering arose, Sir Robert Phillimore, in the usual Latin Speech, presenting the Candidate to the Chancellor, happily remarked (in reference to the Prize Exercises which "Charles Wordsworth" had gained, and recited in the same place, as a young man) that "he seemed to be *at home* where he now stood,

Plausuque *sui* gaudere Theatri."

The course which the Bishop had taken in endeavouring to do full justice to that party of the Presbyters who opposed his Election, and especially his recognition of S. Ninian's Cathedral and the friendly relations in which he sought to place himself with its Clergy, had been regarded with strong dislike by some of the Bishops and others in the Council of Trinity College. There was also felt a jealousy of his holding both the positions of Warden and Bishop, on the part even of some who had wished them to be combined in his person. He had all along refused to Vote for Mr. Gladstone as a Representative of the University of Oxford, and the Pamphlet he had Published was an additional offence to that Gentleman, who, naturally and justly, exerted a predominant influence in the College Council, and who had done what he could to prevent his Elevation to the Episcopate. Meanwhile the Secretary of the College, who, about this time, ceased to retain his Office, had allowed its pecuniary affairs to become greatly embarassed; which threw upon the Warden additional anxiety, and the necessity for increased exertion in its behalf. All these considerations—together, on the one hand, with an enlarged desire to do his full duty to the Diocese; and, on the other hand, with impaired health, in consequence not so much of actual work as of the troubles and anxieties he had been called upon to undergo—induced him to determine to resign the Wardenship; which accordingly he did at Midsummer, 1854; having held the Office rather more than seven years, including a year and a half of his Episcopate. In every respect (except the financial department, for which he was not responsible) the College had prospered, and obtained a high repute under his management. He had been fortunate in obtaining the services of excellent Assistants, especially of Mr. Barry (now Dr., and Principal of King's College, London) as Sub-Warden. The Junior Department, which had opened with only 11, had risen to the number of 70 Boys—a rate of increase of 10 per annum; and the Senior Department, which had commenced with 3, had reached at one time the number of 13 Theological Students, being one more than that Department was intended to receive.

On the 19th of July, an Episcopal Synod met at Aberdeen,

and, the Warden's Resignation having been given in and accepted, the Bishops present agreed to a Document which contained, *inter alia*, the following words:—"The Bishops feel that gratitude is not only due but is actually entertained, on the part of the whole Scottish Church, to the Bishop of St. Andrews, for the expenditure that he has made of time, fortune, and mental exertion, for the good of Trinity College; and they hereby record their deep appreciation of the self-sacrificing zeal which has marked the connexion of the first Warden with the Institution, which must ever lead Scottish Churchmen gratefully to associate with the history and future fortunes of the College the name of CHARLES WORDSWORTH." At the same Synod Dr. Hannah, the present Warden, was appointed as his Successor.

At the same time a "Wordsworth Fund" was set on foot, in order to afford opportunity for the expression of public gratitude. Sir Roundell Palmer contributed to it the munificent sum of £500. Dr. Wordsworth was also presented with a handsome Pastoral Staff by his Assistants at the College; and with an Episcopal Seal and Ring by those who had been his Pupils as Theological Students. A further Record of his Wardenship appeared in the shape of a Volume of "Sermons Preached at Trinity College, Glenalmond, 1854," seven of which were by himself, and the remainder by six other Preachers, Members of the Staff; "thus exhibiting a specimen of the ordinary religious teaching given at the College during the seven years of its existence."

The future relations of Trinity College, Glenalmond, with the Diocese of St. Andrews, a question beginning with the Bishop's retirement, was not finally settled until October, 1856. The College was dissevered from the Diocese of St. Andrews, and made a *Peculiar* under the jurisdiction of the College of Bishops —Dr. Wordsworth still consenting to hold the necessary Confirmations, when requested by the Warden.

The Bishop was now at liberty to devote himself solely to Episcopal work, and to the general affairs of the Church. With the beginning of the next year (1854), he began to be known more especially in connexion with those efforts to persuade and

draw over Presbyterians, with which his name has since become inseparably connected. For some years previously, indeed, the columns of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* had shown how much this subject was upon his mind. In the early Spring he Published the first number of the "St. Andrews Tracts," a Copy of which he presented to every "Minister," of whatever Denomination, throughout his three Dioceses. This undertaking was attended with considerable expense, and his diminished income, after he had resigned the Wardenship, prevented him, it is believed, from continuing what promised to be a Series of much interest. The Tract Published (pp. 51) was a Reprint, with a few Notes, of the first Chapter of the Sixteenth Book of Bingham's Antiquities, entitled, "On the Union and Communion of the Ancient Church." On the 4th of May, he delivered a public Lecture in the City Hall, Perth, "On the Appointment of a Day for National Humiliation, and the Difficulties of the Education Question," which was Reprinted in the following year under the title, "What is National Humiliation without National Repentance?" Afterwards the Bishop wrote and delivered in Edinburgh, Perth, and St. Andrews four Lectures on the subject of Unity. Since then his frequently recurring Charges on this subject, while they have shown his Lordship's continued interest in the matter, have exhibited a by no means complete record of the pains and trouble which have been bestowed upon this subject, both in its literary and practical aspects, by him who is perhaps better acquainted with that particular Controversy than any one else now living. It must suffice to state shortly the Titles and Dates of the more elaborate of his Publications of this character:—

A Tercentenary Discourse on the Scottish Reformation, 1860, Reprinted in 1863.—An Address at Kidderminster, 1862, on Reunion of the Church in Great Britain, delivered in connexion with the Bicentenary of 1662.—A Synodal Address, 1864, on the Principles of "Episcopalians" as a basis of Christian Union, Reprinted in 1867. A considerable portion of this Address (containing the argument from Scripture in favour of the Threefold Ministry) has been translated into Welsh by the S. P. C. K., at the instance of the Bishop of Llandaff.—A Synodal Address,

1866, on the Ministry of the Church, Historically considered, with reference to the circumstances of the Church in Scotland.—A Plea for Justice to Presbyterian Students of Theology, and to the Scotch Episcopal Church, in answer to some remarks of the Very Rev. Principal Tulloch, 1866.

Considering how much the Bishop has been engaged in writing upon Controversial subjects, it is gratifying to be able to state that Public Journals, having no sympathy with Episcopacy, have borne witness not only to the learning and ability, but to the charitable and becoming spirit in which he has uniformly advocated the Church's cause—as the cause of Christian Unity, of Apostolical Order, and Evangelical Truth.

In returning to the order of events in the Bishop's public life, it may be recorded that he delivered his Primary Charge in the Perth Cathedral, on S. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21), 1854, and dedicated it "to the Clergy and Laity of the United Diocese," at whose request it was Published. Its principal object was to prove that all persons duly Baptized are Members of the Christian Church.

Before the Meeting of the ordinary Synod of the next year, 1855, his Lordship had made provision for calling the Laity to a Visitation which succeeded the Meeting of Synod on the following day; and here he proposed the initiation of a Diocesan Association for Church purposes, embracing a great many objects very desirable, but which, as yet, there lacked zeal on the part of the Laity to take up as a whole; though many of these objects have since been undertaken separately and in a less formal manner. The Bishop's Visitation Sermon, from 2 Tim. iv. 6, "On the Twofold Ministry of Clergy and Laity," was Published, with an interesting "Report of the Proceedings" of the two days, including a Discussion on the practice of administering Baptism by Immersion, which had been introduced by the Rev. G. H. Forbes at Burntisland.

In 1856, when there was a rumour that Scotland was to be parted out afresh into Dioceses in connexion with the Church of Rome, the Bishop Reprinted an Article which he had contributed to the first number of the *S. E. Journal*, under the title of

"Papal Aggression in the East, or the Protestantism of the Oriental Church." The Paper is valuable for the analysis which it contains of the remarkable Encyclical Letter which the Patriarchs of the East addressed in 1848 to the Bishop of Rome, and of which Dr. Wordsworth obtained a Copy direct from Constantinople, through the same Mr. William Palmer before mentioned.

When the Eucharistic Controversy arose in 1857, in consequence of the Bishop of Brechin's Charge, the Bishop of St. Andrews was very unwilling to take part in it; but when it became necessary to do so, he drew up the famous Pastoral Letter "To all faithful Members of the Church in Scotland," which (after a few verbal alterations) was accepted and Signed in Synod by all the Bishops, excepting only the Author of the Charge which had given rise to agitation. In the Appeal of the Rev. P. Cheyne, 1858, the Bishop's judicial "Opinion" was concurred in by the Court, but it was far from acceptable to those who were seeking to obtain the recognition of a higher doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Dr. Wordsworth, both on this occasion and in his still more elaborate "Opinion," delivered (1860) upon the presentment of the Bishop of Brechin, showed that he accepted the doctrine of the "Real Presence," properly understood, but that he considered the addition of the terms "substantial" and "objective" to be deficient in authority, and he disapproved still more of the so-called "logical consequences" (involving what he considered unsound and dangerous views of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and of Adoration) which had been deduced from that doctrine. His own sentiments may, perhaps, best be seen in the Pamphlet which he Published anonymously (1859), entitled "Proposals for Peace, or a few Remarks on the Eucharistic Doctrine of Bishops Taylor, Ken, and Wilson." It is due to the Bishop to say that, as he was averse to the Controversy at the first, so he was anxious to allay its asperities, so far as could be done consistently with what he believed to be the truth, and his own duty in regard to it. It was an especial pain to him to be brought into collision with Mr. Keble, with whom he had been, while at Winchester, upon very friendly terms (as may be seen

from the manner in which he is spoken of in the Preface of that revered Author's "Prælectiones Academicæ"), but who having made himself in some degree responsible for the original cause of the Controversy, chivalrously came forward to bear the brunt of it. Though assailed more or less vehemently in various quarters, the anonymous Pamphlet already named and a Charge delivered in the same year (1859) was all that the Bishop *Published* in his own defence; and of the latter of these the Publication was *requested* by a formal Vote of his Diocesal Synod. His "Notes to assist towards forming a right Judgment of the Eucharistic Controversy," occasioned by Mr. Keble's "Considerations, &c., addressed" and sent "to all Scottish Presbyters," were Printed (but *not Published*) more particularly for the guidance of his own Clergy; and though the Bishop of Brechin's "Theological Defences, &c." were Published and sold at large, the Bishop of St. Andrews withheld from *Publication* his judicial "Opinion," and that too was Printed only for private circulation, by desire and at the expense of others.

Dr. Wordsworth was the first to move for a General Synod of the Church for the Revision and enlargement of the Canons. This was in the year 1859. A Committee was appointed to revise the existing Code, and, having completed their work, a Synod was summoned to meet on 8th July, 1862. There were altogether three Sessions, the second being summoned for the 30th of September, and the third for the 3rd of February, 1863. During the two former Sessions, the Bishop of St. Andrews was a very leading member. His Lordship absented himself from the greater part of the last Session, for the reasons above mentioned.

It has been sometimes assumed, and represented, that our Bishop has been opposed to the Scotch Communion Office; but this is a mistake, as may be seen by his conduct in the case of Meigle, and his Printed Address upon that case, 1855; and, again, by his conduct in the case of Muthill, and the Address upon that case, 1859, which he Published under the title of "A Plain Tract on the Scotch Communion Office; its History, Principles, and Advantages." The same appears also from another Publication, entitled "Three Short Sermons on the Holy Com-

munion, considered as a Sacrifice, Sacrament, and Eucharist; with notice of the differences between the Scotch and English Offices for its Administration." But the most complete exposition of his views upon this subject is to be found in the Charge delivered at his Diocesan Synod in 1862, and afterwards Published; from which, however, it appears that, in his opinion, the Office had not been wisely dealt with in its latest alterations by the Bishops of the last Century; and that the advantages of arrangement, with one exception, are rather on the side of the Anglican Formulary.

In December, 1864, the Bishop was summoned to give evidence to Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Schools in Scotland; and his sentiments in favour of a general system of Education, in which "Episcopalians" might be included, are to be found fully given in the First Report of that Commission, pp. 231–240.

The Bishop's Charge for 1865 contained an interesting Review of the Progress made in the Diocese during the twelve preceding years of his Episcopate. It appeared in the *Scottish Guardian* for November, as well as in several of the Newspapers of the day, and was entitled, "On the Position and Duty of the Episcopalian Laity." The results were such as to show that a marked increase of zeal has taken place among the Laity of late years, and that many of them have come forward in a very laudable manner to support their Bishop, to improve the position of their Clergy, and at the same time to vindicate their own character, as faithful and loyal members of the Church, by the interest which they take in its welfare, and the desire which they show to promote its progress.

At the present time the Bishop is engaged in building a School-Chapel in Perth, upon a site sufficient to hold also a large Mission Church and Parsonage, together with Schoolmaster's House; all which it is hoped will follow before long. In support of this object he Preached a Sermon—afterwards published—from S. James ii. 10, "On the Claims of the Poorer Brethren in Assemblies for Christian Worship: 1866." In a Note to that Sermon, page 13, the Bishop expresses his "hope

that the day is not far distant when the Completion of S. Ninian's Cathedral may be looked for," and his "belief that the coming of that day will be accelerated rather than delayed by the undertaking which is now proposed."

The latest Publication from Dr. Wordsworth's pen has been the Synodal Address which he delivered at Perth on November 7th, last year (1867), entitled "The Lambeth Conference, its Aims and Performances; with some Remarks upon the Address of the Moderator in the last General Assembly of the Church of Scotland;" and for which he received the thanks of the Synod, ordered to be specially recorded in its Minutes. In the opening of that Address the Bishop mentioned "as a gratifying token of the good understanding which now happily exists between our Scotch Church and the Church of England," the fact that, by the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had assisted (on S. Barnabas' Day, June 11) in the Consecration of his friend, the Rev. T. L. Claughton, late Vicar of Kidderminster, to be Bishop of Rochester—the first instance, he believed, on record in which a *Scotch* Bishop had taken part in Consecrating an *English* one. (The present Bishop of Argyle had assisted in a Welsh, and others, perhaps, in Colonial Consecrations.) It may be interesting to record, from a Journal of the day, what took place after the Diocesan Synod:—

> In the evening a Dinner was given to the Bishop by the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese. A number of the Gentry were present, and Lord Rollo, the Chairman, read Apologies from others who regretted their inability to attend to do honour to the Bishop. After the usual loyal toasts, Lord Rollo proposed the toast of the evening, remarking that of all the Bishops who had come from regions far and near to the Recent Lambeth Conference, there was not one who, in learning, piety, and zeal, was the superior of their own revered Bishop. He had heard, on the best authority—that, namely, of one of the Bishop's brother Prelates in England—that their Bishop had taken a prominent part in the Lambeth Conference, and had, on one very remarkable occasion, swayed the Conference for good, when timid counsels seemed likely to influence it in a wrong direction. After some other remarks, eulogistic of the Bishop, for the very powerful and impressive Charge he had delivered in the forenoon, and for the manner in which he presided over the Diocese and performed all the Duties of his Office, the toast was drunk with all the honours.

As a Preacher, the Bishop of St. Andrews has occupied the Pulpit on several occasions (in addition to those before mentioned)

of more than ordinary interest and importance. He was among the first to Preach, by invitation of Dean Trench, in the Nave of Westminster Abbey, at the Special Evening Services, commenced in the Spring of 1850; and he did the same in each of the three following years. His first Sermon was Published under the title of "The Christian Embassy." By appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, he delivered at Oxford, before the University, the annual Ramsden Sermon in 1857 (Published under the title of "The Mending of the Nets"), and again in 1867. At the Celebration of the Tercentary in honour of the Birth of Shakspeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon, April 24, 1864, he was selected to Preach, and his Sermon was Published under the title of "Man's Excellency a cause of Praise and Thankfulness to God." The other Sermon was delivered by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Trench, who, it is somewhat remarkable, had been at the same Public School (Harrow) with our Prelate, and in the same class. It may be added, as a singular distinction for a Scotch Bishop, that Dr. Wordsworth has Preached in no less than six English Cathedrals, including Westminster Abbey, viz., Winchester, Salisbury, Peterborough, Rochester, and Chichester.

As a Lecturer, the Bishop's most interesting appearance on the platform was, perhaps, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, when, in that Border Town, he appropriately enlarged upon his favourite topic, "The Duty of Christian Unity, as regarded in the light of Holy Scripture and of the History of the Church. December, 1864." [See *Scottish Guardian* for February, 1865.] He also read, by request, a Paper at the Norwich Church Congress, "On the Duty of the Church towards Foreign Christians." [See Report of that Congress, pp. 123–133.]

As an Author, besides the Publications already specified, he is known by a Volume on "Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible: 1864," which speedily passed into a second and enlarged Edition.

Of the Bishop's two brothers, who were both educated at Winchester, and became Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, one—his senior by a year—Died at an early age, but not before he had acquired the reputation of being one of the best and ripest

Classical Scholars of his time, and had been honoured by the esteem of his Contemporaries, who have raised to his memory a Marble Bust, which is to be seen in the Ante-Chapel of his College, appropriately placed between the Monuments of Porson and Dobree. The other—his junior by a year—is the Archdeacon of Westminster, distinguished on many accounts, but especially for his Commentary and Notes on Holy Scripture.

An anecdote is told respecting the great Duke of Wellington in connexion with these three brothers which may be worth recording. Every Prizeman at Oxford is, or was, required to send a MS. Copy of his successful Composition to the Chancellor of the University. When the Duke was Chancellor, the Latin Prize Poem of Charles Wordsworth was lying upon his Library Table, and, a friend having taken it up, the Duke remarked, "I consider the father of the young man who wrote that Poem the happiest man in England;" and being asked why he thought so, he replied, "Because all his three sons have just obtained University Prizes at the same time—two at Cambridge, and one at Oxford." This was in 1827.

COLLEGE BISHOPS.

Now is the time to allude to the Necessity which was the mother of this Invention; for only the dire circumstances of the Poverty and Persecution endured by the Clergy at and after the Revolution could palliate the anomaly of having *Bishops at Large*, without *Dioceses*. The Notices of the other "College Bishops" are given under the Dioceses which they afterwards served. The following were never appointed to Dioceses. "The Lockhart Papers" evidence to what a wretched state and low ebb the Episcopal Church of Scotland was reduced, by sticking to the dogma of the *Divine Right of Kings*, and by being under the Suffrage of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and his Finger-post, the Laird of Carnwath; as well, also, as by the individual strifes which for many years lasted ere this rotten *College System* was finally stamped out.

The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. JOHN SAGE: *wherein also some Account is given of his Writings, both Printed and in Manuscript; and some things are added, towards the clearing the Ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the Mistakes of a late Author.—"A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."* (*Prov. xxii.* 1.) *"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."* (2 *Tim. iv.* 7.)—*In ipsa Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.* [*Vincen. Lirinensis, contra Haer. c.* 3.] —*London: Printed for Henry Clements, at the Half-Moon, in St. Paul's Church-yard.* 1714.

[Written by the Right Rev. JOHN GILLAN.]

HAVING had the happiness of a great share in the friendship of the very Reverend Mr. Sage, and having received inexpressible satisfaction and advantage both from his Conversation and Writings, I think myself obliged, by the Laws of friendship and gratitude, to give the world some Account of this excellent person; and to do what I am able to preserve the memory of so great a man from oblivion. I wish it were in my power to write a complete History of his Life, and thereby to draw such an exact picture of him that the Reader might have no more to do, but only carefully to imitate so fair an example. But since I could not get such information as is necessary to enable me to Publish a full Account of his Life, I shall go as far as I can, with what I had occasion to know myself, and what I have learned from persons of the greatest candor and integrity who were his most intimate and early acquaintances.

Birthplace and Parentage.

Mr. John Sage was Born in the Year of our Lord, 1652. His Progenitors, for seven generations at least, lived in the Parish of Creich, in the North-East Corner of Fife, in very good esteem, and with much reputation. His father was a Captain in the Lord Duffus's Regiment about the time the Town of Dundee was Stormed and Taken, in the Year 1651. His Parents were honest and virtuous; and thô they enjoyed no great riches, nor any plentiful estate, yet they were careful to have him well educated at the Schools; and afterward he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, where, after he had fulfilled the number of years, and performed the Exercises required by the Statutes, he was made Master of Arts. His noble genius began very early to appear, which he most carefully cultivated by reading diligently the Greek and Roman Authors. He was well instructed in Logic, Metaphysics, and the other parts of Philosophy which then

obtained in the Schools, and which I have often heard him say he had found to be of excellent use for understanding the Poets, Historians, Orators, and even the Fathers of the Church, who have been addicted to the Hypotheses and Principles of some one or other of the Philosophical Sects, and do frequently reason from their Notions, and often use their Terms and Phrases.

His narrow fortune not allowing him to be long out of business, he was soon made School-Master of Bingry [Ballingray] in Fifeshire, a mean and inconsiderable place; and a little after, he came to be School-Master at Tippermoor, in Perthshire, where he had little or no opportunity of bettering his circumstances. And so, by close application to business, and the faithful discharge of his Office, together with the want of the necessaries, or at least the conveniences of life, he contracted the seeds of several diseases, which, thô the strength of his body and the vigour of youth seemed to overcome then, yet they stuck to him, and broke out afterward to the ruin of his health, the impairing of his strength, and the shortening of his days. All these disadvantages notwithstanding, he pursued his Studies with great diligence, and to very good purpose, even contrary to that ordinary maxim, *In paupertate et angustiis non datur locus studiis.* Mr. James Drummond, of Cultmalundie, a good and wise Gentleman, and an excellent judge of merit and worth, relieved him in some measure from these hardships and pinches, by inviting him to his family, where he stayed some time, until his sons were ready for the School, and then he was sent with them as their Tutor to the Public School at Perth. He remained there several years, instructing his Pupils with all care, and improving himself in the useful parts of Learning. In that City he had the happiness to be known to the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Alexander Rose, now Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, and then Parson of Perth, whose friendship was of great use to him, and highly valued by him all the days of his life.

Schoolmaster at Ballingray.

Tutor to the Drummonds at Perth.

As soon as his Pupils were fit for the University, he accompanied them to St. Andrews; and there his excellent parts, that had hitherto been concealed, except from a very few, began to shine more brightly. His piercing wit, solid judgment, and pleasant temper, very soon endeared him to all the members of that learned University. They were not a little surprised to find a man, bred in obscurity and retirement, of so great sense and learning, of so nice and delicate a conversation, and who understood men and manners so exactly well. His company was courted by all the Professors and Masters, and himself honoured and esteemed by all that knew how to value true merit. He adored the Divine Providence which had blessed him with the comfort and advantage of so desirable and learned a Society, and the opportunity of perusing the best and choicest Books, by which he mightily improved himself in that sincere and unaffected piety, and true and useful knowledge, which enabled him afterward to do so great service to the Church and his Country.

Reception at St. Andrews.

Mr. Sage, after that his Pupils had finished the Course of their Studies

at the University, left them in the Year 1684; and being now at liberty from business, thought himself obliged to visit his best friend and patron, Dr. Rose, then Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, afterward Principal of the New College in the University of St. Andrews, Bishop of Moray, and Bishop of Edinburgh, who governed the Church in those most difficult and dangerous times with wonderful prudence and conduct, and who, for all the other virtues that can adorn a Gentleman or a Scholar, a Christian or a Bishop, was deservedly esteemed and revered by all persons and all parties.

Acquaintance with Bishop Rose at St. Andrews.

By the Doctor, who knew his great Learning and Piety as well as any man, he was recommended to his uncle, the Most Reverend Father in God the then Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, afterward Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of all Scotland, who put him in Priest's Orders, and persuaded him to exercise his Holy Function as one of the Ministers of the City of Glasgow. He was then about 34 years of age, and so did not run too soon or inconsiderately, as too many do, into an office which requires so many and great qualifications. His judgment was mature, and improved by more than ordinary experience. He had read the Holy Scriptures with the best Critics and Commentators; he was no stranger to Ecclesiastical History and the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, and particularly understood their Apologies for the Christian Religion. No man was better acquainted with the School-Divinity; and yet this did not hinder, but that he reasoned not only closely and accurately, but also plainly and perspicuously. He had nicely examined the Modern Controversies, especially those betwixt us and the Church of Rome, and those betwixt the Calvinists and Remonstrants. He continued in Glasgow some years, where his exemplary life and conversation, his wise and prudent conduct, and the faithful discharge of all the parts of his Ministerial Function, made him to be honoured and beloved by all good men, as one of the greatest Lights of the Church, and esteemed and reverenced even by the Dissenters themselves, and the enemies of the Church.

Holy Orders.

Residence in Glasgow in 1688.

For about the end of the Year 1688, when the barbarous Rabbling of the Episcopal Ministers was set on foot in the West Country, thô he did not escape the common fate, yet he was more civilly treated by those impious despisers of all Human and Divine Laws, than some of his Brethren. He had still been sensible of the great danger with which both Church and State was threatened from the Rebellious and Schismatical Principles of an ignorant and giddy sort of men; and therefore had made it his business by the strongest Arguments and most pathetical Exhortations frequently and boldly to recommend and press the duty of Obedience and Loyalty to the King; and was at no less pains in his Discourses from the Pulpit to explain the Unity of the Catholic Church, and to shew the necessity of Communicating with the Episcopal Church, proving that Separation from the Church of Scotland, and the Bishops and Subordinate Pastors of it, involved those who were guilty of it in the damnable sin of Schism. And that his Exhortations

His Sermons on Schism.

might have the more influence and authority, he was wont to paint the odiousness of that sin in the words of the Antients, saying with Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria—"That it was better to suffer anything than that the Church of God should be rent asunder; that it was every whit as glorious, and, in his opinion, a far greater Martyrdom, to die for not Dividing the Church, than for refusing to sacrifice to Idols." Or, as S. Cyprian expresses it in several places—"That a person going from the Church to Schismatics, thô in that capacity he should die for Christ, yet that he cannot receive the Crown of Martyrdom; that such a one has no part in the Law of God, or the Faith of Christ, or in Life and Salvation; that without this Unity and Charity, a man cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and that althô he should deliver up himself to the flames, or throw his body to wild beasts, yet this would not be the Crown of his Faith, but the Punishment of his Falshood; not the glorious exit of a Religious courage, but the issue of despair. Such a one may be killed, but he cannot be crowned. He rents the Unity of the Church, destroys the Faith, disturbs the Peace, dissolves the Charity, and profanes the Holy Sacrament." Thô thus he Preached with that courage and boldness, plainness and ingenuity, that became a faithful Pastor, yet at the same time he did it with the spirit of Christian Charity, and a zealous concern for the Souls of his People, which seldom fail to gain, if not love and obedience, yet at least esteem and reverence, even from those who are admonished and reproved. And to this, perhaps, in some measure, it may be imputed that he escaped those outrageous insults and cruelties, which the rabblers (after the example of their Schismatical forefathers, the Circumcelliones in Africk) acted against others of his Brethren, and especially those who had all along trimmed, and, as far as they durst, complied with them; some out of cowardice, others from an affectation of popularity, and a few, who had Preached in the Times of the Solemn League, because they were not altogether purged from the Old Leaven with which they had been soured before the Restoration of the Church and Royal Family. The Saints contented themselves with giving Mr. Sage a Warning to depart from Glasgow, and Threatenings if he should ever adventure to return thither again.

S. Cyprian on Schism.

Sage's Preaching.

Much about this time, he was recommended by his Grace the Lord Primate to be Professor of Divinity, or Second Master in the New College of St. Andrews; but before the Copy of Presentation, which was sent up to Court with the Lord Balcaskie [? Balcarras—Colin, third Earl] could be put into the King's hands, his Majesty had retired, and all things were gone into confusion. Happy had it been for this Church, if the forming of the Minds and Principles of those who designed to dedicate themselves to the Altar had been committed to him, and continued under his influence and direction, together with that great ornament of the University, Dr. James Lorimer, Principal of the New College, whose uncommon genius, eloquence, quick wit, profound judgment, and vast learning, accompanied with modesty

Professor at St. Andrews.

and humility, prudence and piety, rendered most worthy of that great trust and dignity.

Retires to Edinburgh.

Mr. Sage being forced to leave Glasgow, retired to Edinburgh, where he was far from indulging himself in ease and idleness; for in the Year 1689 he wrote the Second and Third of the Four Letters concerning the Persecution of the Clergy in Scotland, which were Printed at London the same Year. The first was written by a learned English Clergyman, Mr. Thomas Morer, who was Chaplain to an English Regiment which was then at Glasgow, in Scotland. He, as a true son of the Church of England, was sensibly touched with the calamities of our Church and Clergy, and I hear he is now a worthy member of that famous and learned body, the Clergy of the City of London. And the fourth was written by the great and learned Dr. Monro. In these Letters, some of the severities and inhuman barbarities, done by the Presbyterian Rabble against the Episcopal Ministers, are succinctly narrated with the utmost truth and sincerity; for he would not have lied for the best Cause. Yet his way of treating this subject is artful and curious, the things being written in a neat Epistolary style, with great life and spirit. These Relations, thô too well known in our own Nation, where the fatal Tragedy had been acted, yet did greatly surprise our Neighbour-Nation, and gave a new and fresh demonstration of the sad and fatal consequences that might be feared from the implacable and persecuting spirit of Presbytery, which, in the unhappy Times of the Covenant, had made havock of all things, both Sacred and Civil, in this Island.

Writes Letters on the Calamities of the Church.

The Presbyterian Government of the Kirk was established by Act of Parliament in Scotland, in the Year 1690; and that this great Diana might be fixed on a most just and honourable foundation, by that same very Act, the horrid and impious deeds of the Rabblers were ratified and approved, and the Churches of all the Episcopal Ministers, who had been driven from their Flocks by force and tumult, were declared Vacant; yea, even these Legal Ministers, who had complied with the Civil Government, were, under the pretence of their being Insufficient, Negligent, Scandalous, and Erroneous, subjected to a more than Spanish Inquisition of about Fifty or Sixty Presbyterian Prelates, in whose hands the Government of the Kirk was lodged by this Act. Iniquity being thus established into a Law, and the most atrocious villanies being thus so solemnly ratified by those who pretended to be advancing the Kingdom of Christ, to the great reproach of our Holy Religion, and even Humanity itself, Mr. Sage thought it necessary to write some Sheets on this subject, thô he could not get them Printed before the Year 1693. This Treatise is called—"An Account of the late Establment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, Anno 1690: Together with the Methods by which it was settled, and the Consequences of it: As also several Public Acts, Speeches, Pleadings, and other Matters of Importance relating to the Church in that Kingdom. To which is added, A Summary of the Visitation of the Universities; in a Fifth Letter

Presbyterianism.

His Treatise thereon.

from a Gentleman at Edinburgh to his Friend at London"—Where the Author gives a most faithful, impartial, and distinct relation of the most important affairs of that time, with most judicious, wise, and useful reflections upon them. He also shews, that as Patronages of Churches were legally established in Scotland before the Reformation, so they continued for many years after: yea, this Law continued unrepealed even to the late Revolution. And thô the Presbyterians began, about the Year 1646 or 1647, amongst other illegal Usurpations, to introduce that cheat of Popular Elections; yet this was not authorised, nor Patronages abolished by the Act of any Parliament, unless they'll call a Convention of Rebels by that name, who had presumed to meet, Anno 1649, without being called by any authority, except what they treasonably assumed to themselves; and 'tis evident from the Acts of King Charles the Second's First Parliament, before Episcopacy was established, 1661—viz., IX., XXXV., and LIV., Sess. 1—that Patronages were still looked upon as subsisting by Law, notwithstanding the illegal interruption which had been made by the pretended Parliament, 1649. And the Author inserts at length the Act of Parliament, 1662, concerning such Benefices and Stipends as have been possessed without Presentations from the Lawful Patrons, whereby it is enacted—"That all these Ministers who entered to the Cure of any Paroch in Burgh or Land within this Kingdom, in or since the Year 1649 (at and before which time the Patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of their Patronages), have no Right unto, nor shall receive nor possess the Rents of any Benefice; and their Places, Benefices, and Kirks, are, *ipso jure*, Vacant; yet his Majesty declares, That this Act shall not be prejudicial to any of these Ministers in what they have possessed, and is due to them since their admission; and that every such Minister who shall obtain a Presentation from the Lawful Patron, and have Collation from the Bishop of the Diocese where he liveth, betwixt and the 20th of September next to come, shall thenceforth have Right to, and enjoy his Church Benefice, &c. And the Patrons are thereby Ordained to give Presentations to all the present Incumbents who in due time shall apply to them for the same."

Acts of Parliament.

Many of these Ministers, who had entered illegally after the Year 1649, turned obstinate, and refused to take the Benefit offered by the Act of Parliament at the time prefixed; and therefore the Privy Council Meeting at Glasgow, after the Term was expired, made an Act declaring all such Churches, *ipso facto*, Vacant. Whereupon those Ministers generally forbore the Exercise of their Ministry and deserted their Flocks, without any Sentence of Deprivation pronounced against them but the foresaid Act of Council at Glasgow. Upon which they made so hideous an outcry against that most merciful Government, as if they had suffered the most horrid Persecution. And if they had good reason for such complaints, let the world judge.

Privy Council at Glasgow.

In this Letter, which may be called a Supplement to the former Four,

seeing it contains a short Account of the bad treatment the Episcopal Clergy had met with from the Civil Power since the 24th of December, 1689, we have the Copy of a Petition to the Parliament from the Rabbled Ministers, formed, as near as could be, after the Pattern of one yet extant in King Charles the First's Large Declaration, which was presented to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Anno 1638, against the Bishops. Mr. Sage was the person who advised that this method should be followed; and he it was, who, by the appointment of his Brethren, drew up the Paper, presented it to his Grace the Commissioner, and briefly and plainly laid their case before him.

Rabbled Ministers.

This excellent person, thô forced from his own Flock, yet courted all opportunities of doing good to the Souls of men; and, therefore, so long as one or two Churches continued in the possession of the Episcopal Ministers at Edinburgh, he Preached sometimes there; and afterward was invited to perform Divine Service, and to Preach in one of the principal Meeting-Houses, which was thronged with people of the best quality and sense; for his Sermons were most correct, eloquent, and edifying; and what the Earl of Roscommon said of a famous English Preacher, may be truly applied to him—

Sage's Popularity.

> Extensive sense, still into compass drew,
> Said what was just, and always something new.

He continued serving God and edifying His Church in this Station until Anno 169—. He, and some of his Brethren, who Preached in the Meeting-Houses, were summoned before the Privy Council, and commanded to take the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance; and they, frankly and ingenuously owning their scruples, were not only forbidden to exercise any part of their Ministerial Function within the City and Suburbs, but were also banished thence by an Act of the Council. After this he retired to Kinross, where he was entertained with great kindness and respect by his excellent friend, Sir William Bruce, Heritable Sheriff of that Shire, a Gentleman of great honour and virtue, who had given early and signal proofs of his loyalty, and did not part with his integrity as long as he lived, which was to a good old age. But sometimes he lived with the Reverend and Learned Mr. Christie, Minister of Kinross, who, thô deprived of his Benefice, still dwelt within his own Parish. In the society of those his intimate and dear friends, he comforted himself under his bad circumstances and cross accidents of life, which did not near so much afflict him as did the calamities of the Church and of his Country. It could not but sensibly affect the mind of so good a man to see the Ancient and Fundamental Constitution broken into pieces, and the Church brought into ruin and desolation. The Sacred Order of Bishops, who were the First of the Three Estates of Parliament, was abolished; our Spiritual Fathers were deprived of all support and maintenance, thô at the Reformation the Popish Bishops had their Revenues continued to them during their whole lives; a great number of

Oath of Allegiance to the Privy Council.

Abolition of the Sacred Order of Bishops.

the faithful Ministers had been forced by violence from their Flocks, and left with their families in a starving condition. Scandalous and most false Libels were brought in before the Privy Council against many other Pious and Learned Pastors. They who complied with the Civil Government were processed and harassed before their Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, and Commissions of Assemblies; which last, by the way is a Judicatory no ways founded on our Laws, and never was authorised by any one Act of Parliament. The most exemplary piety and faithfulness in the Ministerial Function were not sufficient to protect any from the Presbyterian Inquisition. The most frivolous and falsest pretences were enough to depose and turn men out of their Livings: one was deposed for Dancing at a Bonfire, when it was proved that there had been none in the place on the day alleged; another was deposed for reading and recommending *The Whole Duty of Man*. And many other instances of that kind might be given, were it necessary, on this occasion. In a word, all endeavours were used to destroy the Church, Root and Branch. These sad and grievous calamities, I say, could not but sensibly touch the mind of so good and charitable a man as Mr. Sage was; and yet he possessed his soul in patience, and adored the Divine Providence, with entire submission to the Will of God, being fully persuaded that the Great Governor of the world is just in all His ways, and orders all things so as that they shall tend to the good of those who love Him.

Presbyterian Tyranny.

During his retirement at Kinross, he wrote "The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," which was also sent to London, December, 1693, but not Published before the Year 1695; for the severity of the then Government would not suffer any such Books to be Printed in Scotland; and it was judged no less than Treason, and subverting of the Government, to Publish any Sheet against the Tyranny of Presbytery, or in vindication of Episcopacy. The Convention of Estates in the Claim of Right had declared—That Prelacy is and hath been a great and insupportable grievance to this Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the Generality of the People ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished. And the Parliament, in their Act, had established the Presbyterian Government, not on the Holy Scriptures, or on the Practice of the Primitive Church, but on the same inclinations of the People, and our having been reformed by Presbyters. Thô the first was laughed at and exposed by all who knew the true state of this Nation, and it was certain that not one of three parts of the Vulgar were for Presbytery, and not one of ten amongst the Gentlemen and People of Education; yet, for the satisfying of strangers, the learned Author has in this Book given himself the trouble to prove that Prelacy was not an insupportable grievance to this Nation, nor contrary to the inclinations of the People ever since the Reformation; and particularly, that it was not so when this Article was established in the Claim of Right or repeated in the Act establishing Presbytery.

Work on "The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery."

Proof against Presbytery.

He quite overturns the other Pillar of Presbytery, by proving that several Bishops, Abbots, and Inferior Clergy turned Protestants, and were concerned in the Reformation; that our Chief Reformers were so far from condemning Episcopacy, or superiority of Pastors over others, that they instituted Superintendents, whom he demonstrates to have been superior to the other Ministers in no less than thirty instances; that they highly extolled the Doctrine, Discipline, and Government of the Church of England; and that Presbyterian Parity was not broached in Scotland for several years after the Reformation. He makes it as evident as the Sun at Noon, that the present Scottish Presbyterians have forsaken our Reformers in the Faith, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church; yea, that they have receded from all other Reformed Churches in the whole world, and even from their Predecessors for several years after the Covenant. This Book lets us see how accurate and judicious an Historian, and how excellent a Critick the Author was, and acquaints us with several things not known before, and sets the obscure and doubtful Transactions of the Times of the Reformation in a much clearer light than ever had been done by any of our Historians. Some have blamed Mr. Sage for the severity and freedom with which he treats Mr. Rule in the Preface to this Book; but those who knew this vindicator of the Kirk, Mr. Rule, and his method of writing and answering Books, will be of another mind. His Pamphlets were stuffed with most virulent spite and malice against those whose miserable circumstances might have moved pity and compassion in the hearts of the most imbittered enemies. The plainest and best-attested matters of fact were denied by him with astonishing boldness: no man ever reasoned more weakly, or used more disingenuous shifts and evasions, or fell into more ridiculous and childish blunders. He had been often fairly admonished and solidly confuted, but all to no purpose; and therefore it was thought necessary to paint him in his true colours—to silence him, if it was possible, by shame—or at least to hinder the weak and credulous from being deluded by him. And the Author designed that this should have been Published apart by itself; but those at London, to whom it was entrusted (for what reason I know not), tacked it to the Preface of the "Fundamental Charter," without the Author's knowledge, and contrary to his intention. It is true, indeed, that in the body of this Book, and some other of his Writings, he speaks ironically, and uses a little raillery in those places where his matter and subject allowed it him; but he does it with so much wit as gives life and beauty to his Discourses, and at the same time keeps up that grave and serious character which became himself, and runs throughout all his Pieces. And here I will frankly and candidly acknowledge, that in this Preface he hath fallen, by inadvertency, into a mistake, but such an one as is very pardonable; and I choose the rather to mention it, because his adversaries have not taken the least notice of it, and 'tis the only error that I have observed throughout all his Writings. Mr. Sage pretends to bring infallible Proofs that Knox was not the Author of "The History of the Reformation

The nature of Mr. Rule's Works.

Sage's Error.

of the Church of Scotland," commonly attributed to him. The arguments brought by him are indeed so strong and convincing that it would be impossible to resist the force of them, if the Passages on which they are founded were not the Interpolations and Additions of Mr. David Buchanan, who Published a new but very unfaithful Edition of that Book at Edinburgh, 1644. This was the Edition which Mr. Sage made use of, and all the places cited by him from pages 447, 449, 306, and 286, are entirely wanting in the Old Editions, and particularly in that Printed Anno 1584. Thô Mr. Sage's proofs do evidently and undeniably discover the disingenuous and unfair dealing of the Presbyterians, in obtruding upon the world, for the genuine Work of Mr. Knox, the Interpolations of one who wrote upwards of 70 years after his death; yet they can be of no use in determining the question, whether or not Knox was the Author of that Book, as we have it in the oldest Editions. Neither can I agree with Mr. Sage, that the most Reverend and Learned Archbishop Spottiswoode has proved, by demonstration, that Work to be spurious; for this great man's reasoning is wholly founded upon the reference that is made to "The Acts and Monuments" of Mr. Fox, which, he pretends, were not Published until twelve years after Knox's death; and yet 'tis plain that this is a mistake. I am persuaded that the oldest Copy which the Bishop saw of that Book was Printed so late; but it is certain that the First Edition was Published eight or nine years before Knox Died; for William Reynolds, in his Refutation of Whitaker, cites an Edition of "The Acts and Monuments," Printed at London, 1563; and they are cited by Stapleton in his Preface to the Translation of "Bede's History," Anno 1565; yea, Nicolaus Harpsfield, under the borrowed name of his friend Alanus Copus, Wrote and Printed his Dialogue against them, Anno 1564-65. But when Fox's Book was first Published, or whether Knox was the true Author of the History or not, is a matter of moonshine; and neither Mr. Sage's reasonings in his Book, nor the support of the cause which he undertook, depend in the least upon the determination of those niceties.

His Authorship discovered

Thô all care was taken to conceal the Author of the Books written by Mr. Sage, yet it was to no purpose. In spite of all the caution that was used, it was soon discovered by the Presbyterians that he was the person who, to their eternal reproach, had thus exposed their principles and practices; and this filled them with the highest resentments against him, which they did not fail to express as often as they had opportunity; for his affairs, and a passionate desire of visiting his dear friends at Edinburgh, obliged him to venture thither for a few days. But thô some of his Colleagues, who had been banished with him, were allowed to stay there, or at least connived at; yet he no sooner came to the City than he was observed on the Street by a Privy Councillor, whose greatest pleasure was to persecute the Episcopal Clergy; and, by his Order, he was carried before the Magistrates of the City, and obliged to find Bail to leave the Town, and never to return thither.

Arrested in Edinburgh.

"The Principles of the Cyprianic Age."

This severity compelled him to go back to his former retirement in Kinross, where he wrote a Book, intituled "The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction," Printed at London toward the end of the Year 1695; the occasion of writing which was this:— Mr. Gilbert Rule, the Vindicator of the Kirk, had said once and again, in several of his Pamphlets, "that he and his Associates would confess themselves to be Schismaticks, if it could be proved that Diocesan Episcopacy was established in S. Cyprian's days"—a bold and unwary step, to put their cause on so desperate an issue! But at that time all things were going before the wind with them, as the Proverb is, and they thought they might do the most unjustifiable actions, and say the most absurd things, without controul. This excited Mr. Sage to read and consider again more exactly, and with this particular view, the Works of S. Cyprian and his Contemporaries; and the result of his study and pains was this excellent Treatise, in which he proves, to the conviction of all that are not entirely abandoned to prejudice and interest, that Diocesan Episcopacy was established and thoroughly settled over all the Christian Church in the days of S. Cyprian. And this I have heard the learnedest and most judicious of the Presbyterians acknowledge, thô at the same time they were not aware of the just and necessary consequences which the Patrons of Episcopacy, and Mr. Sage in particular, have drawn from it, even to the ruin of all pretences for Presbytery.

Presbyterians determine to ruin Sage.

This performance so much the more incensed the Party against him, that they resolved by all means to ruin him; and for this end, being informed that he had adventured to return to Edinburgh in 1696, and his much honoured friend Sir William Bruce being about that time committed close prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, upon suspicion of keeping Correspondence with the Court of St. Germains, they thought his intimacy with Sir William was a plausible enough pretence for accusing him also, and throwing him into some nasty Prison, which might either put an end to his life, or, at least, force him to petition for a Voluntary Banishment, which had been the fate of some others; and therefore the same Privy Councillor, who had shown his spite against him before, ordered the Captain of the Town Guards, with a party of his Soldiers, to search all the houses where they were informed he was wont to lodge or visit. But, by the good Providence of God, and the care of his friends, he was concealed for some eight days, and put on board a Boat at Leith, and safely landed at Kinghorn, thô at the same time all the Passages and Harbours of Forth were strictly guarded with Soldiers. Yet even then he did not think himself safe, for he

His escape.

was certainly informed that Spies were sent to all Places of the Country for discovering and apprehending him; and therefore he made his escape to the Hills of Angus, where, under the name of Mr. Jackson, and the person of one that wanted good air and goat milk for his health, he lurked many months, until his constant and faithful friend, Sir William, was set at liberty, and those in the Government were brought, by much pains and powerful solicitations, to a milder temper.

Some time afterward he was earnestly invited to go into the Family of the Right Honourable the Countess of Calendar, a most virtuous and excellent lady, worthy of that loyal and noble Family of Montrose, of which she was immediately descended. Having no Estate or Money of his own, and being unwilling to be troublesome to his friends, when he could be useful to others, he accepted the Lady's invitation, and officiated as Chaplain in the Family, and Tutor to her son, the Earl of Linlithgow and Calendar, whom he carefully educated in true Religion and Virtue, and instructed in those Languages and Sciences that became a Scholar and a Gentleman. The Earl retains the good instructions he then got from his excellent and worthy Master; and his Lordship's good sense, judgment, sweet and obliging carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremony, and his other improvements and accomplishments suitable to his Ancient Race and High Quality, plainly shew us that he was educated by no less a Tutor than Mr. Sage; for which his Lordship always made great acknowledgments to him when living, and has a profound respect for his memory now that he is dead.

Chaplain to the Countess of Calendar.

One would have thought that Daily Reading of the Prayers, Preaching on Holy Days, and the other Pastoral Duties, with the laborious trouble of instructing Pupils, would have been too much work for one man, and especially a person whose strength and health had been mightily impaired by former study and sufferings; and yet at the same time he did not neglect to support the interest of the afflicted Church by his learned and eloquent pen. For thô he might have justly expected from Mr. Rule publick acknowledgment of his Schism, according to his repeated promises and engagements, having fully performed the condition on which they were given; yet this his Adversary, being one of those men who are equally strangers to Faith and Modesty, had the boldness to Publish a certain "Short Answer to the Principles of the Cyprianic Age," which he called "The Cyprianic Bishop Examined." And thô this is nothing but a confused heap of unaccountable subterfuges, bad reasonings, and surprizing blunders, and therefore deserved no answer; yet because Mr. Sage knew that Mr. Rule's authority was not small amongst the ignorant, and being willing to search this matter to the bottom, and to discuss it, which he always did with all the subjects he had occasion to handle, he Published at London, 1701, "A Vindication of a Discourse intituled 'The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction;' being a Reply to G. Rule's 'Cyprianic Bishop Examined, and found not to be Diocesan.' Wherein, besides a great many things more briefly considered, the Usefulness of fixing the Principles of the Cyprianic Age is succinctly represented. The main Controversy between those of the Church and the Presbyterians is fully and distinctly stated; Mr. Rule's many Subterfuges are utterly overthrown; Large Supplements are added to the Principles of the Cyprianic Age; the Cyprianic Episcopacy is shewn to be inconsistent with Papacy; and it is demonstrated, that Episcopal Government was universally delivered to be of Divine Right

His laborious Duties.

Replies to Mr. Rule.

in the days of S. Cyprian." This makes a large Book, and all that is promised in the Title is fully performed. He had said in the last Page of the Cyprianic Age "that he had designed to have made it appear that the Episcopal Pre-eminence, which was so notoriously and unquestionably Prelatical in S. Cyprian's time, was no novel Usurpation or late Invention; not at all the Production of the Cyprianic Age, nor any Age later than the Apostles; that Saint Cyprian and all his Contemporaries firmly believed it to be of Divine Institution; that they had not entertained it, having so little temporal encouragement, nay so great and many temporal discouragements, to entertain it, if they had not so believed; and they had great reason for this their Belief, as fairly founded on our Saviour's own Ordinance, and fully handed down to them in the constant Practice of the Universal Church from the first Plantation of Christian Churches; that it passed among them as a common Principle, that Bishops were clearly contradistinct from Presbyters, and superior to them; that Bishops, as Heads and Principals of Unity to their respective Churches, were the rightful, true, and genuine Successors of the Apostles, in the Supreme, Visible, Ecclesiastical Power of Governing the Churches whereof they were Bishops." Now, he had sufficiently established and proved the truth of all these Propositions in this Book; thô, if it had pleased God to have granted him time and health, he resolved to have discoursed more fully and particularly concerning the Institution of Episcopacy by our Saviour and his Apostles, and the uninterrupted Practice of the Church to S. Cyprian's days.

His design in Publishing the Reply.

It were earnestly to be wished that our Dissenting Brethren would read and consider, without prejudice, the Books written on this subject by Mr. Sage and Mr. Rule. For my part, I dare confidently say I never read a Dispute managed so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the credit of the Author on the one side, or with so much candour, fairness, and exactness on the other. He has left a MS., which he calls "An Historical Account of the General Assembly, 1702, in the time of the Formula." It consists of Five Sheets and an Half. In it he gives a full, clear, and distinct Account of the Formula, and has at the end of it very just and good reflections on those of the Episcopal Communion who addressed that Assembly.

How the Dispute was managed.

In the Year 1703, when a Toleration was intended by some of the Ministers to have been moved in Parliament, for the ease of the Episcopal Clergy, and many smart and ingenious Pamphlets were Published to favour and promote that design, the most part of them were submitted to his censure and corrections; and he himself being importuned by his friends, wrote and Printed at Edinburgh, "Some Remarks on a Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country, on Mr. David Williamson's Sermon Preached before the late General Assembly." The reflections are judicious, and full of that life and spirit which run through all his Performances; and sweet Mr. David is so handsomely chastised for his many blunders in Sense, Grammar, History, and Divinity, that if he had been

Replies to Mr. Williamson's Sermon.

possessed of the least shame or modesty he had never adventured to Preach any more in so public a place, at least not to have Printed such pitiful, ridiculous, and incoherent stuff.

Immediately after this, he Published a small but yet a substantial and comprehensive Discourse, containing a brief Examination of some things in Mr. Meldrum's Sermon, Preached May 16, 1703, against a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion. Here he called in question the validity of Presbyterian Ordination, and consequently of the Sacraments, and other Sacerdotal Offices invaded by them. This did not a little alarm the Party, and therefore Mr. Meldrum was obliged to give it an Answer, which occasioned a Reply Printed at Edinburgh in 1704, and afterwards Reprinted at London, which is intituled "The Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion enquired into, purely on Church Principles; in Four Letters to Mr. George Meldrum, Professor of Theology in the College of Edinburgh." Here the Controversy is discussed fully and largely; and one cannot sufficiently admire the strength of his reasonings, and the great clearness and exactness, not only in explaining and defending his own sentiments, but in laying open those of his Adversary; for he understood true Church Principles beyond most men; to which Mr. Meldrum seemed altogether a stranger. I shall say no more on this head, but only recommend to the Reader's perusal those excellent Letters, from which he cannot miss to receive full satisfaction in this weighty and important matter.

He also replies to Mr. Meldrum's Sermon

When Mr. Sage was living at Falkirk in the Countess of Calendar's Family, Mr. Thomas Forrester, late Principal of the New College of St. Andrews, happening to visit his friends in Stirlingshire, and falling into Conversation with Mr. John Cuningham, a Gentleman of the firmest integrity and strictest virtue, eminent for learning, and especially famous for his singular knowledge in the Law, which he professed and taught for several years with great applause, and to an unspeakable advantage of his Country; a Debate arose concerning the Divine Right of Episcopacy and Presbytery, in which it seems Mr. Cuningham had the better; for Mr. Thomas Forrester, as it were, conscious to himself of it, thought fit to send, some days after, to Mr. Cuningham, a long Letter upon the same subject. But though Mr. Cuningham was no stranger to that Controversy, nor unacquainted with Ecclesiastical History, and therefore more than able to encounter that Goliath of the Party; yet such was his singular modesty that he would not employ his pen on a subject that seemed to be without his Province, and therefore prevailed with Mr. Sage to write an Answer in his name to Mr. Forrester. It consists of three or four Sheets, and, thô written very hastily, deserved very well to have been made public; but neither Mr. Sage nor Mr. Cuningham would permit it, especially since no reply was made to it.

Debate between Cuningham and Forrester.

The Earl of Linlithgow being well advanced in his Studies, and preparing to go abroad to his Travels, Mr. Sage thought he could not any longer be so useful to that Honourable Family, and therefore readily complied with

Sage Pastor in the Family of Stewart of Garntully.

the invitation he got from the much honoured John Stewart of Garntully, a Gentleman well affected to the Ancient Monarchy and Apostolical Government of the Church. For several years he performed faithfully the Office of a Pastor in that Gentleman's house. His extraordinary endowments, and especially his exemplary life and conversation, and his consummated wisdom and prudence, made him dear to all the numerous and excellent relations and friends of that great family. And his influence and care reached over all that Country; for as he was highly admired and esteemed by all ranks of men, so he was most careful to employ the rare talents God had given him for the benefit and advantage of all. About the end of November, 1706, he went to visit his dear friend, the Reverend Mr. Christie, at Kinross, where he was seized with a numbness in his legs, and an atrophy over his whole body. By this he was confined to his bed three-quarters of a year, so that his Physicians and friends despaired of his recovery; yet it pleased God, beyond all hope, to restore him to some better health and more strength, thô he continued still weak and sickly even to his death. Being advised by his Physicians to go for his health to the Bath, he went thither in 1709. He stayed there and at London about the space of a year; and thô he studied by all means to lurk and be unknown, yet his fame and reputation being spread over all England, by reason of his learned and elaborate Writings, he was very soon known, and his company and conversation very much courted. He then became acquainted with the Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Lloyd (late Bishop of Norwich), Dr. Hickes, Mr. Lesly, Mr. Wagstaff, Mr. Collier, Dr. Cave, Dr. Smalridge, Mr. Ellies, and a great many more of the most learned and eminent men of that Nation, of whose civility and kindness he still retained a most thankful sense, and expressed the same on all occasions. For many years he kept a Correspondence, by Letters, with the incomparably learned Mr. Dodwell; and thô he admired the primitive piety and profound knowledge of that excellent man, yet he most passionately regretted the extravagant and unwary positions advanced by that great Author in most of his later Pieces. He was pleased to show me a Letter which he sent to Mr. Dodwell, wherein he friendly, but withal very freely and boldly, gave him his thoughts concerning his Book of "The Natural Mortality of the Soul;" and he has left behind him in MS. several Sheets against him on another subject.

Seized with illness at Kinross.

Treatment he received in London.

He was mightily importuned by his friends in London to stay among them, and to try the Bath another season; but finding the use of the Bath waters unsuccessful towards his recovery, and being more sensible than others of the gradual decay of nature in himself, he desired to be excused, and told them he had a great longing to see his own Country, and die there. He therefore returned home, still sickly and weak in body, yet the vigour of his mind was as strong and lively as ever; as may be seen from an Introduction to Drummond of Hauthornden's History of the Five King Jameses, written by him and Published in the Year 1711; which is a piece of excellent criticism, wherein the scattered arguments for the Legitimacy of Robert

Returns to Scotland.

the Third are brought together, the mistakes of no mean Authors are modestly and justly censured, and the whole matter rendered more clear and distinct than ever had been done before, to the great satisfaction of all honest and loyal men.

Unfinished Works.

Mr. Sage left behind him Notes and Observations on several subjects to which he had not given the finishing stroke. I shall mention but two or three Designs which he had in his View. The Presbyterians had prevailed with the Parliament of Scotland to impose Subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith as a necessary qualification of all Ministers, and of all Masters and Professors, in Schools, Colleges, and Universities; and, pursuant to this Act, they were all obliged to Subscribe and own it, not merely as a Bond of Peace, but as the Confession of their Faith; that is, in plain language, they were bound to believe every proposition in it as true, and agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Sage therefore thought it would be no small service done to his Countrymen to present them with an impartial and accurate survey of that Confession; and in order to it he had proposed to shew—

1. That it contained many abstract metaphysical Propositions vastly removed from the Substantials of the Christian Religion, and which, without any hurt to the Christian Faith, might be disputed problematically.

His objections to the Westminster Confession of Faith.

2. That there were in it many other obscure and doubtful Propositions, controverted among Christians of all Communions; in determining of which the Westminster Assembly had chosen that side of the question which is contrary to the Doctrine of the whole Christian Church for more than three hundred years after Christ, and at this day is rejected not only by the generality of Christians in the Greek, Roman, Lutheran, and English Churches, but also by many of those who pretend to a purer Reformation, yea, by some of the most pious and learned among the English Presbyterians themselves.

3. And lastly, that this Confession was inconsistent with itself, several Propositions in it being repugnant and contradictory to others.

Regret at the want of a complete System of Divinity.

I have often heard this excellent person, with much grief and concern, regret the want of a complete, plain, and impartial System or Body of Divinity, rescued from the prejudices of modern parties, and founded on the Holy Scriptures, as interpreted by Primitive Antiquity. He was no wise satisfied with the Calvinistic Systems, but saw the weakness and hetorodoxy of them in many points; neither was he pleased with those of the Remonstrants, for several weighty reasons, but especially because their Doctrine seemed to give too much favour and allowance to the Arians and Socinians, and he often discoursed of them as generally *Trimmers* when treating of the unfathomable mysteries of our Holy Religion, and that in some measure they imitated Socinus and his Disciples in their mean and low thoughts concerning the necessity and efficacy of the Christian Sacraments. He could not at all bear their *certo quodam modo* and *objective*, by which they represented the exhibiting and conferring of Grace in the Sacraments. He

complained that none of their Systems had explained sufficiently the nature and unity of the Catholic Church as a Visible Society, and the obligations that lie upon Ecclesiastical Subjects to obey and adhere to their Spiritual Governors, arising necessarily both from the nature of society in general, and the peremptory Precepts of the Christian Religion. He thought the most of them defective in representing the necessity of a regular and lawful Mission to all the Rulers and Pastors of the Church. Seeing immediate Calls from Christ ought not to be pretended without sufficient Credentials, even such as those by whom the Apostles proved their power and authority to have been from Heaven, therefore none ought to be owned as true Ministers of Christ but those who have received their Orders from the Successors of the Apostles; and consequently he judged it a thing necessary, and of weighty moment, to shew distinctly and clearly who were these Successors, and in whom the power of conferring Orders were lodged. It would be tedious to relate here all the other errors, faults, and imperfections which he observed in these Systems or Common Places, which have so much corrupted the Minds and debauched the Principles of the Students of Divinity.

Thô his want of opportunity and health did not suffer him effectually to set about so hard and difficult a task; yet, I doubt not, but that if God had thought fit to preserve him to see the Church restored, and himself in the exercise of that high dignity of which the Divine Mercy and Providence had rendered him worthy, he would have engaged one or more persons of sufficient abilities to undertake so useful and necessary a Work; and I am persuaded no man would have been more willing nor able to have given them encouragement and assistance.

Sage's intention to reply to Sir James Dalrymple.

Mr. Sage resolved once to Publish a Confutation of the groundless conceits of the learned Sir James Dalrymple, who, in his Collections concerning the Scottish History, would make the world believe that the Scots had no Bishops before the middle of the Tenth Century, when a Bishop was settled at Kilrimont, in the Reign of Indulphus, about the year 963, according to his computation; and that their Religious Monks, under the designation of Culdees, maintained the purity of Religion, free from the Romish corruptions, even to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century. I am told that Mr. Sage has left some Sheets upon this subject, thô not finished and fitted for the Press. Perhaps, besides his bad state of health, he was at last sensible how much this trouble was unworthy of him; seeing the falshood of these Fictions, thô supported by Sir James' authority, cannot possibly gain credit with any who are not altogether under the power of prejudice and bias to a party, or utterly ignorant of Church History. Bede himself, on whom this Author mostly founds, makes the contrary as clear as sunshine. Does he not assure us that there were Bishops among the Britons at the coming of Augustin into Britain, and the Scots agreed with the Britains in everything, yea, in Ceremonies and Rituals themselves? He informs us (Hist. Eccles., lib. ii., cap. 2), that Augustin had a Conference with the Bishops and Doctors of the greatest and nearest Province of the

Augustin's Conference with British Bishops and Doctors.

Britons; and that Seven Bishops, and many other most learned men, came to a Second Meeting—Venerunt ut perhibent Septem Britones Episcopi et plures Viri doctissimi. Sir James pretends that these were only Doctors, as were also those present at the First Conference, whom the Historian calls *Episcopos sive Doctores*, "Bishops or Doctors;" but distrusting, it seems, so weak a subterfuge, he adds—"Allowing them to have been Bishops, they were not such as the Bishop of St. Asaph alledges, that is, Diocesan Bishops." But every one is the best interpreter of his own meaning; and therefore let us suffer the venerable Bede to explain himself. Laurentius, Successor of Augustin, Mellitus, and Justus, wrote a Letter to the Scottish Bishops and Abbots, in which they distinguish Dagenius a Bishop and Columbanus an Abbot. And John, then Elect Pope, with others, writes a Letter addressed thus—To the Most Beloved and Most Holy Thomianus, Columbanus, Chromanus, Dinanus, and Bathanus, *Bishops;* to Chromanus, Hermanus, Laustianus, Stellanus, and Segianus, *Priests;* to Saranus, and the rest of the Scottish *Doctors* and *Abbots*. Sir James says, p. 120, Thomianus, Chromanus, and Daganus were Irish, not Scots Bishops, as has been said; but whether he has said it elsewhere or not, I am sure he has not proved it. He indeed barely affirms, p. 65, that the Exhortation given by Laurence, with his other Saxon Bishops, was to the Scots both inhabiting Britain and Ireland; and, in like manner, the Letter written by John, Elect Bishop of Rome, was to them. And, p. 77, having mentioned the Address of Pope John's Letter, "Dilectissimis Sanctissimis Thomiano, Columbano," &c., he adds immediately, "among whom are mentioned some of the Scots in Ireland, as Columbanus, whom Du Pin calls a Monk of Bangor." It is no rare thing to see Irish or English Writers endeavouring to rob us of our Ancient Countrymen; but it is no small wonder to find a Scotsman, and one who sets up for a Patron and Defender of the Antiquity of his Nation, borrowing the principal weapon by which they think to destroy the honour and glory of the Ancient Kingdom. I know no better excuse for it but that all things, even the most weighty and valuable interests, are but small enough sacrifices to the great Idol *Presbytery*.

Pope John's Letter.

Bede does indeed tell us, before he gives us the Letter, that Archbishop Laurence bestowed his care not only on the New Church which had been gathered from among the Angles, but also on the Ancient Inhabitants of Britain, and also the Scots who inhabit Hibernia, the nearest Island to Britain. But it seems Sir James had forgot what he says in his Preface, p. 22, "That he thought it no whim that Egbert's Expedition in Hiberniam was not into Ireland but into Galloway or Argyleshire, it being not only the opinion of Sir George Mackenzie but of Ferrarius that these parts of Scotland were at that time called Hibernia, as well as Ireland." And again he says, p. 3 of his Book, "That the Scots are frequently called by Gildas and Bede *Hiberni*." But granting that Bede thought the Letter of Archbishop Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, was written to the Scots both in Britain and Ireland, yet I can see no reason for thinking the same of

Egbert's Expedition.

Pope John's Letter. Sir James owns that Segianus or Segenius was the same with him who was Presbyter and Abbot of Icolmkill, when Aidan got the Degree of a Bishop, and was sent to convert the Northumbrians. What proof then does he bring that Thomianus, Columbanus, &c., were not Scottish Bishops, as well as Segianus a Scottish Presbyter? He says that Bishop Columbanus was an Irishman, whom Du Pin calls a Monk of Bangor. But here he is altogether mistaken. This Columbanus whom he means, was Abbot, not of Bangor, but of Bencor, in the Eastern part of Ireland, and was never a Bishop. I am of opinion that he is the very same who is designed Abbot Columbanus in Archbishop Laurence's Letter, and whom he met in France; for Laurence was Consecrated Bishop of Canterbury, Anno 604, and therefore might very easily have seen Columbanus, who, having left Ireland, travelled into Britain about the Year 589, and after some stay there removed into Burgundy, and Founded the Abbey of Luxevil, of which he was Abbot about 20 years; and then, being banished by Theoderick, King of Austrasia, he retired into Italy, and Founded the Monastery of Bobio, near Naples, where he was Abbot a year, and then Died. But let us suppose that the Letter was written to the Scots in Ireland, and to them only, and that all the Bishops mentioned in it were Irish; yet this would be enough to prove that the Scottish Church settled in Britain had also Bishops. Sir James, p. 81, affirms that it cannot be inferred that the Scots and Picts, being of the same Principles with the Britons, had Bishops as well as they; for the Argument would be as good, that they all being of the same Principles the British had no Bishops, properly so called, as had neither the Scots and Picts. If it could be evidently proved that the Ancient Scots were not governed by Bishops, and, on the other hand, that the British Churches had Bishops, certainly it would not be inferred from the Scottish Parity that the British wanted Bishops, nor from the British Prelacy that the Scots were governed by Bishops. In this case the only necessary inference would be that these two Churches did not exactly agree in all Religious Matters, but differed, at least, in the Government of the Church. But upon the supposition that the Scottish, Pictish, Irish, and British Churches perfectly agreed in their Principles, and even in the smallest circumstances of Religion, the argument must necessarily conclude from the one to the rest, and the plain practice of the Church must determine the obscure and controverted practice of the other three. Now, Sir James himself owns (and I know of none that ever called it in question) that these Churches did agree in everything; and, therefore, if Tomianus, Columbanus, &c., were Irish Bishops, the Church of Scotland could not have been without Churchmen of the same Order and Character; especially seeing Columba was a Member and Abbot of the Irish Church, who converted the Picts and Founded the famous Monastery of Hyi, which multiplied into so many Religious Houses in Scotland, and is said to have had so much Jurisdiction over both Clergy and Laity.

Abbot Columbanus.

Ancient Scottish Bishops.

But to return to Bede. Oswald, King of Northumberland, having been

Baptized in Scotland, where he had lived some time in banishment, earnestly desiring the Conversion of his Subjects, wrote to the Scottish Bishops (designed here by Bede *Majores natu*, and in the 5th Ch. *Seniores*, the very word by which Tertullian designs Bishops, *Apolog. c.* 39), entreating that Antistes, a Bishop, might be sent to instruct his Subjects. The Scots immediately despatch a Missionary to him; but he being of a somewhat rugged and severe temper, and therefore unsuccessful, returned home and made a Report of his Mission in a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy, by whom Aidanus was appointed his Successor, and judged worthy of the Character of a Bishop; and so they Ordaining him sent him to Preach the Gospel in Northumberland. In the beginning of Chap. 5, Lib. 3, it is said that Aidanus was sent to instruct the Nation of the English, after he had obtained the Degree of a Bishop; and in the beginning of Chap. 3 Bede calls him Bishop Aidanus. Now, what can be the meaning of his being thought worthy of the Office of a Bishop, and his being Ordained? Certainly he was a Presbyter before he was a Monk of Hyi; and a Member of the Synod, and spoke and reasoned, and made a great figure in it. All this must therefore import no less than his advancement to a dignity superior to that of a Priest, and therefore we find that Bede still calls him by Titles importing no less, who informs us also that at the coming of the Bishop the King gave him Holy Island for the seat of his Bishoprick, as Aidan himself had desired. After the death of this most holy man, Finan being Consecrated, and sent by the Scots, succeeded him in the Bishoprick of Holy Island; and he, again, was succeeded by Coleman, who was also sent by the Scots. Cedd, a Priest, is invited from the Middle Angles by King Oswi, and sent with another Priest for his Assistant, to convert the East Saxons, who, having converted many there to the Christian Faith, came to Holy Island to visit Bishop Finan, and receive advice and directions from him. Finan being informed of his success, made him Bishop of the East Saxons, having sent for two other Bishops to assist him in the Consecration. Cedd being thus advanced to the Order of a Bishop, returned to his own Province; and now that his authority was enlarged, he proceeded to finish the work that he had begun, and formed Churches in several places, and Ordained Priests and Deacons to assist him in Preaching and Baptizing. The two first Bishops of the Mercians and Middle Angles were Diuma and Cellach, both Scotsmen; and the third, Triumhere, thô an Englishman, yet was Consecrated by the Scots. To Coleman succeeded, in the Bishoprick of Holy Island, Tuda, who had been instructed and Consecrated a Bishop by the Southern Scots. We are told by Bede, lib. 3, cap. 23, that Cedd, Cymbyl, Ceulin, and Ceadda, four brothers, were all Priests, and two of them attained to the Honour of the Priesthood; for Cedd was Bishop of the East Saxons, and Ceadda was Consecrated Bishop of York by Wini, Bishop of Winchester, assisted in the Consecration by two British Bishops, who observed Easter contrary to the Romish Custom. 'Tis true, Bede informs us, that Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, did afterwards object against the Canonicalness of Ceadda's

King Oswald sends to Scotland for a Bishop.

Bishop Aidan.

Scottish Bishops in England.

Consecration; and he himself says, lib. 3, cap. 28, that there was no Bishop in all Britain at that time Canonically Ordained, but only Wini; but their reason for this, as Sir James will own, was because Ceadda and the other Bishops had received their Consecration from those who paid no submission to the Bishop of Rome, and differed from that Church in the Observation of Easter, the Form of the Monastical Tonsure, and some other Rites. I shall not make any tedious reflections on those instances, both because I study all possible brevity and the bare mentioning of them makes it most plain and evident that the Scots and Britons had Bishops distinct from and superior to Priests, long before they submitted to the Papal authority.

But Sir James, no doubt, will say, thô the Scots and Britons had Bishops, yet these were far from being Diocesan Bishops. To which I answer—It is, indeed, the common opinion that the Ancient Scottish Bishops were not confined to particular precincts, nor had any determined limits assigned to their Jurisdiction; but that they exercised their Sacred functions and authority at large, and were in their Diocese in every place of the Kingdom where they travelled. But what advantage can the Presbyterians gain by this? The Scottish Bishops were superior to their Presbyters, and exercised Jurisdiction over them; yea, each of them had no less a Diocese than the whole Country of the Scots, which sufficiently destroys the pretended Divine Parity of Ecclesiasticks. The Church, in most parts of the World, thought fit, for wise and good reasons, to restrict the ordinary Jurisdictions of Bishops to certain and fixed bounds; but this was only a circumstance, and not at all essential to the Sacred Office. The Blessed Apostles, who were the first Bishops of the Christian Church, exercised their Episcopal Jurisdiction at large and in common, and each had the whole World for his Diocese. Thô S. Peter is said by the Ancients to have been Bishop of Rome, S. James Bishop of Jerusalem, and S. John of Ephesus, yet they were as truly and properly Bishops before they took upon themselves the particular care of those Churches as they were after. Justices of Peace are Justices in as proper a sense when they act in common over a whole Country, as if the Jurisdiction of each was confined to a single Parish. The Scottish Bishops were as truly Bishops as their Presbyters were Priests. Any who look into Bede will find that for many years there were none but Itinerary Preachers or Priests sent by the Bishops from the Cathedrals or Monasteries where the Bishops resided to Preach the Gospel in the Country Churches, who were recalled and others sent in their room according as the Bishops thought convenient. There were then no fixed Cures or Titles, and the Rural Churches were not divided into Parishes. As it therefore is not necessary for a Priest to be restricted to one particular Parish, so it is accidental to a Bishop to be confined to a single Diocese. But, after all, thô it has been the prevailing and hitherto uncontested opinion that the Scottish Bishops did exercise their Sacred authority in common, and at large, yet I dare confidently say that the contrary seems probable, from all the few and imperfect Accounts we have left to us of the

Scottish Bishops with no specified Diocese.

Itinerary Priests.

Practice of the Scottish and British Churches. Thô the Scottish Bishops had no large Revenues in Land assigned them for the maintenance of themselves and Clergy before the settling of Bishops at Kilrimont, Murthlack, &c., yet they had the Offerings of the Faithful, which in the earliest times were the whole Revenues of the Church all the World over; and it is more than probable that they had their ordinary Residence in the most convenient places of their several Districts, especially in the most famous Monasteries, where the body of their Clergy resided with them, and were thence sent out by them to plant or cultivate Churches in those places where it was needful, or where they had the best prospect of success. Thus it was among the Britons and the Scottish Bishops in England. We find the Subscriptions of Three British Diocesan Bishops who were present at the Council of Arles, Anno 314, viz., Eborius, Bishop of York; Restitutus, Bishop of London; and Adelphius, Bishop de Civitate Colonia Londinensium, or rather (as Stillingfleet reads it, Col. Leg. 11), Ex Civitate. Sir James Dalrymple says that the sufficiency of the proof for this is doubted by Selden. But shall Selden's doubting destroy the faith of an ancient Testimony? If Sir James will have himself and us to be determined in things of this kind by the authority of Selden, then he must necessarily own that some British Bishops were present at the Council of Sardica, Anno 347; thô he calls this a mere conjecture of Dr. Stillingfleet, without any authority at all; for not only that learned Doctor, but the greatest Antiquaries before him, and particularly Archbishop Usher, and his own Selden believed it as a most certain truth, upon the testimony of S. Athanasius, in his Second Apology. But that I may deal frankly and ingenuously, thô the Latin Version of Athanasius in that place does expressly say so, yet the Original seems to contain no more than that above Three Hundred Bishops of Britain, and the other Provinces which are named there, did approve, by their Suffrages, the Decree that had been formerly made by the Council of Sardica in favour of S. Athanasius. And this is sufficient to our purpose. The present argument is not concerned, whether there were British Bishops present or not at the Council of Sardica; it is enough if there were Bishops in the British Church at that time. And this is evident both from the Second Apology and the other known testimony of Athanasius, in his Epistle ad Solitariam Vitam Agentes. The authority of Hilarius Pictaviensis is most clear and evident, who, in his Book de Synodis, Published Anno 358, salutes the Bishops of Britain, as well as those of his own Country, and addresses his Book to both. Certainly S. Hilary, being a Gallican Bishop, and having lived so long near to Britain, could not have been mistaken concerning the Government of the Church there. Sulpitius Severus relates a very remarkable passage concerning three British Bishops who were present at the Council of Ariminum, Anno 359; and Sir James himself is forced to yield to the evidence of this testimony, thô it quite destroys his fond opinion;—not to mention a great number of other British Bishops, who can be proved to have been Diocesan from most authentic Documents. I shall not insist much upon the two

Revenues of the Bishops.

British Bishops at the Council of Sardica.

British Bishops at the Council of Ariminum.

Bishops from Britain, who were present at the Council in Rome, Anno 721, under Gregory II., of which the one Signed thus—Sedulius Britanniæ Episcopus de Genere Scotorum; and the other Subscribed himself—Fergustus Pictus Scotiæ Episcopus.

The Scottish Bishops who were sent into South Britain.

But I proceed to make some short Reflections upon the Scottish Bishops, who were Consecrated by the Scots, and sent into South Britain. Were not Aidan, Finan, and Colman Diocesan Bishops, who had their Episcopal Seat in Lindisfarn or Holy Island? King Oswald having been instructed in the Christian Faith, and Baptized by the Scots, must needs be supposed, according to Sir James' hypothesis, to have been as much an enemy to Episcopacy, and especially to Diocesan Episcopacy, as themselves; and, therefore, how could it enter into his thoughts to desire a Bishop at all? Or, if this could be accounted for, what could move him to demand a Bishop from those whom he knew had none of that Order among them? And if Aidan, a man of most singular piety and conduct, did so far revolt from the Principles and Practices of his Mother-Church as to become a Diocesan Bishop, why did the Scots after his Death Consecrate and send Finan to succeed him in the same unlawful Office and Character; and again, after this Bishop's Death, Colman? Certainly it is impossible to account for all or any of these things upon the supposition that the Scots were enemies to Diocesan Episcopacy. On the contrary, these holy Bishops of Lindisfarn seem to have copied from the Pattern of the Scottish Churches in this as well as in their manner of living; for Bede assures us that they

Bishops living in Monasteries.

and their Clergy resided in a Monastery together with the Abbot and his Monks, which custom continued there for many years, at least to the Death of Cuthbert, Bishop of that See. It is to be observed that (as Bede also informs us) the Abbots and Monks of Holy Island were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop; and thence, perhaps, some may be ready to conclude that so far they deviated from the Institutions of their Mother-Church, since the same Author shews that the Abbot of the Monastery of Hyi or Icolmkil, who was no more than a Priest, had not only Jurisdiction over the whole Province, but also, by an unusual and singular custom, was superior to the Bishops themselves. But thô it were certain that Bede was not mistaken in this particular relation, as he has been in several matters relating to the Scottish Nation, yet it cannot be inferred from this that the Scots did not

A Bishop superior to a Priest.

believe the superiority of the Episcopal Office above that of a Priest. All that can be concluded from it with any reason is, that a Bishop, considered as a Monk or a Member of that Religious House, was to be subject to the Abbot or Superior of the Society. No man will deny but that the Church of England acknowledges the Episcopal Character to be Superior to the Order of Priests; and yet when a Bishop is Head of a College in any of the Universities (which has frequently happened), he must be subject to the Jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor, thô only a Priest, and perhaps one of his own Clergy. Archbishop Usher has shown from the Ulster Annals that thô S. Columba was the Founder and first Abbot of the Monastery of Hyi,

yet there was always a Bishop who had his ordinary residence with him. And this gives me occasion to offer a conjecture, which seems to me highly probable, concerning the true reading of Episcopus Myiensis, who Subscribed the Canons drawn up in the Northumbrian Synod, which were afterwards presented to the Synod of Calcuith, Anno 787, according to Spelman, Dr. Cave, and others; or Anno 785, according to the Saxon Chronicle, and the most ingenious and learned Mr. Collier. The matter was this: Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi, were sent by Pope Adrian into Britain, with the Character of Legates; one of them travelled into the Kingdom of the Northumbrians, and was present at a Synod where several Canons were Subscribed by Alfwold the King, Eanboldus, Bishop of York, Five other Bishops, and the Nobility and Inferior Clergy; and these Canons were afterwards presented by the Legates to the Synod of Calcuith, in the Kingdom of the Mercians, where were present King Offa, Lambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops of that Province. Now, no less than six Bishops Subscribed to the Northumbrian Synod, and yet it is certain there were at most no more than Four Sees in all that Kingdom—viz., York, Lindisfarn or Holy Island, Hagulstad or Hexam, Candida Casa or Whithern in Galloway; and some will not allow this last to have been at that time under the Northumbrian King, or subject to the Metropolitan of York. Sir Henry Spelman and other very learned men are therefore of opinion that some of the Bishops from Scotland were present at the Northumbrian Synod. Their great difficulty is where to place Adulfus, who Signs himself Episcopus Myiensis Ecclesiæ, since there is no such place to be met with either in Scotland or England. But for my part I am fully persuaded that the Transcriber has mistaken Myiensis for Hyiensis Ecclesiæ, as he has certainly mistaken Dilberch Episcopus Augustadensis for Hagulstadensis Ecclesiæ. If so, then we have had at least one Bishop from Scotland in the Eighth Century, a Diocesan Bishop, nay a Bishop of Hyi or Icolmkil. And that S. Columba, who was a famous and holy man, believed the Superiority of a Bishop above a Priest, is evident from that remarkable Passage which we have in his Life, written by Adamnanus, whose authority is far preferable in this affair, even to that of the venerable Bede, since he had better opportunity of being acquainted with the Sentiments and Practices of S. Columba than Bede had, having been Abbot of the same Monastery of Icolmkil, and at the time when Bede was but a child. The Story is this in short: A certain Bishop came to Hyi, who being willing to conceal his character, and pass for a Priest only, affecting a more than ordinary submission and modesty, upon the Lord's Day Columba desired him to assist at the Consecration of the Eucharist; but when the stranger came up to the Altar to break the Holy Bread, as the custom of that place was, and two Priests were at Church together, Columba looking stedfastly on him, and discovering his character, desired him to make use of the Privilege of his Order by breaking the Bread alone; "for," says he, "we know that you are a Bishop: why, therefore,

Bishops Gregory and Theophylact sent into Britain.

A Diocesan Bishop in the Eighth Century.

A Scottish Bishop Consecrating.

have you endeavoured to conceal yourself, and hinder us all from treating you with due respect and veneration?" Thus S. Columba's opinion of the Superiority of a Bishop to a Priest is plain and evident from that remarkable Passage we have in his Life, written by the above cited Author; and it likewise demonstrates that there were Bishops elsewhere in Scotland besides him, who had his ordinary Residence in the Monastery of Hyi; yet such Bishops as were altogether strangers to S. Columba and his Monks, and consequently who never had received Consecration from them.

Sir James on the Culdees.

As to the other Paradox advanced by Sir James, viz., that the Culdees preserved and publickly professed the Christian Faith pure and unspotted from the Romish Corruptions, even to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century; thô indeed it were to be wished that he or any other Author were able to prove it to the satisfaction of the ingenious, yet it is supported by no arguments that have the least shadow of probability. Sir James says that the Ancient Scots had no regard to the Christian Religion planted among the Saxons by Augustine, the Romish Missionary, and his followers. But the contrary is certainly true, that the Scots and Britons believed the same Faith with the Romans; and at the coming of Augustine into Britain, and for a long time thereafter, differed in nothing from the Church of Rome but only in the observation of Easter and a few Rites and Ceremonies. This is clear from Bede, who assures us that Augustine demanded no more from the British Bishops but that they should keep Easter and administer Baptism according to the custom of the Romish Church, and Preach the Word of God together with him, *i.e.*, own him as their Archbishop, and consequently the Bishop of Rome as the Patriarch of the whole Western Church; for the Pope had not as yet claimed the supremacy over the whole Catholick Church. He knew they embraced the same Faith with himself, and therefore required no other terms from them but those already mentioned, and told them he would contentedly bear with the disagreement of their Customs in other cases. Honorius the Pope, in his Letter to the Scots, blames them for nothing but their uncanonical observation of Easter. John, Elect Pope, in his Letter to the Scottish Bishops, Priests, and Abbots, takes notice that some in their Province were endeavouring to renew the old Heresy about the keeping of Easter, contrary to the Orthodox Faith. He calls this a Heresy, having in his view the Quartodecimani, and the Censure passed upon them by the Church, after the determination of the Controversy in the Nicene Council. He also laments the revival of the Pelagian Heresy among them, and pathetically exhorts them to forsake it. In all other points of Faith there was an exact conformity with the Church of Rome. If the Scots had entertained any Errors in Faith, Bede would have been far from bestowing so great praises and characters on the Scottish Bishops who planted the Gospel in Northumberland and other places of England, and lived in the Communion of the Scottish and British Bishops, and Died under that distinction. If that Author had thought them Hereticks, would he have been at so much pains to have represented King Oswald and Bishop Aidan

Ancient Scots holding the Romish Faith.

Bede's praise of the Scottish Bishops.

to have been far above the ordinary rate of Saints? Would he have insisted so much on their Gift of Prophecy, and the Miracles wrought by them when alive, and the Cures performed by the Touch of their Relicks, and the very Dust where they lay? He does, indeed, call Aidan a man of the greatest meekness, piety, and moderation, and at the same time one who had a zeal for God, althô not altogether according to knowledge; but then the only reason he gives why he added the restriction, is no other, but because he observed Easter, according to the Custom of his Country, from the 14th day of the Moon to the 20th. And here I beg leave, in a few words, to discover a general mistake into which a great number of very learned men have fallen, who thought that the Scots and Britons agreed with the Ancient Asiatick Churches in the keeping of Easter. It is certain and beyond all Controversy, that the Churches of Asia observed that High and Solemn Festival precisely on the same day with the Jewish Passover, viz., the 14th day of the Moon, whether it happened to be Sunday or not; whereas the Scots and Britons always observed Easter upon a Sunday, as is evident from seven or eight Passages in "Bede's Ecclesiastical History." The difference between the Romish and Scottish Customs of keeping this Festival consisted in two things. The Church of Rome had established the 8th of March and the 15th of April inclusively, as the limits and bounds of the Paschal New Moons; and if the 14th day of the Paschal Moon chanced to happen on the 21st of March, or the day of the Equinox, then they observed Easter, not on that day, but on the following Sunday, lest in this case they should agree with the Jews and Quartodecimani; so that they reckoned from the 15th day of the Moon to the 21st inclusively. But, on the other hand, the Scots, thô they observed Easter always and only on a Sunday, yet when the 14th day of the month fell upon a Sunday, they did not put off Easter to that day seven-night, as the Romanists did, but observed it from the very day, computing from the 14th to the 20th day of the Moon inclusively. And this accounts very well for what Bede tells us, that it sometimes happened that Easter was observed twice in one year; and that when King Oswi was keeping that Festival, his Queen, who was of the Roman Communion, on the same day was celebrating Palm Sunday; for the 14th day of the Paschal Month fell that year on Sunday, which was kept by the Scots as Easter; whereas the Romanists, according to their Rule, put it off till the Sunday after. Ceolfridus, Abbot of Weremouth, insinuates, in his Letter (apud Bede, lib. 5, cap. 22) to Naitanus, King of the Picts, that at that time, Anno 699, there were some who kept Easter from the 16th day of the Moon to the 22nd. Another difference arose from the different Lunar Cycles, used by them for determining the New Moons; for the Scots (as Bede in many places assures us) used a Cycle of 84 years; and 'tis highly probable that the Roman Church itself used the same until the beginning of the Sixth Century, when Dionysius Exiguus introduced the Alexandrian Cycle of 19 years, which by degrees obtained in all the Western Churches. Nothing can be plainer, from Saint Ambrose's Letter to the Bishops of

The observation of Easter.

The Lunar Cycles.

Æmilia, and the Testimonies of Paschasinus Victorius and Dionysius Exiguus, than that the Latins made no use of any Cycle of 19 years before the time of Leo the Great. Nay, 'tis certain that in Pope Gregory the First's time several Churches in Communion with Rome retained as yet the old Cycle of 84 years. Whoever is curious may see a learned Dissertation on this Cycle by Cardinal Norris, Published with his "Epochæ Annorum Syro-Macedonum." But those who would understand exactly the use of it, as observed by the Ancient Latin Church, may consult the incomparable and ever-famous Mr. Dodwell, in his admirable Work, "De Cyclis Veterum."

But to return to the subject whence I digressed. In the Year 716, the Scots in Icolmkil, with all the Monasteries subject to them, were persuaded by Egbert to comply with the Romish Tonsure, and the other Catholick Customs of Living, as Bede expresses it; and this can imply no less than that they submitted at the same time to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, especially when the venerable Author adds that Egbert Consecrated the Island of Hyi to Christ, by enlightening it with certain new Blessings, and the Grace of Ecclesiastical Unity and Peace; and the Bishops from Scotland, who were present in the Northumbrian Synod, Anno 785, or 787, declared, with the rest of the Synod, that they were ready to submit to the directions of the See of Rome. However, nothing can be more certain than that the Scots and Britons were altogether of the same Faith and Religion with the Romanists, thô they had differed from them in some few Rituals, before the year 716. Now, will not Sir James own that several Corruptions had crept into the Roman and other Western Churches in and before the Seventh Century? Nay, we have most plain instances in Bede of several Errors and Opinions introduced into the Churches of this Island, some of which are rejected by all Protestants, and all of them condemned by our Presbyterians as *rank Popery*, if I may use their own Phrase—such as the Popish Doctrine of Purgatory, Private Confession, Prayers for the Dead, and the Souls being freed from Purgatory before the Day of Judgment by the Alms and Fastings of the Living, and especially by Masses; all which are to be seen in the Vision of Drithelmus, a Monk of Melross, and the Explication of it. Ceolfridus seems to have believed that the Eucharist was a Propitiatory Sacrifice. The Christians in Britain, and even those of the Scottish Communion, had no less regard and veneration for Reliques than the Romanists have now, and believed that Miracles were done by them, of which Bede gives us very many instances. They Consecrated Churches, and for this end used Holy Water, which also served to cure Diseases. Churches were dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and Apostles, and the Reliques of the Apostles were sought for from all places, and Altars built in honour of them. They used Holy Oyl, by which the raging of the sea and roaring of the winds were calmed. They observed Lent most religiously, and used the Sign of the Cross.

The Scots comply to the Romish Customs.

Corruptions in the Churches.

But what need is there for insisting farther on this head? Do not the very things in which the Scottish Church differed from the Roman make it

a corrupt Church, in the opinion of our Presbyterians? They cannot call that a pure Church which observed Popish Holy Days, such as Easter, and so much encouraged and reverenced Visionary Monks, and made so much work about a particular Form of Superstitious Tonsure; for the Scottish Monks had a Tonsure, thô different from the Roman. But thô the opposition which was made by the Scots and Britons for many years to the Pope's claim, who at first pretended to be their Superior only as Patriarch of the West, but afterwards as Supreme Visible Head of the Catholick Church, might betray unwary persons to think that they were altogether free in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries from the Errors of the Roman Church; yet it cannot but be strange and astonishing to see a learned Gentleman, who has justly obtained a great reputation for his knowledge in the Antiquities and Records of his Country; I say, it must be very surprising to see so ingenious an Author asserting that the Scottish Culdees continued to oppose the Innovations of the Romish Church, even to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century, and shrewdly insinuating that they were enemies to Episcopacy itself. Sir James has indeed sufficiently proved against the Bishop of S. Asaph and Dr. Stillingfleet, that there were Culdees not only at St. Andrews, but in many other places of Scotland, as Abernethy, Dunkeld, Kirkaldy, Lochleven, Monimusk, &c. He hath also made it plain that they continued after the year 1297, when the Culdees of St. Andrews lost the power, which they formerly had, of Electing the Bishop. He has also given instances how they opposed themselves to the Bishop of St. Andrews and others, when they endeavoured to deprive them of their Lands, and divest them of their Privileges, and give them away to Canons or Monks of a later Institution. But he has not brought one shadow of an Argument to prove that they renounced the Pope's authority, and the other Corruptions of the Romish Church; unless he thinks that to be one which he brings from Richard, Prior of Hexam de Bello Standardi, page 324—"Illi vero diu a Cisalpina, imo fere ab Universa Ecclesia discordantes, exoser memoriæ Petro Leoni et Apostasiæ ejus nimium favisse videbantur," &c., where Sir James says there is a plain acknowledgment that the Scottish Nation, both Clergy and Laity, had been a long time in Schism and Discord with the Cisalpin, and almost with the Universal Church, that is, with the Romish Church. But if this proves any thing, it proves too much, even that not only the Culdees, but also the King, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Barons of Scotland, of whom Richard speaks in that Passage, did separate from the Romish Church. The whole of the matter, in short, is this:—After the Death of Pope Honorius II., a new Schism broke out at Rome. The friends of the late Pope chose Gregory, Cardinal-Deacon of Saint Angelo, who took the name of Innocent II. Another party made choice of Peter, a Cardinal-Priest, and son to Leo, a Roman Prince, who took the name of Anacletus II. The Scots favoured the last, or rather stood neuter and unresolved for some time, as did also the English, until the famous Bernard, who espoused the cause of Innocent, very warmly brought over the French, English, and

Presbyterians and the Scottish Church.

Culdees in many places of Scotland.

Schism in Rome.

Scots to his side. Now, will any infer from this that the whole Nation of the Scots renounced the Errors of the Roman Church? as Sir James insinuates in these words, p. 258—"Besides the Scottish Church there were great multitudes in Italy itself, France, Germany, and Flanders, who differed from the Romish Church, not in Rites and smaller matters, but in the Doctrines concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and other points of Faith, and renounced their Communion, and erected Churches separate from Rome." Certainly, all who have the least acquaintance with History know that the Scots believed all the Articles of the Romish Faith as much when they seemed to favour Anacletus II. as they did after their submission to Innocent II. They believed that the Bishop of Rome was Vicar of Christ, and Supreme Visible Head of the Catholick Church; and the only question was, Whether of the two Competitors was the lawful and duly Elected Pope? In a word, the Scots, by Sir James' own Confession, had Diocesan Bishops some hundreds of years before the Extirpation of the Culdees. Both our Kings and Bishops, and the whole body of the Nation, had submitted to the Pope's Supremacy, received their Bulls, and obeyed their Legates; and in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline perfectly agreed with the Church of Rome. Yea, our Latinized Bishops (as Sir James calls them) were chosen for many years by these very Culdees, whom he makes the stout Defenders of Purity and Orthodoxy; and Gregorius, Abbot of the Culdees of Dunkeld, was made Bishop of Dunkeld, and, according to Sir James, the first Diocesan Bishop there. But this fiction is therefore most ridiculous and absurd.

The Scottish belief.

Another design Mr. Sage had in view.

I shall only mention one other Subject upon which the famous Mr. Sage resolved to have employed his accurate and learned pen; and that is—The Rise and History of the Commission of the General Assembly. How far he proceeded in this design, I cannot indeed tell; but I am sure an impartial and distinct Account of that pretended Ecclesiastick Court, such as we might have expected from that excellent man, would tend very much to the advantage and interest of this afflicted Church, seeing it is plain that the Commission of Assembly, though a Judicatory founded on no Law, and never established by any Act of Parliament, has done by far more hurt and injustice than ever the Assemblies themselves were able to do.

His increasing weakness.

As long as Mr. Sage was able to read or pursue his Studies, he was careful to have in his view one or other of those subjects, concerning which he had proposed to write; but some weeks before his Death he grew so very weak that he could not apply himself closely to any thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a friend, without great difficulty. His distemper was lingering, and came slowly and gradually on; but thô his body grew weaker, yet he still kept his good humour, and his conversation was pleasant and entertaining. The night before he died, when one of his friends was condoling his afflicted condition, he made this reply to him—"Ye need not be troubled about me; I am as free of all uneasiness as yourself is. I thank

God I have neither pain of body nor trouble of mind; though, at the same time, I am very sensible that I am posting to Eternity, but not after the ordinary manner of Posters, who ride fast the first day and slower before they come to the end of their journey; but I post twice as swiftly this day as I did the former." And with the same indolency of body and tranquillity of mind, his senses remaining entire to the very last minute of his life, he Died at Edinburgh the 7th of June, 1711 (the same day the famous and learned Mr. Dodwell departed this life), in the Fear of God, in the Unity of the Church, and in Peace with all the World, to the great grief of all good and learned men, and the infinite loss of this Nation and Church. His constant friend, the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, performed the last duties to him, and he was honourably interred in the Grey-Friars Church-Yard in that City. His Death.

He was a man of excellent natural parts and endowments, which he cultivated by close application and study, notwithstanding all the disadvantages and bad circumstances he lay under for the most part of his life. He understood exactly the Belles Lettres, and could have written in the Latin Language better than the most of his Cotemporaries, if the occasions of the Church had not obliged him to write in the Vulgar Tongue, for instructing and confirming those of his own Communion, and opposing and convincing gainsayers. He was well versed in pure and primitive antiquity, and had read with great exactness the Histories of his own and other Countries, and spoke and reasoned very handsomely about them as occasion offered. His excellent and elaborate Writings are a sufficient, and will be an eternal, Monument of his vast Genius, sharp Wit, and solid Judgment. His piety was sincere and unaffected, without the least mixture either of melancholy, peevishness, enthusiasm, or superstition. The whole conduct of his life was truly Christian and prudent, and his conversation was just, instructive, and pleasant. His greatest diversion was to discourse with sensible people, of whose conversation he was very desirous. None was more communicative of his knowledge. He suited his Discourses to the meanest capacities; and in reasoning with his friends he gave their objections against them their utmost weight, without taking any advantage if they had not expressed themselves so correctly as they ought. He defended the Church strenuously and learnedly with his pen, in its low condition; and was fit to have governed it in its highest Post, if it had pleased God to restore it to peace and tranquillity. In a word, he was one of the most religious, most learned, and wisest men of his time, worthy to be remembered, honoured, and imitated by all good men. His accomplishments.

Semper honoratum (*sic Dii voluistis*) *habebo.*

This Manuscript of Mr. Sage's Life, which was written in the year 1711, having been sent me from Scotland, to be Printed here at London, I think it not amiss to subjoin a Letter which I had from him upon two

different subjects, and which, indeed, I had importuned him to write to me; because, in conversation, I had heard him say some things which I thought were very material. He was a man of such integrity and veracity that his accounts of Facts, as related to him, were always to be depended upon. I therefore here present the Reader with a true Copy of that Letter I had from him, which bears Date 17th October, 1709.

BUCHANAN.

Sir,—About twenty-eight years ago, I had occasion, at Mr. Drummond of Innermey's House in Strathern, to be in conversation with an ancient Lady (the Lady Rasyth, in Fife), a woman of very bright parts, and of very good principles. She was a daughter of the House of Buchanan. In the process of our discourse, we came to talk of the famous Mr. George Buchanan. I told her I had not long before read over Famianus Strada's Book, "De Bello Belgico," and had found in it (I think *ad Annum* 1586) an Account of Mr. Buchanan's Confession, when on his Death-bed, that he had been most injurious, in Papers published by him, to Mary, Queen of Scots, wishing earnestly that God would allow him time and strength before he Died to do her justice. I added that the Account was new to me (for I had not then seen Camden's "Elizabeth"), and that I was afraid Strada was partial, having many other things in his Book too like Romance, and that, therefore, I was not forward to believe him in that matter. The Lady forthwith desired me to take her word for it that it was a certain truth; for she remembered nothing better than that, in her younger years, she had oftener than once heard a very aged man, called David Buchanan, who was maintained in her father's family, affirm that he was present in Mr. Buchanan's Bed Chamber, and an ear witness to that Confession when he made it. This, so far as my memory serves me, is the substance of what I learned of that Lady at that time. It made the deeper impression on me, when I reflected on the time of Mr. Buchanan's Death, which was in September, 1582; at which time David Buchanan might have been very capable to consider what Mr. George said, though he had afterwards lived after the year 1630, or 1636; and about that time the Lady was capable to have received it from him.

MR. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Mr. Robert Freebairn, Archdeacon of Dumblane, and Minister of Gask, in Strathern, a person of great worth and integrity, gave me this following Account:—That while Mr. Henderson was in his Decay, of which he Died, Mr. John Freebairn, father to this Mr. Robert, and one Mr. Rue, and another minister, whose name I have forgot, went together to visit him. He, the said Mr. Robert (who was then a Preacher), went along with them. After some other things had passed in their Discourse, one of the Ministers

addressed himself to Mr. Henderson to this purpose—"That now, in all likelihood, he was a Dying; that he had been very much concerned in the Publick Commotions which for some years before had happened in Scotland; that his Testimony (after his Death) would be of great weight with all those who were zealous for the cause, &c.; that therefore it was very proper that he should lay himself open to those who were then present, that they might be in a condition to encourage their Brethren," &c. To which Mr. Henderson composedly and deliberately replied to this purpose—"That he had indeed been very active in overturning Episcopacy, and in encouraging the Rebellion; but he took God to witness that he proposed nothing to himself when he began, but the security of Religion and the Kirk, in opposition to Popery; which he was made to believe was at the bottom of the King's designs, but now he was sensible that his fears were groundless. He had had opportunities of conversing frequently with the King, and he was fully satisfied that he was as sincere a Protestant as was in his Dominions. He was heartily sorry, and humbly begged God's Pardon for it, that he had been so forward in a course so unjustifiable; and that if it should please God to restore him to health and strength, he would go no farther on in that course, and that he was heartily afraid they had all gone too far already. The only advice therefore he could give them (and he entreated them to take it as the last advice of a dying man), was that they should break off in time, for they had gone too far already. Nothing now was so proper for them, as to retreat and return to their duty to his Majesty, who was the learnedest, the most candid and conscientious, the most Religious, and every way the best King that ever did sit upon a Throne in Britain." This his Discourse so surprised them, that for some time they sate silent. At length one of them (I think it was Mr. Rue) bespake the rest of them after this manner—"Brethren, this our Brother is in a high Fever, and is raving; you ought not, therefore, to heed what he says." "No," said Mr. Henderson, "I am very weak indeed, but I am not at all raving. Blessed be God, who of His infinite mercy allows the use of my reason in this low Estate, and which I have as much as ever. I hope I have spoken no incoherencies, and what I have said I will say over again." Then he resumed what he had said, and enlarged upon it, and desired them, in the name of God, to believe that what he spake was from his heart, and with the sincerity and seriousness which became a dying person. After they had taken leave of him, the three Ministers enjoined Mr. Robert Freebairn a profound silence of what he had heard, discharging him to communicate it to any person whatsoever, and they added threatenings also to their prohibition. But he (as he told me himself) boldly told them that he thought himself bound in conscience to declare what he had heard, as he had occasion. God's glory required it; and it was Mr. Henderson's purpose that it shall be propaled and propagated. This Account I had oftener than once from Mr. Freebairn's own mouth. He Died about 21 or 22 years ago, aged about 70. I am, Sir, yours, &c., JOHN SAGE.

The following Inscription is to be put on Mr. Sage's Monument:—

MS.

Hic Reliquiæ conduntur
Venerabilis viri Joannis Sage,
Honestis potius quam Opulentis Parentibus nati,
Qui omnia sua Incrementa sibi debuit,
Suisque Moribus sibi fortunam finxit
Vera Virtute Nobilis,
Sine Opibus et fastuosis Titulis Clarus,
Absque Pompa et Arrogantia Doctus,
Sine fuco et superstitione Pius,
Ecclesiæ Scotianæ Presbyter Meritissimus,
In Civitate Glasguensi Pastor fidelissimus,
In Academia Andreana SS. Theologiæ
Professor designatus:
Sed, proh dolor! fatali temporum injuria
Ne hoc fungeretur Munere prohibitus.
Ob mirum Ingenii Acumen et solertiam,
Eximiam rerum Peritiam et Prudentiam,
Præstantem Morum Gravitatem et suavitatem,
Bonis omnibus Carus.
Populum quamdiu licuit, assidue Admonebat,
Saluberrimis Consiliis Adjuvabat,
Facundissimis Concionibus Instruebat
Eique fulgentissimo Pietatis Exemplo Prælucebat
Literas Græcas optime Callebat,
Tanta erat Latini sermonis suavitas
Ut nativus quidam lepor non adscitus videretur.
In Historiis tam Sacris quam Profanis apprime Versatus,
Sacrosancta Principum Jura constantur et strenue
Difficilimis etiam temporibus, Asseruit.
Ecclesiam Nutantem, et tantum non Oppressam,
Ore, Consilio, Scriptis, tuebatur, sustinuit, suffulsit.
Apostolicum Ecclesiæ Regimen,
Per Episcopos, Presbyteros, et Diaconos,
Ex scriptis Cyprianicis,
Et reconditæ antiquitatis Monumentis,
Illustravit, Propugnavit.
Schismata et Hæreses Repullulantes Calamo suo
Erudito Perstringebat, Novatores et Fanaticos hujus
Seculi Circumcelliones contudit, Debellavit.
Ob præclara in Rempublicam et Ecclesiam merita,
Dignus, omnium æqui amantium judicio,
Qui non solum Cathedra Academica,
Sed et Sacra Cohonestaretur insula.
Tandem studiis et laboribus debilitatus,
Ærumnis et ægritudine Confectus,
Cum tot malis, Ecclesiæ, Patriæ, Sibique luctuosis
Diutius superesse nonpotuit,
Placide Obdormivit in Christo Venerandus Antistes,
Anno Ætatis 59. Æræ Christianæ 1711.

HENRY CHRISTIE, A.D. 1709-18,

Formerly Priest and Pastor of Kinross. He was the intimate and dear friend of Bishop Sage, who probably recommended him for the Episcopate. He and Bishop John Falconar of Carnbee were Consecrated at Dundee on the 28th April, 1709. Very little is known about him except his unobtrusive meekness, retirement, and piety. He was highly esteemed by his Brethren. He Died in May, 1718, aged 64. There is a Memorial Brass to him in the Burying-Ground at Kinross.

WILLIAM IRVINE, A.D. 1718-30,

Was the son of Alexander Irvine of Fortrie, in the Parish of Ellon. He was Tutor to the sons of Sir James Foullis of Collington, a Lord of Session. After that he became Minister of Kirkmichael, in Ayrshire. He attended the Earl of Dunfermline into France in 1690. He Preached before the Battle of Killiecrankie in presence of Dundee's Army; and again he Preached the same Sermon in the Church of Kelso, in October, 1715, to the Jacobite Army commanded by Lord Kenmure and General Foster. For the former avowal of his principles he was imprisoned at Dundee, but escaped thence to St. Germains; for the latter he was taken at Preston in 1715, and carried to the Fleet Prison, London, where he was incarcerated. Afterwards he lived commonly at Linlithgow. He Died at Edinburgh the 9th December [November], 1725, and was Buried beside Bishop Rose at Restalrig. He was of a forward and fiery temper, rough and blustering. [*Account of Scottish Bishops—MS. in the Library at Slains*, 1730; *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i., p.* 306.]

Bishop Irvine was the Royal Exile's most devoted adherent, and the very tool and creature of Lockhart, Laird of Carnwath. An attested Copy of his Deed of Consecration, which took place at Edinburgh, 23d October, 1718, is in the Episcopal Cabinet at Glenalmond. Mr. Thomas Stephen, in his "History of the Church of Scotland," vol. iv., p. 183, gives an Address which Irvine prepared for a Meeting of the College of Bishops at Edinburgh, 2nd February, 1723; at which, however, neither Bishops Falconar nor Gadderar were present. This *Remonstrance and Injunction* was addressed "To the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as well Clergy as Laity, exhorting and obtesting them all to shun those fatal rocks whereon others have been shipwrecked before; and requiring the Clergy in particular to forbear the MIXTURE, and other obsolete USAGES, and to avoid being accessory to the breaking the Peace of the Church, and the incurring our just and necessary censure." This Document was Signed and agreed to by "John, Bishop of Edinburgh; Arthur Millar, Bishop; William Irvine, Bishop; Andrew Cant, Bishop; David Freebairn, Bishop."

Andrew Cant, A.D. 1722-30,

Was the son of the Principal of Edinburgh University, and grandson of the stern Covenanter of *that ilk*. He was one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, but was Deprived in 1688. The Mandate by King James for the Consecration of Andrew Cant, given at Rome, 22nd February, 1721, is in the Episcopal Cabinet, Glenalmond, F. 9. He was Consecrated at Edinburgh, 17th October, 1722.

Lockhart, in his "Papers," vol. ii., p. 334, gives this Bishop rather a good character, although this tends to show what despicable truckling the whole of these College Bishops gave to Sovereigns or "pretended" Sovereigns. He says—"The factious Bishops [in contradistinction to the "College Bishops"] . . . did not think themselves bound to ask after the King's approbation. The independence of the Church was now in all their mouths; and, indeed, they shewed no regard for any powers, Civil or Ecclesiastic, but in so far as they were on their side of the question. . . . . So offended were the Managers of the most considerable Meeting House in Edinburgh, that they dismissed Bishop Cant and Mr. Middleton from being Pastors thereof. The first deserved some pity, in regard he was a person highly valuable on account of his integrity, learning, and zeal, and that the part he acted was only to be ascribed to the decay of his judgment, and being easily imposed upon in his advanced age; but as the other was a factious, arrogant creature, and guilty of many indecent, irregular actions, he richly merited the disgrace he met with."

He Died in Edinburgh, A.D. 1730, in the 91st year of his age and 64th of his Ministry.

David Rankine, A.D. 1727-28,

Formerly Minister of Bennathie, was Consecrated at Edinburgh, some say on the Festival of S. Barnabas, the 11th June; but the Author of the MS. Memoirs says the 22nd June, 1727. Lockhart [Papers, vol. ii., p. 355] observes—"For by this time they [the College Bishops] were sensible of the wrong step they had taken in advancing Ranken." He had been long afflicted with gravel, which, with old age, caused his death in November, 1728. Thomas Stephen says—"He was a good, well-meaning man, but tainted with that opinion that the Bishops could only be appointed to Dioceses by the Crown, which induced him to unite with the College Party, under the most absurd and useless designation of *Bishops at large*."

Not a scrap of writing remains of this Bishop, as well as of several of the others; consequently I have nothing to verify or gainsay the former portion of Mr. Stephen's Testimonial.

THE SEE OF GLASGOW.

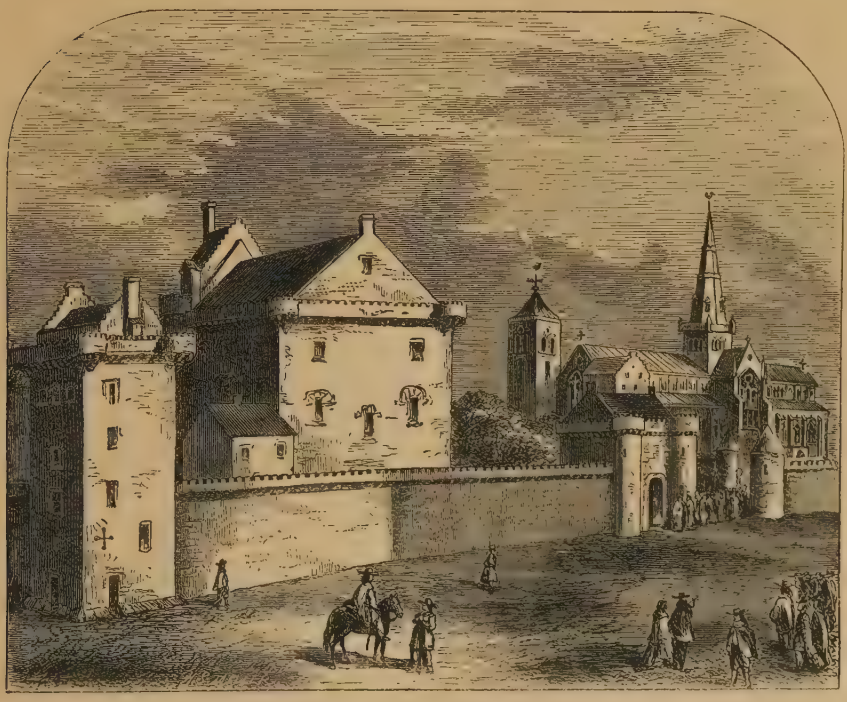
THE CATHEDRAL.

Ancient Story associates the Site of Glasgow Cathedral with the first Preaching of the Faith in Scotland. Here the Cross was planted, and here was Ground Blessed for Christian Burial by a Christian Bishop, while Iona was yet an unknown Island among the Western Waves, while the Promontory of St. Andrews was the haunt of the wild Boar and the Sea-mew, and only the smoke of a few Heathen Wigwams ascended from the Rock of Edinburgh. The Ground which S. Ninian Hallowed, and S. Kentigern chose for the Seat of his Religion, was honoured also by the footsteps of S. Columba, who came hither in Pilgrimage from his Island Monastery, singing Hymns in honour of the Apostle of Strathclyde. With these vestiges of the Holy Men of old, we may mingle the associations of ancient Romance which attach to the Spiritual Capital and Royal Tombs of the Kingdom of Arthur and Merlin, of Aneurin and Taliesin.

The Edifice which we now behold has seen the English Edward prostrate before its High Altar, and heard his Vows at the gloomy Shrine of S. Kentigern. It witnessed the Absolution of Bruce, while the Red Cumyn's blood was scarce yet dry upon his dagger. Its Walls rang with Exhortations that it was better in the Eye of Heaven to fight for that outlawed Homicide, than to do battle for the Cross in the Holy Land. In its Vestry were the Bruce's Coronation Robes made ready in haste; from its Treasury was "the Banner of Scotland" taken, which waved above the ruined "Kaiser stuhl" at Scone, when, with maimed Rites and a scanty Train, Heralds proclaimed him "Robert, King of the Scots." In a more peaceful Age, its Chapter House and Crypt sheltered the infant Convocations of the University, in which Smith was to teach Doctrines that have changed the Policy of Nations, and Watt was to perfect Discoveries that have subdued the Elements to be the ministers of mankind. It has seen a King serving at its Altars; for, as the Emperor was a Canon of Cologne, and the French Monarch a Prebendary of Tours, so a Scottish Sovereign (the devout and chivalrous King James of Flodden) had a Stall in the Choir and a Seat in the Chapter of Glasgow. Beneath the shadow of its Rood-loft, unrestrained

by the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, the Primates of Scotland—following the example of Canterbury and York in an earlier Age—have brawled and struggled for Precedency, amid the cries of their Attendants, the rending of Cope and Surplice, and the crash of shivered Croziers. John Knox described, and may have witnessed the Tumult; but his triumph would have been checked could he have foreseen that, before his own Discipline was 20 years old, the same Walls were to witness a Riot not less unseemly among his own Followers; were to hear the clash of steel, to see the "Moderator of the Presbytery" plucked by the beard from his Seat of Office; the Preacher pulled by the sleeve in the Pulpit, with a "Come down, sirrah!" while without, Bells were rung, Drums beat, and blood flowed in the streets. Buchanan—so long Scotland's greatest name in Letters—trod the Aisles of Glasgow in his youth, and sat a delighted guest at the Classic table of its Archbishop. That Castle Hall was forsaken, the desolate Cathedral was hastening to decay, when Buchanan's Pupil, Andrew Melville, is said to have clamoured for the instant Destruction of the Pile as "a Monument of Idolatry," whither superstitious people "resorted to do their Devotion," and which, by reason of its "huge vastness," was all unsuited for the stern simplicity of "Orthodox Rites." But the time of the old Minster was not yet come: the Edifice which Melville wished to destroy was reserved to be the Theatre of the proudest triumph which Melville's Disciples ever achieved. Large as are the dimensions of the High Church of Strathclyde, they were much too narrow for the eager Multitudes who swarmed round its Gates in December, 1638; while within, Covenanted Ministers, and Nobles, gorged with Church Spoil, were defying their King and Excommunicating their Bishops. It was, perhaps, the greatest confluence of people, says Burnet, "that ever met in these parts of Europe; yet a sad sight to see, for not a Gown was among them all, but many had Swords and Daggers." Baillie, the Covenanting Principal of the neighbouring College, gives even a fiercer picture of this memorable Council. "We might learn modesty and manners from the Turks or Pagans," he breaks out; "our Rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the House of the true God, that if they used the like behaviour in my Chamber, I would not be content till they were thrust down stairs." Such was the characteristic disorder amid which the "Jericho of Prelacy" was cast down, and "the Curse of Hiel the Bethelite" thundered against all who should attempt its rebuilding. But the exultation of that day was not to prove lasting. A brief course of 15 years saw the Assembly of the Covenanted Kirk invaded by Theocratic Enthusiasts yet

wilder than themselves—saw the Members marched in silence to the foot of the Gallows-tree, and there dismissed with an ominous warning of the destiny which awaited them should they seek to meet again. Before that Scene was acted on the Burgh Moor of Edinburgh, Cromwell had sat in the High Church of Glasgow listening for three hours to the impotent railing of Mr. Zachary Boyd, smiling at the impatient rage of his Captains, who spoke of Pistolling the Preacher, and taking a more ingenious revenge, by subjecting Mr. Zachary to a private Homily, longer and drearier than his



THE ARCHI-EPISCOPAL PALACE AND CATHEDRAL, ABOUT A.D. 1650.

own. Glasgow echoed the universal delight which hailed the Restoration; yet, amid that joyous Tumult, a voice was heard from the depths of her Cathedral Crypt prophesying woe and lamentations—Cargill, the rugged Confessor of a relentless Covenant, sparing not to denounce the faithless King even on the first "oak-apple day" of his Reign. A few years pass, and, in the Choir above, the low sweet voice of Leighton is heard in those angelic strains of eloquence and devotion which haunted the memory of his hearers to their dying day. A few years more and the Cathedral is beset by

a surging crowd of Cameronians—Fanatic Wanderers from the Hills, whose wrath will not tarry for the slow retribution of the Law, but who are there, at their own hand, to purge the Temple of God of "the Prelatical Intruders," as "Dumb Dogs," "Erastians," "Schismatics," "Covenant-Breakers," and "Soul-Murderers." And now, "last Scene of all," after Centuries of neglect, the breaches of S. Kentigern's venerable High Church have been repaired, and its decayed places raised up; it is swept and garnished; those Western Portals so long closed are thrown open. Who, in these days of sudden and marvellous mutation, shall say for what or for whom they wait? [*Quarterly Review, vol.* 84, *p.* 134.]

Glasgow High Church or Cathedral is situated on nearly the highest ground within the Municipality, and in early times its position must have been singularly commanding and beautiful—closely laved on the Eastern side by the then (not certainly *now*) pellucid Waters of the Molendinar; the Clyde singing on its way to the Sea, in the Valley below; and lengthening Woods and verdant Slopes all around. Even at the present day, surrounded as it is by the miles of massive Masonry of a City with 500,000 inhabitants, the Cathedral retains its early prominence and distinctiveness. It has not been shut into a corner, nor has its beauty been marred by the immediate proximity of mean Buildings, as is the case with many other Cathedrals. On a clear Sunday morning the view from the top is superb. Eastward, the eye ranges over the upper Vale of Clyde, with its Haughs and Woods, Bothwell, and the princely Domains of Hamilton, till the view is bounded by the lofty Tinto. Westward, the spectator has before him the course of the Clyde to the Ocean, the Renfrewshire Hills, the Town of Paisley, the Ruins of Cruickston, Dumbarton with its Rock and Fortress, and the serrated Peaks of the Argyleshire Mountains. North are the picturesque Hills of Campsie, and Southward the cultivated Braes of Cathkin and Castlemilk; while the wide expanse of the City is spread at the gazer's feet, with all its evidences of activity, enterprise, and successful and unceasing industry.

The Cathedral of S. Mungo, or Kentigern, is composed of a Nave of eight Bays, North-West Tower, a short Transept, a central Tower and Spire, a Choir of five Bays, Lady Chapel of two Bays, and Chapter-House at the North-East end. The Choir, Lady Chapel, and Crypt are Late Early English; the Nave is Decorated, as are the Chapter-House and Lateral Crypts. The Choir Floor is 140 feet above the Stream.

This stupendous and magnificent Building was erected in the great age of Ecclesiastical Architecture, and completed in the Noontide of its glory

and grandeur. For the most part it was built during the Lancet Period. Its Crypt is Early English; the Spire, Nave, Chapter-House, and Transept-Crypt being either Late Decorated or Flamboyant. It is an imposing dusky Fabric, stately, solemn, solid, and venerable, elevated on the brink of a Ravine, through which flows the Rivulet Molendinar. The Precinct is in the North-East quarter of the City, in the Townhead, and at the upper end of the High Street, from which an open space of Cemetery, surrounded by Walls, wholly sequesters it.

The Glasgow folks compared the Building to Penelope's web, saying that, like S. Mungo's Work, it would never be finished. The Church was erected on the Site of a wooden Structure which had been burned down by Bishop Achaius in 1136; but the new Fabric having been again destroyed by fire, the Foundation of another Church was laid in 1181 by Bishop Jocelyn, and the Crypt dedicated July 6, 1197. The Spire was in progress in 1277. In 1258 Bishop William de Bondington saw the Choir completed. In 1291 Edward I. gave certain Oaks to Bishop Wishart to complete the Steeple, but the Bishop converted them into Catapults for the Siege of Kirkintilloch Castle. Bishop W. Lauder, 1408-25, commenced, and Bishop John Cameron, 1425-47, completed, the present Spire, the Chapter-House, and Crypt beneath it. The North Aisle was roofed by Bishop Muirhead, 1455-73. Before 1480 the Nave, begun in the Fourteenth Century, and the North-West Tower, were completed. Archbishop Blackadder, 1484-1508, built the Rood-Loft, and the Stairs of the Great Crypt.

The Crypt under the South Transept is said to have been also Built by him; hence the name "Blackadder's Aisle." In "Macgeorge's Armorial Insignia of Glasgow," p. 33, we learn that it had another name when it was Built, which is Inscribed in plain Saxon Letters over the Entrance to it:—

this is the ile of car. fergus.

In the Life of S. Kentigern, we read that there was a holy man, named Fergus, dwelling in a place called Kernach, to whom it was revealed that he should not die till he had seen S. Kentigern. He Died immediately after the Saint entered his house; and Kentigern having placed his body in a Car, yoked to it two wild Bulls, commanding them to carry it to the place ordained of the Lord. This they did meekly, and, followed by the Saint and a great Multitude, they carried it to Glasgow—then, as the Legend says, called *Cathures*—where they rested beneath certain ancient Trees near a forsaken Cemetery, which had been hallowed by S. Ninian of Galloway. Here the Remains of the good Fergus were committed to the earth, and this

was the first Burial made in that place. Over what was supposed to be the very spot was the South Transept of the Cathedral Founded, and its *Crypt* Dedicated to this *Fergus*. Within the Circle of the Stone containing the above-noticed Inscription, is a rude Representation of the Car, with the Body of Fergus extended thereupon. This incident is also alluded to in the following Lines of the Eucharistic Hymn for the Festival of S. Kentigern:—

"Sævi boves subjugati,
Plaustra portent pondera."

This Crypt was long used as the Burying Place for the "City Ministers," and some few privileged Families. The remainder of the Building was completed by Cardinal Beaton.

The late Western Tower and Consistory House were built closely against the Western end of the Cathedral, and formed the most prominent object of the view in approaching the Church from the City, and have been removed within the last 20 years. They were very generally set down, by men of taste and Architectural knowledge, as abortive afterthoughts or excrescences, which had no connexion with the pristine designs of the Cathedral; but a curious Controversy was carried on for some time with the view of proving that this old Tower claimed honours of antiquity even superior to those of Bishop Joceline's Crypt itself. In the progress of removal, evidence was obtained which showed that this latter supposition was entirely groundless. In matter of fact, the Tower was a squat, dumpy erection, rising to a height of about 120 feet; and, from a Legacy in the Will of Archbishop Dunbar, for the erection of a "Campanile," it is believed to have been built only a few years before the advent of the "Reformation" put a stop to all further extensions of the Cathedral. A Clock and Bell were placed here. The latter is now in the main Tower, originally given by Marcus Knox, Merchant, in 1594, and re-cast in London, 1790.

The Consistory House was a large, high-gabled Tenement, supported by Buttresses, and lighted on the South side by a variety of plain square-headed and pointed Windows. The Consistory and Commissary Courts were held here; and here also were kept the Records of the Court, and an immense mass of Documents, amounting to many waggon-loads, connected with Pleas and Processes before the Courts, extending over a period of two or three Centuries. When the Commissary Court was abolished, about 50 years ago, the Records were sent into Edinburgh; but an immense quantity of curious Papers remained, not properly belonging to this Court, and as no one seemed to care for them, they were allowed to disappear, having either

been burned, or carried away by any one who took a fancy to what seemed a litter of Manuscripts. Some of these Documents, which have been preserved, are exceedingly interesting, and throw curious light on the manners of a bygone Age. It is most humiliating to admit that this work of spoliation and destruction has taken place so recently.

The West Door, 17 feet by 11, is of great richness and beauty, and by half a Century earlier than the Nave. It is a double Portal of six quasi-shafted Orders with 21 feet span, with a square head to each Entrance, and the space above is filled with Niches. It is divided by a single Pillar, and wears a Continental aspect. In the Clerestory of the Nave (Early Decorated, of the Fourteenth Century), Couplets of two-light Windows, with a Lozenge in the head, fills each Bay. In the Aisles in each Bay is a single three-light Window, each composed of three Lancets, with a Trefoiled Circle for Tracery, and divided by Chamfered Buttresses. Above the Corbel Table in either Storey are grotesque Gurgoyles. What mystical meanings attach to the double Figures in which the Corbels of the Tabernacled and Buttressed Pillars of the Parapet terminate, cannot now be explained. The old woman coaxingly pulling or pinching the ear of the shy and modest looking youth; and the young wenches chucking the chin, and making equivocal advances to the old men with whom they are associated, as well as the indications from some other mutilated Figures, which we do not choose to particularize, are certainly provocative of anything but modest associations, according to our modern ideas. And yet the peculiarly strict and rigid manner in which anything sensual or obscene was prohibited in the language and conduct of the Artists and Operatives by whom the Sacred Edifices were constructed, forbids the supposition that anything of the kind was intended. We are shut up, indeed, to the more charitable conclusion, that they are Illustrations of Scripture Story or Allegory—monitions of the wiles and enticements of Vice—executed in that Doric simplicity and matter-of-fact plainness, characteristic of the practices of the olden times, both in language and representation. The Figures on the Front represent Eleven of the Twelve Apostles—Judas, with artistic justice, being of course excluded.

In the Interior, the Arches of the Nave are Pointed with deep Mouldings. It is 63 feet broad, and 85 feet high. The Vaulting Shafts rest upon Corbels. The Triforium in each Bay is divided by clustered Shafts, and consists of two Trefoiled Lights, with a Trefoil in the head. The Clerestory has a broad Wall Passage, and a Gallery with two noble Pointed Arches in each Bay. The Wood Roof is ribbed. The Aisles retain their Stone Quadripartite Groining. The South-Easternmost Windows of the Triforium

are of three lights, but have a curiously complicated pattern. The Transept is 73 feet long. The Choir Screen is most elaborate; on either side of a Door, with a low, depressed Arch, are five Panels, and above is an open, quatrefoiled, flamboyant Parapet, with seven pairs of Figures serving as Corbels to support the Canopied Buttresses. Five Stairs lead up to the Pace, the sides of which have Figures bearing Legends under Canopies.

The East end of the Choir, which has five Bays, is composed of two Pointed Arches, under an engaged group of four tall Lancets; the two innermost being the loftiest, and filling the space which ordinarily would have been divided between the Clerestory and Triforium. On the Vaulting are seen Emblematic Devices and numerous Coats of Arms of different Bishops and Prebends; amongst these, on the left of the High Altar, are the Royal Arms of Scotland, placed there in the time of James IV., who was a Canon and Member of the Chapter. The Clerestory, of the latter part of the Thirteenth Century, is formed of Triplets of equal lights, in front of them; on the Interior is a Screen to the Wall Passage of similar design. The Triforium consists of double Windows of two trefoiled lights, with a quatrefoil in the head in each Bay. The Roof, of wood, 90 feet high, is ribbed, and enriched with carved Bosses. The Capitals under the great Arches of the Tower present the earliest instance of Foliation in North Britain.

The Lady Chapel, a double cross Aisle, is approached from either of the Aisles of the Choir. It extends in breadth 28 feet East from the Choir, and is in length equal with the width of the Choir and its Aisles. The groined Roof is supported by three elegant clustered Columns, and rises to a height of about 25 feet; the small Columns of the Lanceted Windows, and the Clustered Pilasters, from which spring the Ribs that support the Vaultings, are crowned with Capitals of the greatest intricacy and beauty. The Carving here is still more delicate and elaborate than in the Choir, and the Foliage is so deeply undercut, that human figures, birds, and animals, are seen nestled among its branches; the Bosses of the Roof are not less elaborately finished. It is only on two of the Windows on the East end of this Chapel, and upon the Arches at the Western end of the Aisles of the Choir, that the Flowered or Toothed Ornament is to be seen. The Lady Chapel was long allowed to remain in a pitiable state of neglect, and its exquisite Carvings were choked up by the rubbish, dust, and mildew, of two Centuries; but the recent renovations have brought them out in their pristine beauty. This Chapel contains a solitary Monument to the memory of Archbishop Law.

The Chapter House was Founded by Bishop Lauder, and is a Cube, measuring internally 28 feet, supported by one central Column. For a lengthened period subsequent to the "Reformation," the Chapter House was the place of meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and is still used as the Vestry or Session-House of the "Inner High Church" Congregation.

The Crypt was built by Bishop Jocelyn in 1181, and Consecrated 1197. Its Architecture is matchless Early English, solid, richly and intricately vaulted; the perspective of its Aisles is varied and enchanting. It has 41 Windows, and 45 Pillars.

Roman Catholic Architects were not content merely to found a Sub-stratum for the Choir above. They expended all the resources of their Art in adorning the spot which was to receive the Remains of the Prelates and Benefactors of the See; and, after the lapse of seven Centuries, it stands alone in its dignity and beauty. The Crypt extends in length, beneath the Choir and Lady Chapel, 125 feet, by 62 in width; its height, beneath the Choir, is about 15 feet; but at the Lady Chapel, where the soil falls rapidly without, the level of the Ceiling is maintained, whilst the Floor descends about 4 feet, making the height of this portion about 20 feet. The principal Piers are found here, as a matter of course, beneath those of the Superstructure; but, in addition to these, two Rows of Columns support the Pavement of the centre Area of the Choir, whilst an additional Pillar of smaller dimensions is placed between each of those carrying its main Piers. The Piers assume every possible form of triangular, round, and multangular, and are em-

Chapter Seal, bearing the device of the Paschal Lamb, its left foot resting on what seems to be a Ring with part of a Chain attached to it. *Cir.* A.D. 1180. [*Melros Charters.*]

Chapter Seal, with figure of S. Kentigern, his right hand raised, his left holding the Crozier. At the dexter side is the Fish and Ring, at the sinister a Bird perched on the top of a Bell. A.D. 1321. [*Melros Charters.*]

braced by attached Columns, having Capitals of all possible varieties, from the simple Norman to the most intricate Foliage. The Groinings springing from the Columns are very numerous, particularly beneath the Chancel, where they exhibit an astonishing combination of interesting Tracery, and richly Carved Bosses, the splendour of which has attracted the admiration of the ablest Judges.

It was long used as the Barony Kirk; in it Rob Roy appointed a meeting with Frank Osbaldistone. This Crypt was cleared and opened out by Mr. Nixon in 1835.

In the South Aisle of the Nave is the only *Brass* extant in Scotland, an Oblong, 3 feet 2 inches by 6 feet, to the memory of six Knights of the House of Minto, Dated 1608.

The Central Tower rises 30 feet above the Roof, and rests on four massive Pillars, each 29 feet in circumference. The Octangular Spire is of good dimensions and outline, with fine Spire Lights and two rich Bands. The Tower has four Lancets in each, the two outer being blank, under a quatrefoil Parapet. The entire Steeple is 225 feet high.

The East end of the Choir consists of four Lancets, the two innermost being longer, set between two plain Pilaster Buttresses, with a square Window under a round Arch in the Gable. Couplets light the four Bays of the Lady Chapel above and the Crypt beneath. The projection of the Chapel will remind the visitor of the large Eastern Cross of Durham and Fountains.

The total length of the Church is 319 feet. It is 1090 feet in circumference, covers an area of 26,400 feet, and contains 147 Pillars and 157 Windows.

The Cathedral has been restored by Blore. To Sir Andrew Orr, when Lord Provost, are the public indebted for the first practical steps which led to the noble scheme for filling the Windows with Painted Glass. The Subjects were arranged by Charles Heath Wilson, Architect.

LIST OF ALTARS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

In 1459 the Sacrist had special charge of keeping in repair the Furniture and Ornaments of only the High Altar, and those of the Holy Cross, S. Catharine, S. Martin, and S. Mary the Virgin, in the Lower Church; but there were numerous Altars in the Church, most of which had permanent Endowments for Chaplains or for the maintenance of Lights. Some of them follow:—

1. The High Altar had a Chaplainry endowed by William the Lion with 100*s* from the Revenues of the Sheriffdom of Lanark. On the 2nd August,

1301, Edward I. offered at this Altar an Oblation of Seven Shillings. He repeated his Offering next day, and offered also Seven Shillings on that day, and on the 3rd September, at the Shrine of S. Kentigern.

2. S. Kentigern's Altar near his Tomb in the lower Church, received in 1400 an annual Rent to maintain the Lights before it, and in 1507 Archbishop Robert founded a Chaplainry at it, which he endowed with part of the Rents of Craigrossy. Before the year 1233, William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, gave a Stone of Wax yearly for the Lights at a Mass to be said daily at the Altar of the Tomb of S. Kentigern. In 1475 James III. confirmed an ancient Grant of three Stones of Wax from the Lordship of Bothwell, half of which he directed to be used for the Lights above the Tomb of S. Kentigern. The "Tumba Sancti Kentigerni" was endowed also with certain Roods of Land on the confines of the City.

3. Another Altar to S. Kentigern was founded on the South side of the Nave of the Church, by Walter Steward, Knight, and endowed for a Chaplain, in 1506, by his son, Andrew, Archdeacon of Galloway.

4. An Altar dedicated to the Virgin stood in the Crypt, or lower Church, and another at the entrance of the Choir; besides an Image of "S. Mary of Consolation," at or near the Altar of S. John the Baptist, in the Nave.

Robert, a Burgess of Glasgow, and Elizabeth, his wife, gave, before 1290, a Tenement for the augmentation of the Light of S. Mary the Virgin's Altar in "le crudes," or Crypt. In 1460, an annual of 12*d* was given from a Tenement "in vico fullonum," or Walcargate (now the Saltmarket), by David Hynde, Burgess, for the sustentation of the Lights of S. Mary and S. Kentigern in the Lower Church. In 1507, Archbishop Robert founded three perpetual Chaplainries from the Rents of the Lands of Craigrossy, one of which was for the Service of the glorious Virgin Mary of Consolation. He also gave one Merk annually for the reparation of the Ornaments of the Altar of S. Mary of Pity, at the South Entrance of the Choir, at which he had before founded a perpetual Chaplainry.

5. S. Servan's Altar was rebuilt in 1446 by David de Cadyhow, who gave an annual of £10 to the Vicars of the Choir and their Successors, for the Celebration of a daily Mass there.

6. S. Mauchan's, or S. Machan's, Altar was placed on the North side of the Nave, at the third Pillar from the Rood Loft (ad tertiam columnam a solio crucifixi) and had been constructed of hewn and polished Stone (sectis et politis lapidibus) by Patrick Leche, who, in 1458, endowed it for a perpetual Chaplain with Rents from Tenements in Glasgow, and gave the Patronage to the Community and Burgesses.

7. S. John the Baptist, S. Blasius the Martyr, and S. Cuthbert the Confessor, had each an Altar in the Nave of the Church, which had been founded and endowed for perpetual Chaplains before 1467, by the Dean, Sub-Dean, Treasurer, and others. Their Emoluments arose from certain Lands, Tenements, and Annual Rents, within the City and Territory of Glasgow, then confirmed by Andrew the Bishop.

In 1494, Archibald Quhitelaw, Sub-Dean of Glasgow, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, founded a Chaplainry at the Altar of S. John the Baptist, from several Tenements, Lands, and Rents, lying in the City.

The Altar to S. John the Baptist and S. Nicolas, situated in the South Aisle of the Church, at the first Pillar from the Rood Loft, was endowed for a perpetual Chaplain in 1524, with Lands, Tenements, and Annual Rents, by Roland Blacadyr, the Sub-Dean.

8. James Douglas of Auchinchassil founded a Chaplainry at S. Cuthbert's Altar, on the South side of the Nave, with annual Rents from Tenements in the Burghs of Glasgow and Linlithgow. It was confirmed by Bishop Andrew in 1472.

9. The Altar of All Saints was on the North side of the Nave, at the fifth Pillar from the Rood-Loft. It was endowed in 1495 for support of a Chaplain by David Cuninghame, Archdeacon of Argyle and Provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton, with Tenements in the Burgh of Dumbarton.

10. The Aisle (or Chapel) of S. Michael the Archangel was behind the great South Door of the Church towards the West. In 1478, Gilbert Rerik, Archdeacon of Glasgow, founded a Chaplainry at its Altar from Tenements in the Burgh, and provided that on S. Michael's Day the Chaplain, after Divine Service, should distribute, in presence of the people, "among 30 poor and miserable persons, of his own selection, 20*s* in food and drink."

11. The Altar of S. Stephen and S. Lawrence, the Martyrs, was situated behind the great Altar, and was endowed in 1486 for the Sustentation of a Chaplain, by James Lindsay, Dean of Glasgow, with half of the Lands of Scroggs, in the Barony of Stobo, an annual of 10 Merks from S. Gelisgrange, Edinburgh, and with other Rents.

12. The Altar of Corpus Christi in the Nave, or Ambulatorium, at the fourth Pillar from the Rood-Loft, was constructed with hewn and polished stones, by Robert, Canon and Prebendary of Glasgow. It was endowed by him in 1487 for a Chaplain, whose Revenues arose from annual Rents and Tenements in the City.

13. The Altar of S. Nicolas, in the Lower Church of Glasgow, was endowed in 1488, by Michael Fleming, a Canon, with a Revenue of 5 Merks (4*s* 8*d*), as half a Chaplainry. He gave also 20*s* for an Obit to be performed by the Vicars.

14. The Altar of S. James the Apostle was situated in the Choir, between the Altar of S. Stephen and S. Lawrence on the South, and the Altar of S. Martin on the North. It was endowed with Rents from Tenements by Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Diocese, in 1496.

15. The Altar of the Holy Cross received an endowment for a Chaplain in 1497, from Malcolm Durans, Prebendary of Govan.

16. The Altar of S. Peter and S. Paul was situated in the Lower Church, between the Altar of S. Nicolas on the North, and the Altar of S. Andrew on the South. It was endowed for a perpetual Chaplain by Thomas Forsith, Prebendary of Logy, in the Cathedral of Ross, in 1498.

17. The Altar of the Name of Jesus was on the North side of the Entrance of the Church. It was founded and endowed for a perpetual Chaplain by Archbishop Robert, from a part of the Rental of Craigrossy, in 1503.

18. The Altar of S. Thomas of Canterbury, Archbishop and Martyr, was founded by Adam Colquhoun, Canon of Glasgow, and Rector of Stobo, who Died in the beginning of the year 1542. It stood in the Nave of the Church, and was endowed from Lands in the neighbourhood of the City.

19. There was also an Altar Dedicated to S. Andrew; an Altar (in the Nave) Dedicated to S. Christopher; an Altar of "the Holy Blude;" and a Chapel called the Darnley Chapel.

Besides those required for the Service of these Altars and Chapels, other Chaplains were endowed in the Cathedral for general or special purposes, whose Ministrations do not seem to have been confined to

particular Altars. At least ten such Chaplains occur in the Records of this Church, one of which was founded by Robert II. while Steward of Scotland, as the price of the Papal Dispensation for his Marriage with Elizabeth More. Numerous Anniversaries or Obits were celebrated, chiefly by the Choral Vicars, for Benefactors and persons who founded and endowed them.

The maintenance of the Lights for the general Service of the Cathedral was provided for by gifts from Walter Fitz-Alan before 1165; William the Lion, 1165-89; Robert de Lundoniis, 1175-99; and several others. In 1481, John, the Bishop, gave six Stones of Wax yearly, to be used in Candles, in Brazen Sconces between the Pillars, all round from the High Altar to the Entrance of the Choir. [*Orig. Paroch.*]

INVENTORY.

[*Translated from the Collections of John Dillon, Vice-President of the Maitland Club.* 1831.]

In the Name of God. Amen.—*Inventory* of all the Ornaments, Reliques, and Jewels, of the Church of Glasgow, made by order of the Lord Bishop and Chapter of the said Church, by the venerable men, Masters David de Cadzow, Singer; Robert de Moffatt, Treasurer; William de Govan and Thomas Wan, Canons of the said Church of Glasgow—on the 24th of March, 1432.

1. One Chalice, with a Paten, of pure Gold. 2. Five large and beautiful Chalices of Silver, well gilt, with the Patens. 3. One Cup of Silver, gilt, without Cover. 4. Two Phials of Silver, gilt, of a good size for Chrisms and Holy Oil, on three Foot-Stands, one higher and the other lower. 5. Nine Phials or Cruets of smaller size, of Silver, for the use of the High Altar. 6. Two Pastoral Staves, one solemn (grand), gilt all over; and one, less solemn, with the *Top* gilt. 7. Two Mitres, one solemn, with the ground formed of Pearls, and finely adorned with a variety of Precious Stones; and another, less solemn (grand), of Damask, adorned with Precious Stones and Silver-gilt. 8. Another Mitre of White Damask, with Gold Bordures, without Precious Stones. 9. Four Pairs of Gloves for the Bishop. 10. One Pair of Gloves, with two Precious Buckles to fasten them. 11. Two very valuable Clasps, ornamented with Pearls and other Precious Stones. 12. Four Precious Clasps for Copes, bearing the Embroidered Image of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; another, more precious, representing her Coronation; a third, with the Image of the Crucifix; a fourth, with the Image of our Lord seated on a Throne with the four Evangelists, one or either in the four corners; all of Silver, richly gilt. 13. A Cross, or the Image of the Crucifix, with two Collateral Figures of goodly size, of Silver, well gilt, entrusted to the keeping of the Sacristan.

In Jewels—viz., Precious Stones, Rings, and other Articles.

1. One Clasp, or Buckle, of Gold, adorned with Pearls and other Precious Stones, with a Porphiry in the middle of a green colour. 2. Eighteen Precious Stones, of red colour, for the Shrine of S. Kentigern, in one paper. 3. Twenty-six Precious Stones, of various colours, for the same Shrine, preserved in another paper. 4. Twenty-six other Precious Stones, of different colours, for the same Shrine, in another paper. 5. Four Buttons, or Hooks, of Oriental Pearls, for the Cope. 6. Eight Monilia, or

Brooches, of Gold, with Precious Stones, kept in a Wooden Case, for the Shrine. 7. A small Silver Chain, kept in the same Case. 8. In a small Wooden Box, various broken Stones, with a gilded Ring, having one Stone. 9. In Money, for the Shrine, Twenty-Six Pounds and Fifteen Shillings, reckoning the Half-a-Pound for Eight Shillings, and the Lion for Five Shillings. 10. Also, in Bullion, for the Bishop, as valued, about £20.

In Reliques.

1. A Silver Cross, gilt in front, and adorned with Precious Stones, fixed on a Pedestal of Silver, containing a small portion of the true Cross of our Lord. 2. Another Cross of Silver, gilt, ornamented with Precious Stones, with another Particle of the true Cross of Christ. 3. A Phial, or small Silver Case, gilt, with the Hair of the Blessed Virgin, as it appears by the Writing attached. 4. In another Silver Case, of quadrangular form, a Portion of the Hair Shirts of SS. Kentigern and Thomas of Canterbury, and another portion of the Hair Shirt of our Patron, Kentigern, as appears in the Schedule. 5. In another small Case of Silver, gilt, a Particle of the Skin of S. Bartholomew, the Apostle, as it appears in the Schedule. 6. In another Case of Silver, gilt, a Bone of S. Ninian. 7. In another small Case of Silver, gilt, a portion of the Girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 8. In a Casket of Crystal, a Bone of some Saint, supposed to be S. Ninian. 9. In a small Phial of Crystal, a Portion of the Milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 10. In another small Phial of Silver, gilt, a small Portion of the Girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a small Portion of the Crib of our Lord. 11. In another small Phial, of yellow colour, the Oil which flowed from the Tomb of S. Kentigern—"In una parvula fiola croci, oleum quod manavit de tumba Sancti Kentigerni." 12. Another Phial, containing a Portion of the Bones of SS. Blasius and Eugene. 13. In another small Phial of Silver, a Fragment of the Tomb of S. Catherine, Virgin. 14. A little Bag, containing a Portion of the Mantle of S. Martin, as it appears from the Schedule. 15. One Precious Bag, with the Combs [Penitential or Scratching Instruments] of SS. Kentigern and Thomas of Canterbury. 16. Four other Bags, with Bones of Saints, and other small Reliques. 17. A Wooden Case, with many small Reliques. 18. Two small Linen Bags, with Bones of SS. Kentigern, Thenew, and other divers Saints.

Silver Vessels in keeping of the Sacristan.

1. Four Chalices, gilt. 2. Two Chalices of Silver, not gilt. 3. One Chalice, gilt, for the Altar of the Holy Virgin Mary, which was given by Mr. David of Cadzow, Precentor, to the same Altar, for perpetual use. 4. One Chalice of Silver, which was formerly given by Mr. John of Hawick, of good memory, Precentor of the Church of Glasgow, for the Altar of S. Peter. 5. One Chalice of Silver, for the Altar of S. John the Baptist, which Mr. John Stewart, of good memory, once Sub-Dean of the said Church, founded. 6. A small Bell of Silver for the High Altar. 7. Two large Phials, or Cruets, of Silver, for the Chrism and Oil; and others sent to the Lord Bishop, but now sent back. 8. One Basin, with the Lavatory of Silver, for the Altar. 9. One Silver Dish. 10. Two small Cruets of Silver, all for the High Altar. 11. Two Thuribles of Silver, one large and the other small. 12. One Boat of Silver for the Incense. 13. One round Pix, for keeping the Bread [*i.e.*, of the Blessed Sacrament] at the High Altar. 14. One Case, or Monstrance, of

Silver, richly gilt, for carrying the Blessed Eucharist in Procession. 15. One Vat of Silver, with the Asperges for the Holy Water.

Vestments for the Bishop and his Ministers.

1. One Chasuble, with four Dalmatics, three Albs, Stoles, and other Vestments, except the Copes, of Brown Violet, with Images in the Trimmings. 2. Another entire Set of Vestments for the Bishop and Ministers, with a Cope; having the ground of Red Silk, with Flowers of Gold and Images in the Trimmings. 3. A third entire Set of Vestments for the Bishop and Ministers, of different colours, with a Cope wrought in Gold, but having only three Dalmatics and Tunics. 4. A fourth Set of Vestments for the Bishop and his Ministers, with a Cope, having the ground of Red Silk interwoven with Flowers of Green Silk and Gold, not very grand. 5. One entire Set of Vestments of Black Silk for the Bishop and his Ministers, with two Copes, having golden Trimmings. 6. An entire Set of Vestments for the Bishop and Ministers, of White Silk, with two Copes of the same, with Golden Ornaments, and Images of Silk. 7. A White Cope of Silk, with Golden Ornaments mixed with Images. 8. A grand Cope, with Crimson ground, having Gold Ornaments filled with Images. 9. A precious Cope, without any other Vestments, with Crimson ground, having Golden Ornaments fully strewn with *cum porcup.* [with *porcupines?*] and Golden Flowers. 10. Two Red Copes of double Satin, with Golden Ornaments. 11. One Stole with Maniple, without any other Vestments, with Fastenings of Purple and Gold. 12. One Solemn Vestment for the Sacristan only, with a Frontal and two Baudkyns [Canopies?] of Crimson Velvet, with Red Images of Gold, and very grand Ornaments, which were procured by John, Bishop of Glasgow. 13. Three Pontificals, one more ancient and two more modern.

The above Episcopal Articles are kept in the Presses of the Bishop.

Continuation of Ornaments, under the care of the Sacristan.

1. One entire Set of Vestments for the High Altar—that is, for the Priest and Ministers—of Red Silk, with Silk Ornaments of different colours, without a Cope. 2. Another entire Set of Vestments for the Priest, Deacon, and Sub-Deacon, of White Silk, interwoven with Gold, having Golden Ornaments and Silk Images embroidered, with four Canopies [Baudkyns] of the same. 3. One Chasuble, with two Dalmatics, of Green Silk with Golden Ornaments. 4. Another entire Set of Vestments, with three Dalmatics of differently coloured Silk. 5. Two Canopies for the High Altar of Red Silk, gilt, having in the middle of both Black Damask, given lately by a gentleman. 6. Two Canopies of Red Silk, gilt, given to the Church by the Cardinal, as appears by his Coat of Arms, embroidered. 7. Two Brown Canopies, with Coat of Arms. 8. Five old Canopies for the High Altar, of Silk, of different colours. 9. One Towel or Altar Cloth for the High Altar, with a Fringe having Images of Gold. 10. Another Altar Cloth, with the Fringe having Golden Crowns all over; a third of Red Silk, with the Front ornamented with Flowers and Leaves; a fourth with the Front of Hyacinth Silk, embroidered with Flowers and Golden Fleurs-de-lis. 11. Two Towels or Altar Cloths of Green and Red Silk, embroidered with the Coat of Arms of the Laird of Cadzow. 12. A costly Altar Cloth, with Golden Figures and French precious Lilies. 13. Three Towels or Altar Cloths, with a Frontal. 14. One Altar Cloth, with a Frontal and two Cushions of White Damask,

given by Mr. Andrew Hawick. 15. Two Cushions of Red Silk, with the Coat of Arms of the Lord Cardinal. 16. Two Cushions of Green Silk. 17. An entire Set of Vestments, with Golden Ornaments of White Silk, with the Towel given by James Cameron. 18. An entire Set of Priestly Vestments, of Green Stuff, for the Altar of S. Martin. 19. An entire Set of Vestments for the High Altar, with the Vestments for the Deacon and Sub-Deacon of variegated Linen. 20. An entire Set of Vestments for the Mass of the Dead, without Alb. 21. An entire Set of Vestments, for the Priest only, of Persian or Royal Silk, interwoven with Crowns of Gold, with two Altar Cloths having Fringes. 22. Vestments for the Priest only, with Albs and other things, viz., one of Silk and the other of [Burdalx] for the Altar of S. John the Baptist, given by John Stewart, of good memory, Sub-Dean of Glasgow, with four Cloths or Towels for the Altar. 23. One Set of Vestments, very valuable, of Hyacinth Silk, for the Priest, with an Alb and Ornaments of the same Silk, and two Canopies of the same, given to the Altar of S. Katherine by Matthew, Bishop of Glasgow, of good memory. 24. One Ferial Vestment, which serves for the Altars of S. Katherine and of S. Martin. 25. Two large and very precious Cushions of Persian or Hyacinth Silk for the High Altar, with the Arms of the present Bishop, given by the same.

Copes in the keeping of the Sacristan.

1. A very precious Cope of Brown Damask, mixed with Gold, having Images of Gold, presented to the Chancellor, with the Arms of John Stewart, Earl of Lennox, of good memory, and of Lord Darnley. 2. Another Cope of Brown Damask, goodly precious, mixed with Gold, with Gold Images, presented to the Church by Mr. David Cadzow, then Prebendary of Tarbolton. 3. One precious Cope, of Red Silk, with Pearls mixed with Gold, with Gold Images, presented to the Church of Glasgow by Mr. John de Hawick, Precentor of the said Church,—On whose soul God have mercy. 4. One precious Cope of Red and Green Velvet, mixed with Gold Flowers and Leaves, with Gold Images, very precious, given to the Church by John Senescall, of good memory, once Sub-Dean of said Church. 5. One Cope of Persian Silk, mixed with Beasts, Leaves, and Flowers, with Images of Gold Silk. 6. A Cope of Red Silk, with Gold Devices and Images in Silk. 7. A Cope of Brown Silk, mixed with Beasts of Gold and Images of Silk. 8. A Cope of Brown Silk, full of Golden Beasts, with Silk Trimmings. 9. A Cope of Red Crimson, full of Images, with Silk Mountings. 10. A Cope of Red Silk, with Images and Golden Beasts, with Gold Mountings. 11. A Cope of Green Silk, with Gold Mountings. 12. A Cope of Persian Silk, mixed with Golden Birds and Beasts, with Gold Mountings. 13. A Cope of White Silk, mixed with Rays and Golden Stars, with Gold Mountings. 14. A Cope of Red Silk, with Golden Eagles. 15. Three other Green Copes of Silk, with Mountings. 16. Three White Copes of Silk, of one colour, with White Mountings of the same colour. 17. A Silk Cope of divers colours. 18. A large Hanging of Arras of the Life of S. Kentigern, and three Carpets with Crowns, &c. 19. Four Curtains, or Reredos, for the Great Altar—White, Red, Green, and Black.

Books belonging to the Choir.

1. A beautiful Missal, for the Great Altar, noted in Music, and bound in White Skin. 2. Another Missal of smaller size, noted, bound in Red

Skin. 3. A Missal for the Altar of S. Katherine, neither noted nor illuminated, bound in White Skin. 4. A Missal of S. Martin, noted, bound in White Skin, of a large size. 5. A large Missal for the Altar of S. John the Baptist, not noted, bound in White Skin, sent by John Stewart, of good memory, once Sub-Dean of Glasgow. 6. A Missal, of small size, for the Altar of the Blessed Virgin, sent by Gilbert Musfald, once an Official. 7. A large Missal, not noted, sent for the Altar of S. Andrew, by Nicholas Greenlaw, Dean. 8. A Missal of small size, noted, sent for the Altar of S. Nicholas by Mr. Hugo Rae, once Sub-Dean of Glasgow. 9. A Missal noted, bound in White Skin, pretty large, for the Altar of the Apostles Peter and Paul. 10. A Missal, in two Volumes, for the Altar of S. Stephen, which was used in the time of Mr. Thomas Marshall. 11. A Book of Epistles with the Gospels, for the Great Altar, bound in White Skin, of large size. 12. A Catholicon,* very costly, bound in White Skin, chained near the Great Altar. 13. A beautiful Bible, of the Old Testament, in two large Volumes, bound in White Skin. 14. One beautiful Legendary of Saints, bound in White Skin. 15. One lesser Legendary, not bound. 16. One Breviary, noted, solemn, sent for the Erskine Stall by Mr. John Carrick. 17. Another large Portiforium, bound in White Skin. 18. A third Portiforium, noted, a smaller Volume, bound in White Skin. 19. A fourth Portiforium, noted, bound in White Skin, sent by Thomas de Barry for the Ancrum Stall, which he possessed at one time. 20. One Breviary for those without the Choir. 21. One Breviary in the hands of Mr. William Govan. 22. One Breviary, well noted, given by Mr. David Cadzow, for use out of the Church—(So there are Seven Breviaries belonging to the Church at the time when this Inventory was taken). 23. One Psalter, by itself, bound in White Skin, given by the Cardinal for the Renfrew Stall, and chained to it. 24. One Psalter, by itself, chained to the Dean's Stall. 25. One Psalter, by itself, chained to the first Stall. 26. One Psalter, given by John Senescall, once Sub-Dean of Glasgow, chained in the middle of the Choir, bound in White Skin—(So there are five separate Psalters belonging to the Church). 27. One Antiphonarium, of large size, at the Dean's Stall, bound in White Skin. 28. Another Antiphonarium, bound in White Skin. 29. A third Antiphonarium, of large size, bound in White Skin, with the Psalter. 30. A fourth Antiphonarium, without the Psalter, bound in White Skin. 31. An Antiphonarium, with the Psalter, bound in White Skin. 32. An Antiphonarium, of large size, without the Psalter, bound in White Skin. 33. An Antiphonarium for the Masters of the Choir, with the Psalter, bound in White Skin—(So there are seven Antiphonaria, and all in the Church at the time of this Inventory). 34. Three new Graduals, of large size, bound in White Skin, with three lesser ones—(There are six Graduals in the Church; but there are four taken out of the Church, nobody knows by whom). 35. Four Processionalia, in the Church; and one in the hands of Mr. Richard Hay, for binding. 36. One Book of Collects, bound in White Skin. 37.

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* This *Catholicon*, or Great Dictionary of the Latin Tongue, compiled by *Johannes Balbus, Januensis* (or of Genoa), was the Dictionary chiefly used in those times, and was *Printed* so early as 1460. It is a Book of great size. There are two MS. Copies of it in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, each in two immense Volumes, one marked with the name of *Peter Barman*. A sight of these and such like Books helps one to form an idea of their great value, especially when all executed in beautiful Penmanship, and magnificently illuminated on Vellum.

One Book of Legends, gilt, chained to the Sub-Dean's Stall, bound in White Skin. 38. One Ordinarium, chained to the Precentor's Stall, bound in White Skin. 39. The Life of S. Kentigern, and also of S. Servanus, in a small Volume, chained to the Precentor's Stall. 40. An Epistle of S. Paul, in a large Volume, chained to the Stall of Stobo. 41. A Pontifical, in two Volumes. 42. Another Pontifical, in two Volumes, solemn.

Books out of the Library, in Screens.

1. One old *Pandectum*, folio, in one shelf. 2. *Institutions*, with ten Collections of Civil Law, in the same shelf, in one Volume; and a new *Pandectum*, in the same shelf. 3. A History of the Acts of the Apostles, in a beautiful Volume, in the same shelf. 4. One Book of Hymns, Collects, and Chapters, in beautiful letter. 5. A Treatise of S. Augustine—two Sermons on the Psalms. 6. A Book of Decretals, a beautiful Volume. 7. A Book of the same by Mr. Jo. Poysley. 8. A Book of the Presbyter Bede —40 Homilies on the Gospels, on paper. 9. A Book of Theology, with the Arms of the Cardinal of Scotland, in small letter. 10. A small Volume—the Sermons of S. Bernard. 11. A large Book of Sermons of Pope Leo, with a smaller Book of Sermons of the same Pope. 12. In the third shelf, in the Nave of the Church, a large Volume of Augustine—*Per missam quidem*. 13. A Book on the Symbol of the Faith [the *Creed* or the *Cross?*], by S. Jerome. 14. Valerius Maximus. 15. A Book of Peter Damian, called *Grecismus*. 16. One Volume containing the Statutes of the Council of Tyrone. 17. A Book of Exposition of the Psalter. 18. A little Book, called *Metamorphoses*. 19. The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated into Latin. 20. A large Volume, in Parchment, called *Novus Decanus de Conditionibus Armanorum*. 21. The *Sententiæ* of Friar Richard, of the Order of Minorites, on the Books of Ethics, having on the first leaf, *What is Virtue?* 22. Friar Peter upon Four of the *Sententiæ*. 23. The third and fourth Books of Bonaventure. 24. The Book of Augustine against the Heretic Faustin. 25. The Book of Franciscus Petrarch. 26. A little Book, which begins, *Est Margarite*. 27. The latter Exposition of Aristotle. 28. Gaius Crispus and Sallust, in a large Volume. 29. Sermons for Sundays, in paper—with a number of other little Books, whose names we do not know.

Books belonging to the Church of Glasgow—without, in other hands.

1. *Henry Boëce*, the gift of William Adie, Rector of Luss, in the hands of Mr. Jo. Wischard for life. 2. *Braco*, the gift of Mr. Lawder, one time Bishop of Glasgow, in the hands of Mr. Alexander Lawder for life; he has also *Speculum Judiciale*, under pledge to be restored at the desire of the Chapter. 3. *Sententiæ Bartholomei de Pis*, given by Mr. John Stewart, at one time Sub-Dean, in the hands of Mr. Robert Moffat, at the will of the Chapter. 4. *Liber Boëtii*, with *Gloria Trinitatis*, in the hands of Mr. John Legate, at the will of the Chapter.

Books in the Ecclesiastical Library of the Cathedral of Glasgow.

1. In the Western Press, in the North Corner, a Book of Theology on Faith and its Abuse, illuminated in gold, but deficient in binding. 2. A Book on the Theology of S. Thomas, second part. 3. An Ecclesiastical History, a beautiful Volume. 4. The Morals of Aristotle, beautifully illuminated. 5 to 10. Books of S. Thomas Acquinas, the last Volume

beautifully illuminated in gold. 11. A Volume of S. Bonaventura. 12. John Douns, a subtle Doctor, on the iii. and iiij. of the *Sententiæ*, which begins *Circa Incarnationem*. 13. *Summa Confessorum*, a beautiful Volume. 14. Second Book of a subtle *Scot*. 15. A Concordance of the Bible, illuminated in gold. 16. A beautiful Volume on the Five Books of Moses. 17. Apostilla Nicholai de Lira on the Evangels. 18. One entire Bible, a beautiful Volume, illuminated in gold. 19. A Book of Questions on Theology. 20. A Book on four of the *Libri Sententiarum* of one English Doctor. 21. Apostilla super Psalterium Nicholai de Lira. 22. Glossary of S. Paul's Epistles, finely illuminated in gold. 23. An Exposition *Prologorum Biblie*, a small Volume. 24. S. Augustine's *Apostilla*, or Exposition of the Psalter.

Books in the Second Press.

1. Justinian's Codex, beautifully illuminated in gold. 2. An old Folio. 3. Another. 4. A new Folio, illuminated in gold. 5. A small Volume, being a Course of Civil Law, given by Mr. John Stewart, &c. 6. *Speculum Judiciale*. 7. *Summa copiosa*. 8. A Book of Invocations. 9. A Book of Decrees. 10. Another Book of Decrees. 11. A Book of Aristotle, beautiful. 12. A Book of Decretals. 13. A beautiful Volume, having the Epistles of Bernard, of Clairvall, and of Otho. 14. A Preface on Genesis. 15. A Lecture on the *Sententiæ* by Friar Gregory. 16. An Ecclesiastical History. 17. A certain beautiful Volume of Mr. Hugo Paris. 18. A Bible, beautifully illuminated, with the New and Old Testaments. 19. A Treatise of S. Augustine on the Evangels. 20. A Book of Questions, composed by Richard Randulph. 21. A beautiful Volume on the Mechanism of Heaven and Earth—about Generation and Corruption; with many other Treatises. 22. A beautiful Volume, bound in Red Skin. 23. A Book of Abbot Odo. 24. A Volume, bound in Red Skin.

Books in the Third Press.

1. Book of Sermons, in paper. 2. Book of Sentences. 3. Epistles of Paul to Seneca. 4. S. Augustine's Sermons. 5. Sum of the Theology of Bradwardin. 6. Aristotle's Rhetoric. 7. *Pistole* of S. Augustine. 8. First Volume on the Sin of Adam. 9. S. Clement's Epistles. 10. The Book of Landulph. 11. S. Augustine on the Worship of God. 12. Treatise of Jo. Forrest on the *Sententiæ*. 13. Sum of Holy Theology. 14. S. Augustine on the Rules of true Faith. 15. Lecture on the first of the *Sententiæ*, Edited by Friar Gregory. 16. Book on the Pastoral of the Blessed Gregory. 17. Book of Collations. 18. A Tractate of Faith against divers errors. 19. Book of Bonaventure, upon the third of the *Sententiæ*. 20. One Book of the Blessed Augustine *De Civitate*. 21. Peter of Torrens on the fourth of the *Sententiæ*.

BISHOPS OF THE SEE OF GLASGOW.

I. Mungo, or Kentigern. A.D. 560–601.

Some people are of opinion that the Episcopal See of Glasgow was Founded by S. Kentigern, A.D. 560 [*Kennet's Parochial Antiquities*]; but others are of another mind, holding this Kentigern, *al.* Mungo, to have been only a Religious man, who had a Cell there, and for whose sanctity posterity had such a veneration that they dedicated the Cathedral Church afterwards to his memory; and he has still been, and is to this day, reckoned the "Tutelar Saint" (as men choose to express it) of both the Church and the City of Glasgow. It would appear that, about King David I.'s time, people did not take S. Kentigern to have been a Bishop, but rather a Confessor and holy Martyr; for, in all the Writs of the Cartulary of Glasgow, he is never once styled *Bishop*, but sometimes *Confessor*. The Donations are always "Deo, et ecclesiae Sti Kentigerni," or "Deo, et Sancto Kentigerno;" and he is there called "Patrono ecclesiae Glasguensis;" yet it is to be observed, that in the Inquisition concerning the Lands, &c., which had formerly pertained to the See of Glasgow, performed by David, Earl of Cumberland, brother to King Alexander I., and afterward King himself of Scotland, by the ordinary appellation of S. David, Kentigern is expressly titled a *Bishop*. But, then, how far credit is to be given to this Paper I shall submit to other persons to form a judgment, after they have read over Sir James Dalrymple's scruples in his "Collections," p. 337, &c., and have considered what may occur to themselves. Yet there are Authors to be found who are, at this day, pretty positive that S. Kentigern, *al.* Mungo, was truly a *Bishop*, and that also in the City of Glasgow. [*Britannia Sacra.*]

This Kentigern was Born at or near the Town of Culross, about A.D. 516, and Died 13th January, A.D. 601. [*Keith.*]

Of Kentigern there is no contemporary Record. Adamnan, in his "Life of Columba," written 80 years after his Death, mentions him as "friend and contemporary of Columba." Bede is wholly silent regarding him. A "fragment," in Latin, of the ancient Life of S. Kentigern, written at the desire of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, is given in the Appendix to Innes' Preface of *Reg. Episc. Glas.* It gives comical details of his Conception, and ends with his Birth. Joceline, a Monk of Furness, at the bidding of Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, wrote the "Life and Miracles of S. Kentigern." Pinkerton also wrote his Life in his *Vitæ Antiq. Sanct.* What follows is the Digest of all these.

Kentigern was the son (but not honoured by being either begot or born on the Marriage-Bed) of Ewen Eufurien, King of Tumbria,—viz., that portion of Scotland lying South of the Forth and Clyde, along with part of the North of England,—and of Thenau, or Thenew, daughter of Loth, King of the Picts or of Lothian. Spottiswoode says he was the son of Thametes, daughter to Loth, King of Picts, begotten (as was supposed) by Eugenius, the third King of Scots, his father not being certainly known. Posterity, not being willing that his Birth, whom they so greatly esteemed, should be in any sort stained, gave out that he was Born of a Virgin, which was believed of simple and credulous people. But the reproach which lay upon him that way he overcame by his singular virtues.

According to Tradition, several miraculous circumstances attended his Birth, and prefigured his future renown. His mother, on the discovery of her dishonour, was put into a frail Skiff on the Lothian Shore, which drifted to Culross, in Fife. There she brought forth her son on the open shore, and mother and child were found in the morning by the embers of a dying fire, and brought by Shepherds to S. Serf, a Disciple of S. Palladius, who had established a Monastery in this place; and here the infant to whom the erring Thenau gave birth, was Baptized, nurtured, and taught the rudiments of the Faith. He received the name of *Kentigern*, but was also known by that of *Mungo*, which, in the Celtic tongue, signifies "the dear friend." When he came to the years of maturity, he was warned of an Angel that

he should depart secretly from Culross; and, guided by a miraculous portent, he took up his abode on the spot where the Cathedral Church at Glasgow is now built.

The only human thing there then was the Cemetery, Consecrated more than a Century before by S. Ninian. His gifts and his sanctity were soon noised abroad, and reached the ears of the King of Strathclyde, who then had his dwelling on the top of Alcleuth—that is, Dumbarton Rock, the Dun of the Britons. King, Clergy, and Christian people, what few of these there might be, came to Kentigern, and chose him for their Bishop. Our young Saint, then only 25, pleads youth, unfitness, desire for retirement and contemplative life. But they will take no refusal. An Irish Bishop is summoned, for there is none in Scotland, to Consecrate him; and Kentigern is ordained Bishop by the hands of *one* Bishop, contrary, confesses Monk Joceline, to our orthodox Roman usage, which requires *three*. His Episcopal Seat the new Bishop fixes at *Deschu*, "Dear Family," now Glasgow. No Bishop's Palace there then, such as we are apt to fancy; but a Cave perhaps, at best a wooden Hut. And so the Kingdom of Strathclyde existed during that Sixth Century—the King on Dumbarton Rock, the Missionary Bishop in his Hut or Cave by the Molendinar Burn of Glasgow. There, beneath the venerable trees of S. Ninian's Cemetery, a little Church and Monastery of wood soon arose. From this, as the chief Seat of his Mission, S. Mungo spread throughout the whole extent of the British Kingdom of Cumbria, from Lochlomond, near Stirling, to Appleby and Windermere. Glasgow became the Ecclesiastical centre of this extensive Region—the spiritual mother of all the Welsh Tribes of "Reged wide and fair Strathclyde."

His life was divided into two very distinct, almost opposite portions—boundless and unwearied Activity, and intense Asceticism and solitary Contemplation. Instead, however, of being opposed, the retirement and solitude, which made up one part of his life, fed his soul with energy for the other.

He traversed, without ceasing, the length and breadth of the Kingdom, visiting places 100 miles apart, on foot, to his last day.

By his Preaching he converts many Pagans, restores many who had lapsed from the Faith; for Heresy, Pelagian and other, has been rife after Ninian's time in the North. He casts down Temples and Shrines of Devils (Druidical and Pagan Roman ones), builds Churches where he can (of wood and wattles doubtless), Ordains Clergy, dissolves unnatural Marriages, changes Concubinage into lawful Matrimony.

All the year round, except on Church Festivals, he practised the most unsparing austerity in Food, Sleep, Clothing; took all most severe measures to mortify the flesh; would Fast for three or four days on end. When he did eat it was only the sparest diet, bread, milk, pulse, no meat; wine never passing his lips. If at any time he dined with the King on Dumbarton Rock, and had to relax somewhat, he returned home to revenge this on himself by redoubled severities. His bed, a bare hole, hollowed out of a rock, like a cave; his pillow, a stone. From this hard couch he would rise at Midnight for Prayer, and go through all the Psalter. In the morning he rose to his stone bath, a trough scooped out of the rock, and into this he plunged, even when it was thick with ice—the coldest weather, the wildest storm, never stopt him. Cleanliness, in his case, was next to godliness.

His dress, a rough goat-hair garment next his skin, a fisher's cloak closely girt round him. In his hand a Crooked Staff of rough wood, not gilded and gemmed, says Joceline, like the Crozier of our later Bishops. When Lent comes, he redoubles his severities, withdraws for Forty days into the wilderness, in remembrance of John the Baptist and our Lord. There gives himself wholly to Prayer and Meditation, living all the while on nothing but the roots he gathers. Once or twice only, during the Forty days, he visits his Brethren for Episcopal duties, and returns; his dwelling, all the while, a Cave. At the mouth of it we see him standing and praying during a tempest; and when the lightning and whirlwind are over, gazing on the departing storm, and rejoicing to feel once more the Spring breeze on his cheek. When Easter Day dawned, he returned to his Monastery, and kept the Feast with great joy. Afterwards he feasted cheerfully with his Brother Monks, and a great multitude of the poor.

By this life of blended activity and retirement, his influence waxed great in all Strathclyde. For what exact reason does not appear, but in time the heathen King of Cumbria, Morken, gets envious of the Saint. From whatever cause, the King calls him a *Magician* and *Sorcerer*, and bids him begone out of his sight. Kentigern goes to expostulate. Morken loses his temper, maltreats the saint, even kicks him so hard as to lay him flat on his back. Kentigern bears it quietly and withdraws. Soon after Morken dies. But his kinsmen continue to persecute Kentigern, till at last he flies from Strathclyde to Wales. During his exile in Wales he dwelt with S. David for a time, and then rears a great Monastery of his own, wherein he taught the young S. Asaph. Joceline makes him, during this exile, visit Rome seven times, and once see Gregory the Great, and receive Confirmation of his Bishopric from him. Many years he sojourned in Wales, and had already grown hoary in exile.

At length there arises at Strathclyde a Christian King, of the name of Rederech (Roderick), who had been Baptized in Ireland. His first act is to invite the Saint to return and gather together his Sheep, now long scattered on the mountains. At first Kentigern hesitates; would rather pass his few remaining years in peace, and die in the Welsh Monastery which he has built with so much toil, and among the Disciples who love him as their Father in Christ. But he has not been wont to follow his own likings heretofore, neither will he now, but will leave the whole issue to God. At night, while he is in this mind, as he lay in his Oratory, an Angel appears and bids him arise and return to his own Land and People. Straightway he Ordains young Asaph Bishop, takes leave of all his Brethren, and sets his face to the North. He intends to go all alone, but 660 of his Brethren arise and follow him. With that great army of Monks he re-enters Strathclyde, and Rederech and his people meet him on his way with welcome, and conduct him to his old Monastery with much rejoicing. The new King, not content with restoring, must needs subject himself wholly to the Bishop, and lay the Kingly power absolutely at his feet. Though old, yet the Bishop's activity is unabated. He renews his travels

through all the Dales of Strathclyde, confronting Druid Priest and confounding Druidism; confronting Saxons and confounding Woden; proving that Woden was no God, he told them "of the Triune God, Maker of all things, Preached to them the Faith of Christ and the Sacraments of Faith, and that there is but one Name under Heaven whereby men are saved." This he did in his own Diocese. The same in Galloway, the same in Albyn, or the Highlands, at the risk of death from savage Picts. Even with this he was not content. What his aged body could not overtake, his spirit still longed to do. Unable now to go himself, he sent his most brave and zealous Disciples to the Orkneys, and even, says Joceline, to Norway, to do there what he had done in Strathclyde.

At last overtaken by age, and unable to travel more, he returns to his Monastery at Glasghu, to spend there his last days. Then it was that his Contemporary, Columba, he too approaching the end of a life spent in like labours, came from his Island Monastery, all the way to visit his Fellow-labourer, the Apostle of Strathclyde. When Mungo heard that Columba was approaching, he went out with all his Monks to do honour to the Apostle of Iona. They went forth—first the younger Brethren, then the middle-aged, then the old, Kentigern with the last, chanting Psalms: "The way of the just hath been made bright, the path of the holy prepared." The Iona Monks raised their Antiphony: "The holy shall go from strength to strength; they shall appear before the God of gods in Zion." As they drew nearer, Columba believed he saw a Dove of Fire alight on Kentigern's head, and his Raiment grew white as light. There they met by the green Banks of the Molendinar Burn, then a clear Stream, now a black and foul Sewer. For some days they stayed together, and conversed of the things to which their lives had been devoted, the Kingdom of God and the salvation of men. Ere they parted they exchanged Staves, as a testimony of mutual love in Christ. And long after, even to the Fifteenth Century, the Staff which Columba gave to Kentigern was preserved as a precious Relic in the Cathedral of S. Wilfrid, at Ripon.

While the two Saints were thus employed, some of their

attendants were more questionably engaged. Very naïve is the Narrative of Friar Joceline. Some of the Iona Monks having little taste for Spiritual Repasts, but a strong appreciation of better fare than Kentigern set before them, caught sight of the Bishop's Flock feeding at a distance. Off they go, lay hands on the Saint's best Ram, and, spite of the Shepherd's adjuring them by the Holy Trinity and S. Kentigern, drag him off forcibly, and cut off the poor Beast's head. But, lo! the Ram they had intended to flay and eat, rises and returns straightway to the Flock, leaving his head in the hands of his slaughterer. The head turns to Stone in his grasp, and remains firmly attached to his hands. Nothing they can do will dissever them. What is to be done? One thing only: go throw themselves at Kentigern's feet, and beg forgiveness. The Saint kindly chides them, gives them a little Homily against Fraud, Theft, and Sacrilege, and releases them, says Joceline, from the double bond of their Sin and of the *Stone Head* glued to their hands!

And now, when he could no longer move abroad, his earthly tenement, worn by extreme age and much fatigue, began through its many chinks to let in the light of the Eternal dawn. Then he called his Disciples to him, gave them his last Charge, Blessed them, and committed them and his work to God. On a Sunday morning, the Sunday of the year on which he had been wont to Baptise many, he bade his Disciples bear him to a Bath, not this time of freezing, but of tepid water. Laid in the Bath, while they stood around him, he raised eyes and hands to Heaven, and then sank into the gentle last sleep. So Died the Apostle of Strathclyde. The survivors laid him on the right side of the Altar of his own wooden Church. To this place, which Kentigern had chosen for his rest, King Rederech followed him within the year, and here, for Ages, the Kings and Warriors, the Saints and Sages of Cumbria, chose to rest, beside the Ashes of the renowned Apostle of their Nation. It was about the year 600 that Kentigern was laid in his Grave, and for some Centuries we know little how it fared with the Monastery, and the Church, and the Religion he had planted. The Kingdom of Strathclyde in time was broken up; by the Tenth Century it had begun to

disappear, and its Territory had passed under the Scottish Crown. The See of Kentigern fell, the Grave and Shrine were neglected, and all that remained of Kentigern were his Bones, and the ancient Cemetery with its tall Stone Cross and girdle of old Trees. In the Twelfth Century King David restored this, with so many more of Scotland's holy Places, and the Work, begun under his auspices at the beginning of the Century, was carried forward by Bishop Joceline at its close. David and his Preceptor, Bishop John, built the first Cathedral over the spot hallowed by Mungo's dust.

The piety of S. Kentigern was so much held in esteem, that many Churches and Chapels were dedicated to him in all parts of the Kingdom, particularly in Cumberland, Annandale, Culross, Auchterarder, Peebles, Pennicuik, Lothian, and Strathbogie. The affectionate credulity of a simple people, and a rude age, ascribed to him a thousand miracles. One of the most memorable may be told in the following words:—The Queen of Cadyow chanced, once on a time, to lose a ring which had been presented to her by her husband, as a token of his affection. The resentment or jealousy of her lord was about to put her to death, when, in her great distress, the lady applied to the holy man, imploring his interposition for the recovery of the Ring. Shortly afterwards, S. Kentigern, while recreating himself by a walk on the Banks of the Clyde, as was his wont after his Devotions, desired that the first Fish which was taken from the River should be brought to him. This was done, and in the mouth of the Salmon was found the identical Ring which had caused the lady's disquietude, and was now the cause of its removal. This Legend, along with some other of the more notable miracles of S. Kentigern, is still commemorated in the Arms of the City of Glasgow, which show a Tree with a Bird perched in its boughs; on one side a Salmon with a Ring in its mouth, and on the other a Bell. The *Salmon* and the *Ring* are the emblems of the miraculous Love-Pledge of the frail Queen of Cadyow. The *Tree* is a token of a miracle which S. Kentigern wrought at Culross, when, the Lamps of the Monastery having been extinguished, he tore a frozen bough from a neighbouring hazel, and making the sign

of the Cross over it, instantly kindled it into a flame. The *Bird* represents a tame Robin, the favourite of S. Serf, which, having been accidentally killed and torn to pieces by his Disciples at Culross, was miraculously brought to life again by S. Kentigern. The *Bell* commemorates a famous Bell which was brought from Rome by S. Kentigern, and was preserved in Glasgow until the Reformation, if not, indeed, to a more recent period. It was called "S. Mungo's Bell," and was tolled through the City to warn the inhabitants to pray for the soul's repose of the departed. All these appear first in the Seals of the Bishops of Glasgow, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, from which they were transferred to the Common Seal of the City in the beginning of the Fourteenth Century. [*Preface to the Liber Collegii Nostre Domine Glasguensis*, Edited by Mr. Joseph Robertson; also, the "*Missa S. Kentigerni*," *in the Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. iv., part i.*, Edited by Mr. Robertson.]

Of Ninian there is no visible Memorial save that poor Roofless Chapel on the bleak Promontory; of Columba, only those forlorn Walls, bleaching in the damp Sea-mists and moist Atlantic Winds; Kentigern has two lasting Monuments, the Cathedral built round his Grave, and the City built round the Cathedral. But for Kentigern and the reverence that gathered round him, no Cathedral had ever been there; and but for the Cathedral no City. The Charters are still extant which show the process by which the City grew in the Twelfth Century, under shadow of the Cathedral—here a Burgess of Haddington taking a House, there the Monks of Melrose taking a Grant of Land; here a Toft and a Net's Fishing in Clyde assigned to the Knights Templar, there a Weekly Market fixed for Thursday, and "the King's Peace" obtained by the Bishop for the Burgesses, and his protection for their Chattels. And yet, though the Saint is *Historically* the cause of Glasgow, and all the Commerce that now rolls through that mighty Mart, we little expect to find the Kentigern of the Sixth Century develop into the Glasgow Merchant of the Nineteenth.

But no incongruity arises between the associations of the Cathedral and the Cell of the Saint. The one is the natural

outcome of the other. As we stand amid the venerable gloom of that dim Crypt, or wander through massive Pier and Pillar, Arch and Arcade, we see how one golden thread runs through and knits together Ages wide apart and Characters opposed, teaching us that fairness and charity are the most precious fruits which a clear survey of Church History yields. If anything could make us unlearn small Sectarianisms, and make us wish for *the One Faith*, it would be the study of those old Christian Ages—not certainly "dark"—and the close contemplation of those early Christian Heroes, men in all externals so unlike ourselves; in mode of life, in all that makes up outward civilisation, household comfort, social well-being, doubtless so far our inferiors; but in *soul*, in strength of Faith, in devotion to the highest of ends, by most modern Christians unapproached. [*Good Words*, 1860.]

S. Kentigern is said to have been succeeded by S. Baldred, but as to how long he lived, or who were his Successors, no account can be given. For the long period of nearly 500 years a veil of almost impenetrable obscurity hangs over the See. There is no doubt that the sanctity pertaining to the resting-place of the bones of so holy a man as S. Kentigern, kept the Establishment together, and drew around it the Village which became the nucleus of the future City. There is little doubt that the small community suffered from the incursions of the Danes from beyond the seas, as well as from the semi-barbarian Tribes at home, upon whom the mantle of Christianity was as yet very loosely adjusted. In the brief phrase of M'Ure, the earliest Historian of Glasgow—"After S. Mungo, for many ages, the Episcopal See was overrun with Heathenism and Barbarity, till the Reign of Alexander I."

Mr. M'Lelland, in his able and ingenious "Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow," gives the following note:—"There is, with this total eclipse of our own See, a singular coincidence in the History of that of Lichfield, of which, from the year 700, ending with the Episcopate of Bishop Hedda, there is no record until we find it revived, under the Presidence of Roger de Clinton, in 1128, leaving a blank of 428 years, in precisely the same Era as our own."

II. John Achaius, A.D. 1115–47,

A person of good learning and great probity, and who had travelled both into France and Italy for his improvement, and had the charge of the education of David (the brother of King Alexander I.), was, by the favour of this Prince David, made Bishop of this See, and Consecrated by the hand of Pope Paschal II., A.D. 1115. Achaius meeting with much opposition in the exercise of his function, as probably might be expected in this new settlement, threw up, or at least deserted, his Office for a season, and made a journey into the Holy Land; others say only into France, where he became a Monk of Tyron, and remained there until Pope Calixtus II. obliged him to return to his function, A.D. 1123. [*Cart. Melr.*]

The Diocese of Glasgow, extending over the old Principality of Cumbria, stretched Southwards into England as far as Rere-cross-on-Stanmore, until 1132, when Henry I. erected Carlisle into a Bishop's See, with Cumberland and Westmoreland for its Diocese. Cumberland was thus withdrawn from the See of Glasgow, and made part of the new Diocese of Carlisle, which loss of Territory, it seems, was one of the causes of Bishop John's flight from Glasgow, and which detriment was hotly resented by the King of the Scots. But the Papal Legate appeased his anger, and prevailed upon him to allow the new Bishop to return to Carlisle. [*Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Preface, p. xxviii.*]

This Bishop is called *Michael* by Stubbs, in his *Actus Pont. Ebor. apud Twysden. Col.* 1713; who also pretends to quote from a Document composed in the handwriting of that Prelate. It is certain, however, that Stubbs is inaccurate in this particular.

Bishop John was Tutor to King David. He had a long contest with Thurstin, Archbishop of York, by whom he was put under Sentence of Suspension in 1122. In 1125 he went to Rome to try to get the Pallium for the Bishop of St. Andrews against the influence of the Archbishop of York.

When Earl David came to the Crown, by the name of David I. or S. David afterwards, he bestowed many Donations both on

the See and Bishop of Glasgow, and likewise put the Bishop into the Office of Chancellor. [*Cart. Dunferm.*] But a secular employment not suiting, it seems, the temper of the good man, he resigned that honourable Office, and gave himself entirely to the duties of his Ecclesiastic function. He rebuilt, probably before 1124, and adorned the Cathedral Church, and solemnly Consecrated it Nonis Julii (7th July), A.D. 1136 [*Chron. Stae Crucis et Melros*], at which Solemnity the King was present, and gave to it the Lands of Partick. [*Cart. Glasg.*]

On the occasion of the Dedication of the Church, the King, David I., gave to the Church the Land of Perdeyc [Partick], which was soon afterwards erected, along with the Church of Guvan [Govan], into a Prebend of the Cathedral. In addition to the long List of Possessions restored to Glasgow upon the verdict of the Assize of Inquest, this saintly King granted to the Bishop the Church of Renfrew; Govan, with its Church; the Church of Cadihou [Cadzow]; the Tithe of his Cane, or Duties paid in Cattle and Swine throughout Strathgrif, Cuningham, Kyle, and Carrick, and the Eighth Penny of all Pleas of Court throughout Cumbria. The Bishop also acquired the Church of Lochorwort, now Borthwick, in Lothian, from the Bishop of St. Andrews—the King and Prince present and consenting." [*Preface to Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Edited by Cosmo Innes, Esq.]

A Country Residence, or "Castle," was erected by subsequent Bishops at Partick on the West Bank of the Kelvin, within a few yards of its junction with the Clyde. An old Baronial Mansion, said to have been built about 1611 by Archbishop Spottiswoode, was inhabited by George Hutchison of Lambhill, one of the brothers who Founded Hutchison's Hospital.

The Cathedral Church, built by Bishop John, must have been an unpretending structure, mostly of wood, which was destroyed by a fire about 40 years after it had been Consecrated. It was probably of the Norman Style of Architecture.

His erection seems to have been confined to the Nave of the Cathedral, and perhaps a portion of the present Transepts may have been his work. The design of these parts is marked by great simplicity, and the workmanship is inferior to that of the

Choir, Lady Chapel, and Chapter House. If Achaius built a Choir at all, it must have been taken down, and its place supplied by the present one, erected half a Century subsequent. [*Arch. M'Lelland's Essay on the Cathedral.*]

This Prelate divided the Diocese into the two Archdeaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale [*Chron. Melros*], and set up the Offices of Dean, Sub-Dean, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sacrist, Chantor, and Succentor, and settled a Prebend upon each of them out of the Donatives he had received from the King. John is Bishop here in the time of King David I. [*Chart. Glasg.*, it. *Diplom. et Numism.*, it. *Cart. Dunferm.*] He is Witness to a Charter of S. David to the Monastery of Newbottle, A.D. 1140 [*August. Hay*]; and in a Charter by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop here, is a Co-Witness with King David, his son Henry, and Matilda the Queen. [*Cart. Kels.*] He Died the 28th May, 1147, after he had held the See 32 years [*Chron. Melr. et Stae Crucis*], and was Buried at Jedburgh.

Dempster says that he wrote two Books, viz., "De Solitudinis Encomio," and "De Amicitia Spirituali." [*Keith.*]

III. Herbert, A.D. 1147–64,

Was third Abbot of Selkirk and first of Kelso, as is mentioned in the Charter of Translation of that Abbacy from Selkirk to Kelso, by Earl David, who afterwards succeeded his brother, Alexander I., in the Kingdom of Scotland, A.D. 1124. [*Ch. Calcho.*] Herbert was Chancellor of the Kingdom, and was Consecrated Bishop of Glasgow on S. Bartholomew's Day the same year, 1147, by Pope Eugenius III., at Auxerre. Herbert, Elect of Glasgow, is contemporary with Robert and Gregory, Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He is Bishop in the time of King David. [*Cart. Dunferm.;* it. *Nicolson's Historical Library;* it. *Dipl. et Num.*, *c.* 23.] He is Bishop in the time of Ernald, Bishop of St. Andrews, and in the Reign of King Malcolm. [*Cart. Glasg., Dunferm., et Cambusk.; Cart. Kelso;* it. *Dipl. et Numis.*, *c.* 25; it. *Cart. of the Hospital of Soltre of the Lands of Brotherstanes* (1153)—*Mid-Lothian Charters, Bannatyne*

Club.] He introduced into his Diocese the Usages of Sarum, which continued till the "Reformation." He Died Bishop A.D. 1164. [*Char. Melr.*] In his time sentence was given against Roger, Bishop of York, and the Church of Scotland declared to be exempt from all Jurisdiction except that of the See of Rome.

IV. Ingelram, A.D. 1164–74,

Called by some "Newbigging," brother to Elias, Laird of Dunsire, in the Shire of Lanark, was the next who filled this See [*Cart. Kelso*]; but whether "Newbigging" was at that time the surname of the Lands of Dunsire, is altogether uncertain. He had been Rector of Peebles, and of consequence Archdeacon of the Church of Glasgow. [*Reliquiæ Sti Kentigerni.*] While in this station he was made Chancellor of Scotland by King David [*Charter to the See of St. Andrews*, 1151], and continued in the same Office by King Malcolm. Roger, Archbishop of York, having, in 1159, revived his claim of Superiority over the Church in Scotland [*Spottiswoode*, *Collier*, and *Extract. e Chronic. Scot.*], and called a Provincial Council to meet at Norham in Northumberland, thither did Ingelram, the Archdeacon, repair; and both there, and afterwards at Rome, defended so strenuously the cause of the Scottish Church, that he was, immediately upon the death of Herbert, Elected Bishop of Glasgow, and was Consecrated at Sienna by Pope Alexander III. on SS. Simon's and Jude's Day, the very same year his Predecessor had Died [*Chron. Melr.*], *i.e.*, A.D. 1164. He was Bishop in the time of King Malcolm [*Cart. Kels.*], and A.D. 1170 [*Cart. Glasg.*] He Died on the 2d of February, 1174. [*Chron. Melr.*] And Dempster tells us of three Books which were written by him, viz., 1, "Epistolæ ad diversos;" 2, "In Evangelia Dominicalia;" 3, "Rationes Regni Administrandi."

I reckon the curious will not be in any way displeased if I should set down here a Copy of the Pope's Bull, relating to his Holiness' decision of the Controversy, and his Consecrating of this Bishop. I have taken it *verbatim* from the Cartulary of Glasgow.

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Salomoni decano, et canonicis Glasguen. et universo clero ac populo per Glasguensem episcopatum constitutis, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Engel. olim electum, nunc vero episcopum vestrum, cum chariss. in Christo filii nostrii M. illustris Scotorum Regis, et vestris aliorumque literis ad nos venientem, debita benignitate suscepimus, et, sicut nos et ipsum decuit, honorare curavimus: licet autem nuncii venerabilis fratris nostri Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, qui praesentes extiterant, repugnarent, et apud nos precibus multis institerent, ne in hoc facto procederemus: nos tamen attendentes illam necessitatem, quae Glasguensi ecclesiae, per defectum pastoris, spiritualiter et temporaliter imminebat; non propterea dimisimus, quin eidem regi, tanquam Christianissimo principi volentes deferre, et eidem ecclesiae vestrae utiliter providere, de communi fratrum nostrorum concilio, eum, sicut debuimus, in episcopum consecremus. Ipsum itaque de nostris, tanquam de Beati Petri manibus consecratum, cum plenitudine gratiae et benedictione Apostolicae sedis ad vos, tanquam ad spirituales filios, remittentes, eum universitati vestrae attentius commendamus per Apostolica scripta; rogantes, monentes atque mandantes, quatenus pro reverentia Beati Petri, ac nostra, ipsum, velut episcopum et pastorem vestrum, benigne recipiatis, et ei, sicut spirituali patri et rectori animarum vestrarum, debitam in omnibus obedientiam ac reverentiam impendatis. Si quis autem vestrum huic mandato nostro contumaciter duxerit resistendum, nos sententiam, quam idem episcopus in eum propter hoc canonice tulerit, auctore Domino, ratam et firmam habe-

Alexander, Bishop, Servant of Servants of God, to his beloved sons, Salmon the Dean, and to the Canons of Glasgow, and to all the Clergy and people constituted by the Episcopate of Glasgow, Health and Apostolic Benediction. Our venerable Brother Engelram, formerly Elected, and now your Bishop, coming unto us with the Letters of our most beloved son in Christ, M., the illustrious King of the Scots, and with your Letters and those of others, we have received with due benevolence, and caused him to be honoured as became both him and us. Moreover, though the Messengers of our venerable Brother the Archbishop of York, who were upon the spot, opposed and insisted upon us with much entreaty that we should not proceed in this measure, we, however, taking into our consideration that necessity which spiritually and temporally threatened the Church of Glasgow through the want of a Pastor: therefore we did not dismiss the case without Consecrating him as your Bishop, as in duty bound, with the common consent of our Brethren, willing to gratify the same King as a most Christian Prince, and to provide usefully for the same Church. Wherefore, sending him back to you, as to our spiritual sons, Consecrated by our hands, as by the hands of S. Peter, with plenitude of grace and Benediction of the Apostolic See, we commend him with more than ordinary care by our Apostolic Writs to your whole Diocese, begging, advising, and commanding that you receive him kindly, in consideration of your reverence for S. Peter, and as your Bishop and Pastor, and that you yield him, as your Spiritual Father and the director of your soul in all things, due obedience and reverence. But, if any one of you should take it into

bimus.—Datum Senonib. Kal. Novembris.

your head to resist this our Mandate, we, with the Lord's authority, shall hold ratified and fixed such sentence as the said Bishop shall have passed upon him Canonically. &c.

V. Joceline, A.D. 1175–99,

Abbot of the Cistertian Monastery of Melrose, was Elected the same year that Ingelram Died, viz., A.D. 1174, and was Consecrated by Eskilus, or Esciline, Archbishop of Lunden, in the Province of Holstein, Denmark (the Pope's Legate for that Kingdom), on the 1st June, 1175, in Charavalle, Clairvaux. [*Chron. Melr.*] He would appear to have been Archdeacon of Dunkeld before he came to be Abbot of Melrose; at least, one Joceline, Archdeacon there, is Witness to "Hugo Dei gratia humilis minister Sti Andreae." [*Cart. Cambusk.*] But when I see Joceline, Archdeacon of Dunkeld, a Witness to King William, and in the same Writ Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, set down as the first Witness [*Cart. Mor.*], I easily conclude they must have been two different persons. That Bishop Joceline was the immediate Successor of Ingelram, is evident from a Bull of Pope Alexander III.,—"Venerabili fratri Jocelino Glasguensi episcopo, ejusque successoribus.——Dat Ferentin. 2 Kal. Maii, Incar-

On the Seal is a figure of a Bishop vested, his right hand elevated bestowing Benediction, his left holding a Crozier.

The Counter Seal represents two Doves drinking from a Vase. Inscription illegible. *Cir.* A.D. 1190. [*Melros Charters.*]

nationis Dominicae, anno 1174. Pontificatus Domini Alexandri Papae III. anno ejus 16." [*Cart. Glasg.*] And King William grants a Charter appointing Tithes to be paid to Joceline, "sicut unquam melius aut plenius Joanni et Herberto, aut Engelramo, episcopis ante eum solvere solebatis." [*Ibid.*] This Bishop enlarged the Cathedral, and rebuilt it after being burned down in the time of Bishop John, Re-dedicating it "pridie Nonas Julii [4th July] anno 1197," on the Octave of SS. Peter and Paul, in the 24th year of his Episcopate. [*Chron. Melr.*] The Crypt was entirely built and completed by him; and although the Choir, Lady Chapel, and Central Tower were commenced by him, he lived but to see the latter raised so far as the base of the Spire, his labours occupying 22 years. He gave to the Monks of Melrose the Mensal Church of Hastendan [Hassinden] in pure and perpetual Alms. [*Chron. Melr.*] Joceline is Bishop of Glasgow in the time of King William [*Cart. Dunferm.*], in the fifth year of his Reign [*Cart. Aberdon.*] He is contemporary with Richard, Bishop of Moray [*Errol*], and with Hugo and Roger, Bishops of St. Andrews [*Cart. Aberbr.*] J. is Bishop A.D. 1177 [*Cart. Kels.*], and Joceline A.D. 1179 [*Cart. Arbr.*], and A.D. 1181, when he laid the Foundation of the present Cathedral [*Melros.*] In 1180, Bishop Joceline gave to the Monks of Kelso all their Churches within his Diocese, including those of Selkirk and the Parsonage of the same. [*Lib. de Calchou, pp.* 318, 319.] About 1180, King William conveys by Charter to Bishop Jocelin, one "Gilmachoi de Conglud, with his children and all his descendants." The Chronicle of Melrose records that the Church of S. Andrew the Apostle at Peebles was Dedicated to Jocelin, on Sunday the 29th October, 1195. In the Cartulary of Paisley, Bishop Joceline is a frequent Witness; and he gives or confirms to that Monastery several Churches, such as Mernis [Newton Mearns], Katkert [Cathcart], Ruglen [Rutherglen], &c.

The title of Bishop Ingelram to the Church of Charnewid [Carnwath] was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. in 1170. [*Reg. Glas., xxii.*, 24.] Similar Confirmations were granted to Ingelram's Successor, Bishop Joceline, by the same Pontiff in 1174 and 1178, and also by Lucius III. in 1181. [*Ibid, xxx.*, 32; *xlii.*,

51; *xlix.*, 57.] Shortly after this latter Date, William de Sumervilla granted another Charter, confirming his former Grant, and endowing the Church with a half Ploughgate of Land, and a full Toft and Croft belonging to the same, with a right of Common Pasturage, and all other Easements and Pertinents. Cum dimidiâ carucatâ terre et cum plenario tofto et crofto, ad dimidiam carucatam terre pertinente et cum communi pasturâ et omnibus aliis asimentis et pertinentibus. [*Ibid*, *xlv.*, 52.] Bishop Joceline largely increased the number of Prebends and Canons in the Cathedral of Glasgow, and devoted the Revenues of the Church of Carnwath to the support of one of these Foundations. This arrangement was confirmed by Pope Urban III. in 1186. His Apostolic Letter was Dated at Verona, and the part of it relating to the Church of Carnwath is in the following terms:—"We understand from your representation, that when a nobleman, W. de Sumervilla, had granted the Church of Carnewith to your Cathedral, thou, Brother Bishop, in increasing the number of the Prebends and Canons, have assigned this Church for ever to one of these Prebends. Therefore, that this Deed of yours and the aforesaid William should be strengthened by the authority of the Holy See; because also it is alleged that the said Church was constructed within the bounds of the Parish of Libertun, and that the right of Patronage of this Church of Libertun is said to have afterwards passed to another person; lest by occasion of this you and your Church might afterwards suffer prejudice—we, after the example of our Predecessor, Pope Lucius, confirm the said Church of Carnewith to you, and, through you, to the Church of Glasgow. If any one attempt to infringe this Confirmation, let them know that they will incur the indignation of God and of the blessed Peter and Paul, His Apostles." [*Irving's Upper Ward of Lanarkshire.*]

Bishop Joceline Died at Melrose at his old Abbey, A.D. 1199. [*Chron. Melr.*] He was Buried on the North side of the Choir.

VI. Hugo de Roxburgh. A.D. 1199.

After Bishop Joceline, one Hew, or Hugo de Roxburgh,

descended of a good Family of that Surname, was Promoted to this See. He was Rector of Tullibody in the Shire of Clackmannan, and Clerk to Nicolaus, the Chancellor of Scotland, who Died A.D. 1171. [*Cart. Cambuskenneth, fol. r.* 163.] He was afterwards one of the *Clerici Regis* [*Dalrymple, p.* 272], and Archdeacon of St. Andrews. In 1189 he was made Chancellor of Scotland, and Preferred to this See ten years thereafter. But before he had sat therein one full year, death took him away, "sexto Idus Julii 1199." [*Chron. Melr.*] "Hugo cancellarius Scotiæ successit Joceline episcopo Glasguensi, et cito moritur." [*Fordun.*] He Died two months after his Election to the See, probably Unconsecrated. [*Pref. Reg. Ep. Glas., p. xxv.*]

VII. William Malvoisine. A.D. 1200.

William Malvicine, *al.* Malvoisine (called in the Charters *De Malovicino*), Chancellor of the Kingdom, was Elected on 9th December, and was Consecrated Bishop of this See in 1200. [*Chron. Melr.*] He was Elected in October, 1199. [*Chron. Melr.*] Both accounts may be true, through the different computation of the beginning of the year. He was Bishop here A.D. 1200. He was Consecrated in France by the Archbishop of Lyons. [*Keith.*]—For more of Bishop Malvoisine, see *Scoti-chronicon*, vol. i., p. 146.

VIII. Florence. *Elect.* A.D. 1202.

Florentius, a son of the Earl of Holland, and, by the mother, a relation of the King of Scotland, had applied himself to the service of the Church, and was Preferred by our King William to be Lord Chancellor of this Kingdom in 1208. [*Chron. Aberbr.*] Florence was son of the gallant Count Florence of Holland, the hero of the Crusaders at Damietta, by Ada, the grand-daughter of David I. of Scotland. His uncle, King William, made him his Chancellor. He continued for five years without Consecration, and Resigned his Charge in 1207. The causes of his not being Confirmed, and of his Resignation, are equally unknown. [*Pref. Reg. Epis. Glas., xxv.*] Upon Bishop Malvicine's Translation to the See of St. Andrews, he was Elected Bishop of Glasgow. Immediately thereafter, he, upon "consilium et assensum capituli Glasguensis et cleri dioceseos," Confirmed "Clero et ecclesiæ Stæ Mariæ de Melros, ecclesiam de Hastendan;" and, moreover,

obliges himself that he shall Ratify and Confirm it *de novo* as soon as he shall be Consecrated. [*Cart. Melr.*] But whatever impediment might have delayed his Consecration, it is certain that, while he was only *Elect* of this See in 1202, he, with the Pope's allowance, Resigned his Episcopal function in 1207, and thereafter went to Rome in 1211, where he ended his days the year following. [*Ibid.*] In a Bull of Confirmation to the Abbey of Paisley by Pope Innocent III., of the Churches of Turnberry, Craigin, and Dalziel, mention is made of "Florentius electus Glasg.," and "Florentius Dei gratia Glasguensis electus, Domini regis cancellarius, omnibus hominibus, amicis suis," but has no Date; and so it only serves to ascertain that one Florentius was really Bishop-Elect of Glasgow. [*Cart. Glasg.*]

A young man seated before a Lectern, on which is a Book; in his left hand he holds a Rod or Staff of Office; his right hand raised a little, and the forefinger extended as if he was discoursing from the Book.

On the Counter Seal are the figures of two persons in a semi-nude state. *Cir.* 1204. [*Melros Charters*]

IX. Walter, A.D. 1208–32,

Chaplain to King William, was Elected into this See on the 5th of the Ides of December, 1207, the same year in which the former Elect had Resigned, and was Consecrated by Papal License at Glasgow the 2nd of November, 1208. [*Melr.*] It appears by the Chartulary of Glasgow that Walter succeeded to Florence, and that Florence had never been Consecrated. [*Charta Willielmi f. Galfridi Domini de Orde de terra de Staphope.*] This Bishop was sent to treat about peace with John, King of England, and went to a General Council (the Lateran) at Rome in 1215, together with Brice, Bishop of Moray, and Adam, Bishop of Caithness, and returned the third year after, when they obtained the Papal Absolution from the Interdict of the Legate Gualo. [*Melr.*] He was Bishop here in 1212 [*Cart. Dunferm.*], as he seems to have been in the third year of Pope Honorius, *i.e.*, 1218; and 1220. [*Cart. Paslet.*] He is Witness to a Charter of Walter, second Steward of Scotland, granting to the Monks of

Paisley free liberty to Elect a Prior and Abbot to themselves, about 1219 or 1220. [*Hay.*] He was Bishop in 1225, and in the twelfth year of King Alexander II. [*Cart. Glasg. et Mor.*], and also in 1227. [*Melr.*] He was Contemporary with William Malvicine, Bishop of St. Andrews. [*Ibid et Cart. Pasl.*] He is mentioned in a Charter of Confirmation of the Church of Ord, 1231–2 [*Reg. Hospital of Soltre*], and was still Bishop in 1232 [*Kelso*], and Died in that year. [*Chron. Melros.*]

On the Seal is the figure of a Bishop in profile, standing upon a Crescent reversed, his right hand elevated, and his left holding the Crozier.

On the Counter Seal is a demi-figure of a Bishop as in the former. A.D. 1227. [*Melros Charters.*]

During Walter's Episcopate, the Families of Carrick and of Lennox, from whose wild Dominions it was, in the last Reign, so difficult to obtain the Dues of the Church, had now become its dutiful children. In 1225, Earl Duncan of Carrick, in a Chapter held at Ayr, solemnly undertook to pay all his Tithes and Dues, and to use his power with his men and Tenants for the same purpose. He promised no longer to oppress the Clergy of Carrick with Tallies or Exactions, to enforce Church Censures by Confiscation and Temporal Penalties, and he granted that the Clergy should have a right of Pasturage through his whole Land, "according to the Traditions of the Fathers and the Statutes of the Church;" and the Earl's son compounded for injuries he had perpetrated against the Glasgow Churches during the War in Galloway, by a Donation of a Church—which seems to be that of Stratton—with Land in the Parish. [*Reg. Epis. Glasg.*]

X. William de Bondington, A.D. 1233–58,

Of an ancient Family in the Shire of Berwick. He was Rector of Edelstone, a Prebendary of Glasgow, one of the *Clerici Cancellarii*, and afterwards Archdeacon of St. Andrews, within the bounds of Lothian, and a Privy Councillor to King Alexander II., who advanced him in 1231 to the Chancellor's Office. The next year he was Elected Bishop of Glasgow, and Consecrated in the Cathedral Church by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, "Dominica post nativitatem beatæ Mariæ, anno Dom. 1233." [*Melros.*] William de Bondington, Chancellor (but without the designation of Bishop) is Witness, after "G. episcop. Aberdonen.," to a Charter by King Alexander II. at Aberdeen, 9th October, in the eighteenth year of his Reign. William, the Chancellor, is Elect of Glasgow in the nineteenth year of King Alexander [*Kelso*], and he is Bishop here the 3rd of July in the same nineteenth year of King Alexander II., *i.e.*, anno Dom. 1233. [*Aberbr.*] On being appointed to the See, he took down the old part of the Cathedral, which had been left by Bishop Joceline, and rebuilt it in the manner in which it now is. He is Bishop here and Chancellor in the twentieth year of King Alexander [*Cart. Balmer*], and in the twenty-first year of the said King. [*Cart. Mor.*] He was Bishop about 1235. [*Dur-*

The figure on the Seal is the same as that of Walter.

On the Counter Seal is a figure of S. Kentigern, vested; in his left hand the Crozier, and with his right Consecrating a Bishop, kneeling before him. A.D. 1237. [*Melros Charters.*]

ham MSS.] He is mentioned in a Chart of Confirmation of the Lands of Saltoun in 1236–38, and in a Chart of Confirmation of the Church of Ord in 1255-56. [*Mid-Lothian Charters: Bannatyne Club.*] He is Bishop here in 1239. [*Account of Religious Houses, pp.* 477, 496; also *Cart. Cambusk.*] He grants and Confirms several Churches to the Abbey of Paisley in 1239. [*Cart. Paslet.*] In 1240, Pope Gregory IX. having called a General Council, upon pretext of relief to the Holy Land, and the Emperor, Frederick II., who was on ill terms with the Pope, apprehending the design to be against himself, caused several Prelates to be stopped, and Bishop Bondington among the rest, on their way through Germany towards Rome, and dismissed them only upon promise not to proceed in their journey. It would appear that he continued in the Chancellor's Office till the Death of King Alexander II. He was Bishop in 1244, and in the first year of King Alexander III., *i.e.*, A.D. 1249 [*Cart. Pasl.*]; in the years 1235, 1245, 1250, and 1251 [*Kelso*]; in 1254 [*Rymer*]; in 1256 [*Glasg. et Cambusk.*]; in 1257 [*Melros*]. [*Vide Charters of the Hospital of Soltre: Bannatyne Club.*] He was contemporary with Allan, Bishop of Argyle. This Bishop finished the Cathedral of Glasgow out of his own liberality. [*Hect. Boëth. Hist.*] He wrote "De Translatione Dom. Margaretae Reginae, et Regis Malcolmi ejus mariti." [*Dempster.*] In the last year of his life, with the consent of the Chapter, he introduced into his Diocese the use of the Liturgy of the Church of Sarum, or Salisbury, a Copy of which Rescript is here subjoined:—

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, praesens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Willielmus, miseratione Divina Ecclesiae Glascuensis minister, salutem in Domino. Officii nostri debitum remediis invigilat subditorum, inter quos Ecclesiae nostrae cathedralis ministros prosequimur favore spirituali, cui spirituali conjugio copulamur, et cujus ministri nobis, tanquam membra capiti, indissolubili caritate cohærent. Attendentes igitur ecclesiam Saris-

William, by the mercy of God, Minister of the Church of Glasgow, health in the Lord—To all the faithful in Christ likely to see or hear of this present Writing. The duty of our Office is to watch over the improvement of those under us, among whom we look upon with spiritual favour the Ministers of our Cathedral Church, to whom we are joined in spiritual union, and the Ministers of which are united to us, like the body to the head, in

buriensem, inter ceteras Ecclesias Cathedrales, libertatibus et consuetudinibus approbatis ornatam, eisdem canonicis nostris, libertates et consuetudines dictæ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis, de consensu capituli donamus, et concedimus, statuentes de consensu ejusdem capituli, ut libertates et consuetudines prænominatæ Ecclesiæ in Ecclesia Glascuensi in perpetuum observentur. Datum apud Alencrumb, die Sancti Leonardi, anno Gratiae millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo octavo.

indissoluble love. Keeping in view, therefore, the Church of Sarum provided, among other Cathedral Churches, with approved Privileges and Customs, we give and grant to our said Canons the Privileges and Customs of the said Church of Sarum, with consent of the Chapter; ordaining, with consent of the said Chapter, that the Privileges and Customs of the aforesaid Church be in all time coming observed in the Church of Glasgow.—Given at Ancrum on S. Leonard's Day, in the year of grace 1258.

The Ritual of Sarum, composed by Bishop Osmund in 1076, had been very generally adopted, even beyond the authority of the English Church. The Chapter obtained from the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, a formal statement of their Constitution, which ever after formed, as it were, the Charter of Privileges of the Glasgow Chapter. Some say that it was only in Bishop William's time that this See was divided into the two Archdeaconries of Glasgow and Teviotdale.

The Bishop seems to have preferred his native Borders, and latterly resided much at his House of Alncrum, in Teviotdale. Many of his Charters are Dated there. He obtained from Ralph Burnard, a right of Fuel in his Peataries of Faringdun, for the use of his House of Alnecrumbe, to himself and his Successors for ever. [*Preface, p. xxix., Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, and *Orig. Paroch., vol. i., p.* 305.] He Died here on the 10th, and was Interred on the 13th November, 1258, in the Abbey Church of Melrose, near the High Altar. [*Chron. Melros.*]

Since the Death of Joceline, little progress appears to have been made with the building of the Cathedral. Bondington, however, is said by Boëce to have finished the Structure. In 1231, the Chapter was deep in debt; but William of Bondington, a Prelate of energy, having been appointed to the See two years afterwards, 1400 Marks, due to Merchants of Florence, were discharged in 1240. It was about the same time that Forveleth, the widowed Countess of the Lennox, gave to the Fabric a piece

of Land on the Banks of that Stream of Leven of which Smollett has sung so sweetly. The Bishop had not failed to have recourse to the great instrument of Church Building in the Thirteenth Age—the no less effective cause of Church destruction in the Sixteenth—"Papal Indulgences," or Dispensations by the Pope, granting release from the heavy burdens of Ecclesiastical Discipline to all Penitents promoting the undertaking. To add new force to this Remission, a Canon was passed by a Provincial Council of the Scottish Clergy held at Perth in 1242, ordaining that the Indulgence for the Cathedral of Glasgow be hung up in every Church in the Realm; that its terms be plainly expounded in the Vulgar Tongue to the Parishioners; that on every Lord's Day and Festival from Ash-Wednesday to Low-Sunday, after the Gospel is read, the duty of Contributing to the Work be enjoined on the people; that their Alms and Legacies, together with the Goods of persons dying intestate, be faithfully collected; and, during the season so specified, for no other object than this shall Offerings be solicited in the Parish Churches. To the fruits of this Ordinance, doubtless, we owe the completion of the beautiful Choir before 1258. [*Quarterly Review, cxlix.*]

XI. John de Cheyam. A.D. 1260–68.

John de Cheyam, *al.* Cheam—[It is Chicham according to a Papal Bull to be found in *Ayloffe, p.* 339; and Chiham in the same Document as Printed by *Rymer, vol. i., p.* 216]—seems to derive his name from the Village of Cheam, in the County of Surrey. He was an Englishman, and, when Archdeacon of Bath and Chaplain to Pope Alexander IV., was by that Pope Consecrated the next Bishop of this See in 1260, through the plenitude of his Apostolic power, as he himself relates, after he had cassed and annulled the Postulation which had passed in favour of Nicholas Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, to be Consecrated Bishop here. [*Rymer.*] The occasion of which conduct of the Pope is said to have been this:—Mr. Moffat having gone to Rome for Consecration, the Pope, upon his refusing to advance him money, and by the intrigues of Robert, Elect of Dunblane, who hoped to get into this See of Glasgow, would not

Consecrate him, but Promoted John de Cheyam to the See. The Pope, it seems, was sensible how disagreeable this step would prove to our King, and therefore took care to solicit the King of England to employ his interest with the King of Scotland (for he was father-in-law to our King), that he might graciously receive Cheyam, and grant his Temporalities to be punctually paid to him. It seems also that our King was not at all satisfied; for upon Cheyam's coming into this Kingdom, he became very disagreeable both to the King and to his own Clergy. In 1260, King Alexander III. sent Messengers to Rome to entreat Pope Alexander IV. to annul the appointment of his Chaplain, John of Cheam, to the See of Glasgow. The Pope declared that to be impossible, but professed himself anxious to comply with certain other requests preferred to him on the part of the King, viz., that he (the King) should keep its Temporalities until the Bishop take the Scottish Oath of Allegiance. The Rescript is Dated 21st May, 1260. [*Theiner, Mon. Vet. Hib. et. Scot., pp.* 86, 87.] J. is Bishop in 1264 [*Kelso*], and John in 1266. [*Glasg.*] Cheyam made choice to live in foreign parts, and at the Court of Rome. He Died and was Buried at Meaux, in France, in 1268. [*Melros.*]

XII. Nicol de Moffat. *Elect.* 1268-70.

Nicholaus de Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, above mentioned, was again Elected Bishop immediately upon the Death of Bishop Cheyam, in 1268. "Electus est (says *Fordun, vol. ii., p.* 109) Magister Nicholaus de Moffat archidiaconus Tevidaliae, qui etiam ante dictum Joannem electus fuit in episcopum, sed fraude canonicorum suorum, ut praescripsimus, cassatus, vir sanctae vitae et dapsilitatis." He continued Elect of this See above two years, and Died A.D. 1270, without ever being Consecrated, which was owing to the strong opposition made against him by his own Canons, spirited up by others of the Clergy. "Anno MCCLXX. Magister Nicholaus de Moffat mortuus est, qui se nimis proterve contra religiosos et alias ecclesiasticas personas gerebat: cui, ad regis instantiam, Magister Willielmus Wischard, archidiaconus Sancti Andreae, et Domini regis cancellarius, electus est; vir magnae sagacitatis et astutiae." [*Fordun, vol. ii., p.* 112.] He Died, according to Mr. Hay's MS., of Apoplexy, at Tyningham, in East Lothian. [*Macf.*]

XIII. William Wishart. *Elect.* 1270.

William Wiseheart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor, was Elected to this See A.D. 1270, after the death of Bishop Moffat, but before his Consecration. He was likewise Elected to the See of St. Andrews, then vacant by the Death of Bishop Gameline. [*Chron. Melros.*] —For more of Bishop Wishart, see *Scotichronicon*, vol. i., p. 170.

XIV. Robert Wishart. A.D. 1272–1316,

"Robert Wiseheart, archidiaconus Sti Andreae, infra partes

On the Seal, under a rich Gothic Canopy, is the figure of a Bishop, vested; his right hand raised, and his left holding the Crozier, standing on a Lion crouching. On each side of the Bishop is the head of a Saint in front, crowned with the Nimbus, perhaps meant for the heads of S. Kentigern and S. David; below the dexter head is a Bird, and beneath the sinister one a Fish with a gemmed Ring in its mouth.

In the upper compartment or niche of the Counter Seal is a Monk presenting to S. Kentigern the Fish with the jewelled Ring in its mouth, which, by his command, had been caught in the Clyde. In the dexter side of the middle niche is a figure with a Sword in his hand; in the sinister a figure of the Queen holding the Ring in her hand. In the lower niche is a Bishop kneeling, and on each side are heads of Saints similar to the Seal. A.D. 1315. [*Melros Charters.*]

Laudoniae," and nephew or cousin to the preceding William Wischart, was next Elected and Consecrated Bishop of this See, on the Sunday before the Purification, A.D. 1272, at Aberdeen, by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunblane. [*Chron. Melros.*] R. was Bishop A.D. 1273 [*Cart. Glasg. et Kelso*]; A.D. 1275, 1293, and 1296, also 1316 [*Cart. Glasg.*]; A.D. 1276, 1293, and 1305. [*Cart. Paslet.*] In 1277, Maurice, Lord of Luss, granted to the Church of Glasgow whatever Timber might be required for the Tower and Treasury of the Cathedral, and protection to all those who should be employed in cutting, preparing, and carrying it, and Pasturage for their Horses and Oxen while employed in the work. [*Cart. Glasg.*] Robert is Bishop, and in the thirtieth year of King Alexander III. [*Cart. Dunferm.*], he is Witness to a Charter by the Lord High Steward of Scotland A.D. 1294. [*Hay.*] He swears fealty to King Edward I. of England A.D. 1296. He is Bishop in 1309 [*Errol*], and in 1315. [*Kelso.*] This worthy Patriot was appointed one of the Lords of the Regency upon the Death of King Alexander III. A.D. 1286, which Office he discharged with great reputation and integrity. When the War broke out, by reason of the encroachments King Edward I. of England made upon the honour and independency of Scotland, no man did more vigorously withstand the tyranny than this Prelate; for which freedom he was thrown into prison by King Edward, and that King wrote to the Pope to have him deprived of his Bishopric, in regard that the Bishop (says the King) was his greatest enemy; and had it not been out of fear of the Pope, it is not to be doubted that the Bishop, being the

Another Seal of Bishop Robert. A figure of a Bishop as before. At the dexter side a Bird on a Branch of Ivy, and at the sinister the Fish and Ring. A.D. 1292. [*Chapter House, Westminster.*]

King's prisoner, would have been put to Death, as were many of the Scottish Nobility. [*Rymer's Fœdera.*] Bishop Wishart remained eight years a prisoner in England, and was not released till after the victory of the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, when he was restored with Bruce's wife, sister, and daughter, and the young Earl of Mar, in exchange for the Earl of Hereford, who had been captured in the Castle of Bothwell, to which he had retreated after that signal defeat. Barbour says that the Bishop had become blind before his release.

The affectionate sympathy expressed by King Robert Bruce for this Bishop, would serve to give us some insight into his character, even if the history of Robert Wischard were not so well known. It was a time when strong oppression on the one side made the other almost forget the laws of good faith and humanity. Our Bishop did homage to the Suzerain, and transgressed it; he swore fidelity over and over again to the King of England, and as often broke his Oath. He kept no faith with Edward. He Preached against him; and, when the occasion offered, he buckled on his armour, like a Scotch Baron, and fought against him. But let it not be said he changed sides as fortune changed. When the weak Baliol renounced his allegiance to his Overlord, the Bishop, who knew both, must have divined to which side victory would incline, and yet he opposed Edward. When Wallace, almost single-handed, set up the Standard of Revolt against the all-powerful Edward, the Bishop of Glasgow immediately joined him. When Robert Bruce, friendless and a fugitive, raised the old War-Cry of Scotland, the Bishop supported him. Bruce was proscribed by Edward, and under the Anathema of the Church. The Bishop assoilzied him for the sacrilegious slaughter of Comyn, in the Greyfriars' Church, at Dumfries, and prepared the Robes and Royal Banner for his Coronation. Wischard was taken prisoner in the Castle of Cupar, which he had held against the English in 1306, and was not liberated till after Bannockburn. It was in the midst of that long confinement that we find Robert commiserating his tedious imprisonment, his chains, and persecutions, so patiently endured for the rights of the Church and the Kingdom of Scotland.

This excellent Prelate having had the happiness to see King Robert Bruce fully seated on the Throne, to which he had not a little contributed, Died on the 26th of November, 1316, and was Buried in the Cathedral of Glasgow, between the Altars of S. Peter and S. Andrew. He only survived his liberation two years. One charge of Edward against Bishop Wischard was, that he had used Timber which he had allowed him for building a Steeple to his Cathedral, in constructing Engines of War against the King's Castles, and especially the Castle of Kirkintoluch [Kirkintilloch]. [*Reg. Epis. Glasg.*]

The Bishops of Glasgow had a House or Castle at Carstairs from a very early period. Bishop Robert held a Court there in 1273, whereat a dispute between the Abbey of Kelso and Sir Symon Loccard as to the Teinds of Symonton was arranged. [*Lib. de Cal.*, 267, 334.] Bishop Robert began to construct a stronger Castle at Carstairs between the years 1287 and 1290, which was not completed in 1292, when Edward I. issued the following Letter or Precept:—"As the venerable Father, R., Bishop of Glasgow, upon his Manor of Casteltarris, in the County of Lanark, began to make a certain Castle of Stone and Lime, after the death of King Alexander, without our License and pleasure, we, however, wishing to do him a special grace in this matter, consent, for ourselves and our Successors, that he may finish the said Castle, and when so finished, hold it by himself and his Successors for ever; and we discharge any proceedings against him on account of his having begun the said Castle without our License." [*Rot. Scot.*] The Bishop was inhabiting this Castle in 1294, when he granted an Inhibition in support of the rights of the Abbey of Paisley. [*Reg. de Passalet*, 201.] The Castle has long ago been demolished. Some of the carved stones preserved at Carstairs House may possibly have belonged to it, although the most part of them must certainly be assigned to the ancient Church. [*Irving's Upper Ward of Lanark, p.* 458.]

XV. Stephen de Donydower. *Elect.* A.D. 1317.

Stephen de Donydower was descended from the Dundemores, or Dun-

mofres, of that Ilk, an ancient Family in Fife. He is by some, but erroneously, called Dundee. He was Chancellor of this Church, of which he was Elected Bishop A.D. 1317; but, being an enemy to the English interest, King Edward II. wrote to the Pope that he would not admit Stephanum de Dundemor, who was Elect of this Church, to the Bishopric. [*Rymer.*] Indeed it would appear he never was Consecrated, having Died, they say, on his way to Rome; and the above-mentioned Authority avers that King Edward of England, during the Vacancy of this See, conferred Presentations to the Prebends of this Church. In a Charter by King Robert Bruce in favour of Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, Stephen de Donydon, Canon of Glasgow, and "camerario nostro," is one of the Witnesses. [*Cart. Glasg.*]

Considerable confusion now surrounds the History of this See. John de Lindesay and John de Wischart were both Bishops of Glasgow between 1318 and 1334; but it is not easy to distinguish their Episcopates. It would rather seem that John de Wischart, who was previously Archdeacon, was Elected Bishop in 1319, and Lindesay succeeded him in 1321. The See was vacant in 1318 (not 1313), 3rd February. [*Reg. Pas.*] It was vacant again in July, on the Eve of S. James, A.D. 1321. [*Melr., p.* 387–8], and at Christmas of the same year. In Innes' MS. Note-Books, we find the Bishop named John de Lindsay in 1319, 1322, and 1325. Innes had Charters and Seals of the Bishop, which gave him the means of ascertaining this point. But his attention may not have been called to it, as he makes no mention of John de Wischart. [*Preface, p. xxxvi., Reg. Epis. Glasg. Maitland Club.*]

Grub, in his History, vol. i., p. 345, in a Note, says:—"Keith, Chalmers, and the Editor of the Glasgow Chartulary, differ in their accounts of the Bishops who came after Stephen. But they are agreed that his two immediate Successors were named John—one bearing the name of Wishart, the other that of Lindsay, and that Wishart previously held the Office of Archdeacon of the Diocese. Bishop Keith, and, with some hesitation, Mr. Cosmo Innes, place Wishart before Lindsay; Chalmers thinks that Lindsay preceded Wishart. I can find no sufficient evidence that John Wishart was ever Bishop of Glasgow. The

See was vacant in February, 1318, and at Christmas, 1321. John was Bishop in March, 1322; at Lady Day, 1324; in April, 1325; in March, 1326; and so on till after the accession of David II. The See was vacant by the decease of John in February, 1336, and Bishop William Rae speaks of John de Lindsay as his Predecessor. In all these Notices there is nothing to induce a belief that there were *two* Bishops of the name of John; and this is confirmed by the fact that, in 1325, John Wishart was still Archdeacon of Glasgow. I am not aware of any Writ in which a Bishop of the name of John Wishart is mentioned. A Writ in the 'Foedera' (vol. ii., part i., p. 401), to which the Date of 19th July, 1319, is assigned, mentions 'J., Glasguensis Episcopus,' but it is doubtful whether the Date can be relied on."

XVI. John of Eglescliff. A.D. 1318.

This Bishop seems to have escaped the notice of our Scottish Writers. He was a Dominican Friar, a Penitentiary of the Pope, and was appointed to the See of Glasgow by Pope John XXII., on the 17th July, 1318. It may be doubted if he ever got possession of the Bishopric. He was Translated from Glasgow to Connor, and from Connor to Landaff, in 1323–4; and Died on the 2nd January, 1346–7. [*Theiner, Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot., pp.* 202, 226; *Dr. Reeves' Eccl. Antiq. of Down and Connor, p.* 257; *Le Neve, Fast. Eccl. Anglic., vol. ii., p.* 246, *Edit.* 1854; *Grub's Eccl. Hist. Scot., vol. i., pp.* 345, 346.]

XVII. John Wishart. A.D. 1319.

John Wishart came into this See in the year 1319. [*Rymer.*] He had been formerly Archdeacon of this same Church. He is Bishop here 16th December, the nineteenth year of King Robert I. [*Cart. Aberbr.*], A.D. 1325 [*Cart. Glasg.*], and John was Bishop here in the twentieth year of King Robert Bruce. [*Scone.*] This Prelate was also an enemy to the English interest in this Country; and so there is an order by King Edward, after he had fallen into that King's hands, while he was yet Archdeacon, to

convey this John Wiseheart, "quondam archidiaconum Glasguen.," then a prisoner in the Castle of Conway, to the City of Chester, and from thence to the Tower of London, 6th April, 1310. [*Rymer.*] It is very probable he was released after the Battle of Bannockburn, when Bishop Robert Wishart and others were exchanged for English prisoners in the year 1322. "Johannes Dei gratia episcopus Glasguen. cum unanimi consensu et assensu capituli sui," *gives* "ecclesiae Sanctae Crucis de Edinburgh, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Dalgarnock, nostrae dioces.,"—dat. 21st March, 1322. The same Grant is Confirmed by Pope John XXII. [*Cart. Glasg.*] This Prelate Died in 1325.

(No. 1.)

(No. 2.)

The following is taken from Mr. Macgeorge's "Armorial Insignia of Glasgow," p. 22–26:—"In the Glasgow Chartulary, and also in H. Laing's Catalogue, Seal No. 1 is ascribed to John Wyschard, but which I am inclined to think is the Seal of John Lindsay. There is some confusion in the History of the See at this time, and there is a difficulty in distinguishing between the Episcopates of these two Bishops. Professor Innes inclines to the opinion that Wyschard was Elected in 1319, and that Lindsay succeeded him in 1321; but if this was so, this Seal could not be that of Wyschard, for it is found appended to one of the Melrose Charters which bears the Date of 1326, at which time there seems to be little doubt that Lindsay filled the See. I am confirmed in the opinion that it is Lindsay's Seal from the circumstance that, although upon the Shield on the sinister side, which no doubt contained the paternal Arms of the Bishop, the Bearings have become too much defaced to be clearly

XVIII. John Lindsay. A.D. 1322.

John Lindsay, of the illustrious Family of the Lindsays, was the following Bishop of this See. In 1322, Pope John XXII. appointed John of Lindsay to the See of Glasgow, committing to him not only the cure of the Spirituality, but the administration of the Temporality. The Bull is Dated 15th March, 1323, at Avignon. [*Theiner, Vet. Mon. Hib. et Scot., p.* 226; *c. f., p.*

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deciphered, they are evidently the same as appear on a Shield which occupies the same position on Seal No. 2, ... which in all the Chartularies is ascribed to Bishop Lindsay; and this by the way is one of the many instances where Heraldry, which many affect to despise, comes in to aid the investigations of History. It will be observed that none of the Emblems [the Tree, the Fish, and the Bell] appear on this Seal; but it is interesting as the first on which we find Heraldry introduced. In the upper portion of the Seal, under a rich Canopy, is the figure of S. Kentigern, in the act of Benediction; and in a niche beneath is a Bishop kneeling. On the dexter side is a Shield charged with what Mr. Laing describes as the Royal Arms of Scotland, but which are as likely to be a Lion rampant debruised of a Ribbon in Bend—the Bearings of Abernethy, which are found borne on the Shields of many of the Lindsays. On the sinister side is another Shield, the Bearings of which are not sufficiently distinct to be ascertained, except that it appears to be charged with a Bend—a Bearing which I do not find to have been appropriate to the Families of either Lindsay or Wyschard. . . . .

"Seal No. 2 is certainly that of John de Lindsay, being his Seal 'for Causes,' the Inscription being s' JOHIS DEI GRA. EPI. GLASGUEN. AD CAS. Here the Fish and the Bird again appear, but the Branch is absent. This also is a finely executed Seal, and the Emblems, which are not Heraldic, are again combined on it with Armorial Bearings. Mr. Laing describes the Shield on the dexter side as 'bearing ermine three bars (?);' and that on the sinister side as 'bearing an Orle Vairé surmounted with a Bend.' On both Shields the Devices are very indistinct; but there is preserved a curious Instrument of Protest, Dated 23rd April, 1325, taken by Bishop Lindsay in reference to the loss and recovery of this same Seal, and from which we ascertain with certainty whose one of the two Shields was. It appears from this Instrument that, while the Bishop was residing at his Manor of the Lake (*Manerium de lacu*, no doubt the House at what is now called 'Bishop's Loch'), the Seal had been lost by Robert del Barkour, near the Chapel of S. Mary of Dunbretan, and found and restored to him by James of Irwyn, a Monk of 'Paselet' [Paisley]; and the Seal is described as containing 'the form or image of the blessed Bishop Kentigern, his Patron, along with the Shield of a noble man, William de Concyaco, on one side, with a Fish bearing a Ring in its mouth above it, and his own Shield on the other with a little Bird over it.' The Arms of the Family of De Concy were a Barry of Six, Vairé, and Gules, which quite answers to what we are able to discover from the Impression. As for the other Shield, I cannot explain it; for, as I have already stated, none of the Families of Lindsay, so far as I am aware, carried a Bend. It is evidently, however, the same Device as appears on Seal No. 1, and I think that both are the Seals of Bishop Lindsay. If it be so, the probability is that Wyschard succeeded Lindsay in the Episcopate instead of preceding him."

227.] In order to assert the right of the Apostolic See, the Pope reserved to his own Collation the Prebend in the Cathedral, vacated by the Promotion of this Bishop; and, as would seem, bestowed by his Holiness upon an Italian, Nicholas de Guercino, nephew of the Italian Prelate who Consecrated the Bishop of Glasgow. But no sooner did Lindsay return home, than he was required by King Robert to give Institution in the same Prebend to the King's Clerk, Walter of Twynam, who had been presented by the King, in virtue of the right which, he said, belonged to him and his Predecessors, by the immemorial custom of Scotland, of Presenting to all Benefices, in the Bishop's Collation, fallen vacant before the Bishop had taken the oath of fealty and allegiance to the King. The Bishop was thus placed in a position of some difficulty. He had to choose between laying himself open to the King's displeasure on the one hand, and failing in his duty to maintain the right of the Apostolic See on the other. He took a middle course. He admitted the King's Presentee, saving the right of every one else, and protested that the admission should not in any way prejudice the Pope. The King's Presentee adhered to the Protest, and by Oath and by Writ bound himself never to come against it: Date, 22nd March, 1324–5, at Scone. [*Reg. Epis. Glasg., vol. i., pp.* 230, 231.]

John Lindsay was certainly in the See in 1326–7, as appears by a Charter of King Robert I. to the Monks of Melrose, Dated March 22, the twentieth year of the King, in which Charter he is expressly designed "John Lindsay, episcopus Glasguen." John was Bishop here in 1325 [*Cart. Glasg.*], and in the twentieth year of the Reign of King Robert Bruce. [*Scone, ut supra.*] This John Lindsay was Bishop here on 20th March, in the twenty-second year of the Reign of King Robert I. [*Cart. Aberd.*] He was likewise Bishop in 1329. [*Kelso et Newbot.*], and in the time of King Edward Baliol. [*Cart. Glasg.*] When that Prince set himself up to be King, this Bishop entered into his measures; and he, together with the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, are Witnesses in a Grant of King Edward Baliol to Edward, King of England, of the Date the 12th February, 1334. [*Fœd. Ang.*] This Prelate, in 1335, returning from Flanders to Scotland with

two ships, aboard which were 250 Scots, was attacked at sea by a superior fleet of English, commanded by the Earls of Sarum and Huntingdon, &c. The Scots vessels, being overpowered by numbers, were taken, after an obstinate fight, in which many of both sides were killed; and the Bishop, being mortally wounded in the head, immediately expired.

The year of Bishop Lindsay's Death is disputed; but, as the See was vacant in February, 1336 [*Reg. Epis. Glas.*, *p.* 249–251], the true Date seems to be 1335. [*Grub's Ecc. Hist. Scot.*, *vol. i.*, *p.* 352, *Note.*]

About the Festival of Assumption, 1337, two ships, coming from France to Scotland, were encountered and taken after a stout resistance, by John de Ros, the English Admiral. On board were John de Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow, and with him many Noble Ladies of Scotland and Men-at-arms, and £30,000 of Money, and the Instruments of Agreement and Treaty between France and Scotland. The Men-at-arms were all slain, or drowned in the sea. The Bishop and part of those Noble Ladies, for very grief, refused to eat or drink, and Died before the Fleet made the land. Their Bodies are Buried in Wytsande. [*Preface*, *p. xxxvii.*, *Reg. Epis. Glas.*]

XIX. William Rae. A.D. 1335-67.

William, whose Surname, according to the Document Published by the Scots College at Paris, was Rae, and who is called William Fourth, came, it is thought, into this See in 1335 or 1336, and Died 1367. [The difference may arise from the different computations of the year, the Scots not commencing the year at that time until the 25th of March; and this is to be observed in all our computations. This way of reckoning we only left off in the beginning of the year 1600, and took then the 1st of January for the beginning of the year. *Keith.*] From several Records, it is evident that he succeeded to John Lindsay, whom he particularly designs his Predecessor [*Cart. Paisley*], and by the same Records he is found to be invested in the See in 1335. There is "Confirmatio Willielmi episcopi Glasgu. can-

toriae unius sacerdotis, tempore Joannis de Lindsay, episcopi Glasguen., praedecessoris sui fundatae, &c., 10 die mensis Maii 1358." [*Kelso, fol.* 211.] There are several original Writs in this Bishop's name lying among the Archives of the See of Glasgow preserved in the Scots College, and in the Monastery of Carthusians, in Paris, particularly two authentic Acquittances for the Contribution of the Diocese of Glasgow to the Pope, in the years 1340 and 1341. He is Witness to King David II., anno Regis 14 [*R. Charters*], and anno Regis 15. [*Cart. Aberbr.*] William is Bishop in 1342 and 1362 [*Cart. Glasg.*], yet Walter is named Bishop here in 1357. [*Fœd. Ang., vol. vi., p.* 633.] It was by order of this Bishop, as being the Pope's Delegate, that Robert, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Strathern (afterwards King of Scotland by the name of Robert II.), did erect and endow a Chaplainry in his Church of Glasgow, upon account of a Dispensation by the Apostolic See for contracting of Marriage betwixt the said Lord High Steward and Elizabeth More, *al.* Mure, notwithstanding the impediment of consanguinity and affinity between them. The Instrument bears Date January 12, 1364. [*Pere Orlean's Hist.*] This Bishop is said to have built the Stone Bridge of Glasgow over the River Clyde. He Died on the 27th January, 1366-7.

M'Ure, in his "History of Glasgow," says—"This Prelate was no small Benefactor to the Town; for, upon his charge, he built the stately Bridge of eight Arches over the River Clyde. The third Arch, at the North end thereof, was built by the Lady Lochow; and the Bishop built the other seven, which still remains a monument of his bounty and liberality to his Episcopal Seat, and continued entire till the year 1671; that the Southernmost Arch fell, but was quickly reared again upon the charges of the Community. There was much of the care of Providence observed with regard to the fall of that Arch; for it was the 7th of July, the very day of Glasgow Fair, and about 12 of the clock, and though hundreds—yea, I may venture to say, thousands—had passed and re-passed, both of horse and foot, yet not one single person got the least harm, which was wonderful, all circumstances considered; and was such an instance of the kind-

ness of Providence that ought not to be forgotten to latest posterity."

XX. Walter Wardlaw, A.D. 1368–89,

Of the Family of Torry in Fife, Archdeacon of Lothian, and Secretary to King David II., was Consecrated Bishop of this See in 1368 [*Rymer*], yet he is Bishop here in the thirty-eighth year of King David II. [*Cart. Cambusk.*], *i.e.*, anno Domini 1367; but the time of the year, both of his Consecration and of the beginning of the King's Reign, may adjust this matter. He was Bishop here 4th July anno David II. 39, and 19th April anno Rob. II. primo. [*Mar.*] He was Bishop here in the Parliament, and at the Coronation of Robert II., at Scone, 27th March, 1371. [*Ruddiman against Logan, p.* 398.] He was Promoted to be a Cardinal by Pope Clement VII. in 1381. [*Fordun.*] He was created Cardinal and Legate for Scotland and Ireland in 1384, according to *Fordun, p.* 1060. [*Mar.*] He and Beton were the only Cardinals in the Kingdom of Scotland. We find him Bishop here in the sixth year of the said Pope, *i.e.*, anno Domini 1384. [*Cart. Paslet.*] In the Cartulary of Dunfermline, fol. 66, the following Paper is to be seen, viz.:—"Valterus miseratione divina sanctae Rom. ecclesiæ cardinalis, omnimodo potestate legati a latere in Scotiae et Hiberniae regnis sufficienter fulcitus, sub sigillo quo dudum utebamur ut episcopus Glasguen. 15to die mensis Decembris, Pontificatus Clementis Papae septimi anno octavo." He was Bishop and Cardinal anno 10. Rob. II. [*Royal Charters*], and January 2 anno Rob. II. 16. [*Mar.*] Fordun says he Died in 1387, yet we find him (Walter) still alive on the 10th April, in the nineteenth year of King Robert II., *i.e.*, anno 1389. [*Dipl. et Num., c.* 27.] Bishop Wardlaw and the Bishop of Dunkeld were Plenipotentiaries for negotiating a Truce with England, at Bouloigne-sur-mer, in September, 1384. [*Fœdera, vol. vii., pp.* 438, 441, and *Rot. Scot., p.* 10.]

After the Death of Cardinal Wardlaw, the Pope tried to intrude John Framisden, a Friar Minor, into this See, and craved the assistance of Richard II. for his settlement *per vim.* The attempt entirely failed. [*Preface, p. xl., Reg. Epis. Glasg.*]

XXI. Matthew Glendoning, A.D. 1389,

A younger son of Glendoning of that Ilk in Eskdale, whose successors are now designed Glendonings of Partoun, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, was first one of the Canons of Glasgow, and succeeded into the See immediately upon the Death of Bishop Wardlaw; for we find him Bishop here in the nineteenth year of King Robert II. [*Dipl. et Numis.*] He was Bishop in the twentieth year of King Robert II., and in the first year of King Robert III. [*Royal Chart.*]; the fourth year of King Robert III. [*Clackmannan*]; the sixth year of King Robert III. [*Mar.*] Matthew is Bishop in 1395 and 1403 [*Cart. Glasg.*], in 1401 [*Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii., App., p.* 95], anno Robert III. 6to Christ. 1396, 1398, and 1408. [*Paslet.*] He Died in 1408.

In his time, the great Steeple of the Church, which had been only built of Timber from the banks of Loch Lomond, covered with lead, was burnt by lightning, in place whereof he intended to have built one of Stone, for which he had made good preparation, but was prevented by Death.

In 1401, Bishop Mathew taking into consideration the great and detestable want of Ornaments in the Cathedral of Glasgow, ordained, with the consent of the Chapter, that every one who should in future be instituted to a Prebend therein, even by way of exchange, should, before receiving any of the fruits of such Prebend, pay a certain portion thereof to the Dean and Chapter, for the purpose of providing Vestments, *cappis, casulis, dalmaticis, tunicalibus,* and other Ornaments necessary for Divine Worship; and to prevent future Disputes, fixed the sum to be paid by each; that payable by Casteltarris being two Marcs. [*Reg. Epis. Glas.*, 298, 320]. This Ordinance was confirmed by Bishop John, who also ordered that each Prebend should find a fit Vicar or *Stallarius,* to whom they should annually pay a certain Stipend respectively. The sum to be allowed by the Prebend of Casteltarris for this purpose was 9 Marcs. [*Ibid.*] In a visitation of the Chapter held in 1501, it is recorded that the Prebend of Casteltarris has not kept residence. [*Ibid.*] The Canon of

Carstairs was, however, present in 1539 at a Meeting of the Chapter, solemnly called by the tolling of the Bell, "ad sonum campanule pulsate, capitulariter congregati. [*Lib. Col. N.D. de Glasg.*, *p.* 60.]

XXII. William Lauder, A.D. 1408–25,

Son to Sir Allan Lauder of Haltoun (*vulgo Hatton*), in the Shire of Mid-Lothian, was first Archdeacon of Lothian. In the year 1405, there is a safe-conduct from the King of England, "Magistro Gulielmo Lauder archidiacono Laudoniae, veniendo in regnum Angliae, penes praesentiam regis pro quibusdam negotiis expediendis." [*Rymer.*] When the See of Glasgow became vacant in 1408, he was Preferred merely by the provision of Pope Benedict XIII., who set up for Pope at Avignon, in opposition to Gregory XII. at Rome [*Fordun*, and the *Life of Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury*], and not by the Election of the Chapter. The Chapter, however, did not dispute the appointment. He was Bishop here in the year 1411 [*Reg. Chart.*], and in 1417. [*Cart. Glasg.*] Murdo, Duke of Albany, Regent of the Kingdom, made him Lord Chancellor in 1423, in the room of the Bishop of Aberdeen; and the same year, the 9th of August, he was nominated first Commissioner for treating about the Redemption

Beneath a richly ornamented Canopy is a representation of the Trinity; the Father, with the Nimbus, sitting and supporting between his knees the Son, extended on the Cross; the Holy Spirit in form of a Dove issuing from the mouth of the Father on the head of the Son. On each side of the centre niche is a small recess, jutting forward, in which is a figure in the act of adoration. Above these, in smaller canopied niches, are two upright figures of Saints; at each side is a Shield, bearing the Arms of Scotland. In the lower part of the Seal is a three-quarter front figure of a Bishop kneeling, within an arched recess; on either side is a Shield, charged with a Griffin *segreant*, Lauder's paternal Arms. A.D. 1417.

of King James I., which was at last effected the next year, 1424. Accordingly, he is Bishop and Chancellor in 1423 [*Dipl., c.* 65], and 1424 [*Cart. Glasg.*], and he continued in that Office until his Death; for he was Bishop here and Lord Chancellor the 14th day of April, in the 20th year of King James I. [*Cart. Aberd.*], and William de Lauder, Bishop, was Dead, and the See vacant, May 19, 1426. [*Cart. Glasg.*]

This Bishop laid the foundation of the Vestry of the Cathedral Church, and built the great Steeple of Stone as far as the first Battlement, where the Arms of Lauder of Hatton are still to be seen cut in stone in several places. Bishop Lauder Died June 14, 1425. [*Obituary of Glasgow.*]

He built the Crypt below the Chapter House, and the Steeple, with the Battlements of the Tower. [*Preface, p. xlvi., Reg. Epis. Glas.*]

This Bishop's parents were Robert and Anabella de Lawedre; and from the Arms often repeated on the Cathedral and found on his Seal, he must have been of the ancient Family of the Lauders of the Merse. His Arms are three Bars within an Escutcheon, with Mitre, Crozier, and the Badges of his Episcopal dignity.

Crawford and Keith are mistaken about the parentage of the Bishop.

XXIII. John Cameron, A.D. 1426–46,

Of the Family of Lochiel, was first Official of Lothian in 1422. [*C. Publ.*] He became afterwards Confessor and Secretary to the Earl of Douglas, who presented him to the Rectory of Cambuslang. [*Ibid.*] He was Provost of Lincluden in 1424, and "Magistro Joanne Cameron" is "secretario regis" the same year. [*R. Char., B. ii., No.* 5.] He is Keeper of the Great Seal, 25th February and 7th March, 1425 [*Ibid*], and anno 1425–6 [*Ibid, B. ii., No.* 22.] On February 25 and 15th May, an. reg. 20, he is Provost of Lincluden, and Keeper of the Privy Seal [*Ibid*], and he is the same in 1436. [*Ibid, B. ii., No.* 8.] He is also Provost of Lincluden, and Secretary in the twenty-first year of the Reign of James I. [*Ibid.*] In 1426 he was

Elected Bishop of Glasgow [*Reliq. Sti. Kentig.*], and John Cameron is "electo et confirmato episcopo Glasguensi, et priv. sigilli custode," in 1426. [*Reg. Chart.*] He is also Bishop of this See, and Lord Chancellor, the twenty-fourth year of King James I., and in 1428, and in 1430. [*Ibid.*] In 1429, this Bishop erected six Churches within his Diocese, by consent of their respective Patrons, into Prebends, the title of which erection, as contained in the *Cart. Glasg.*, is thus—"Erectio sex ecclesiarum parochialium in praebendas ecclesiae Glasg. facta per Joannem Cameron episcopum Glasguensem." The six Churches were Cambuslang, Torbolton, Eaglesham, Luss, Kirkmaho, and Killearn. This Bishop also fixed particular Offices to particular Churches, such as the Rector of Cambuslang to be perpetual Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow, the Rector of Carnwath to be Treasurer, the Rector of Kilbride to be Chantor, &c. In 1433, Bishop Cameron was chosen one of the Delegates from the Church of Scotland to the Council of Basil; and accordingly he set out, with a Safe-conduct from the King of England, with a Retinue of no less than thirty persons [*Officers of State, p.* 25, and *Fœd. Ang.*] And as the Truce with England was near to a close on November 30, 1437, Mr. Rymer has published another Safe-conduct for Ambassadors from Scotland to come into England about Prorogation of the Peace; and the first named is John, Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland. [*R. Chart., B. ii., No.* 8.] He was Bishop here in 1439 [*Peerage, p.* 278], in 1440 [*Mar.*], in 1444 [*R. Chart.*], and Bishop and Chancellor anno 3^{tio} regis Jacobi II. [*Ibid.*] He is mentioned in Charters of Donation and Confirmation of the Collegiate Church of Corstorphin, founded by the Knights Forrester, 1429–44. [*Mid-Lothian Charters. Bannatyne Club.*] So it is evident, from the clearest Vouchers, that this person remained Chancellor for the first three years of the Reign of King James

The head of S. Kentigern, mitred and crowned with the Nimbus, under a rich Gothic canopy, with tabernacle work at the sides. The Bust rests on a Shield supported by a Crozier, and bears three Bars. At each side is a Fish with a Ring in its mouth.

II., contrary to what all our Historians have written, which affords a strong presumption that the Story concerning his tragical end is a mere fiction. After the Bishop's removal from the Chancellor's Office, and so being freed from public business, he began to build the great Tower at his Episcopal Palace in the City of Glasgow, where his Coat-Armorial is to be seen to this day, with Mitre, Crozier, and all the Badges of the Episcopal dignity. And the forementioned Writer of the "Lives of the Officers of State," takes notice that he also laid out a great deal of money in carrying on the building of the Vestry, which was begun by his Predecessor, Bishop Lauder, where his Arms are likewise to be seen by the curious. But for all the good things Bishop Cameron did, and, which is strange (adds this Author), he is as little beholden to the charity of our Historians as any man in his time. The learned Mr. George Buchanan, and the Right Reverend Archbishop Spottiswoode, from Mr. George, characterize the Bishop to have been a very worldly kind of man, and a great Oppressor, especially of his Vassals within the Bishopric. They tell us, moreover, that he made a very fearful exit at his Country Seat of Lochwood, five or six miles North-East of the City of Glasgow, on Christmas Eve of the year 1446; and then this Gentleman says—"Indeed it is very hard for me, though I have no particular attachment to Bishop Cameron, to form such a bad opinion of the man from what good things I have seen done by him, and withal, considering how much he was favoured and employed by the best of Princes—I mean King James II.—and for so long a time, too, in the first Office of the State, and in the second place in the Church, especially since good Mr. Buchanan brings no Voucher to prove his assertion; only, he says, it had been delivered by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, which amounts to be no more, in my humble opinion, than that he sets down the Story upon no better authority than a mere hearsay."

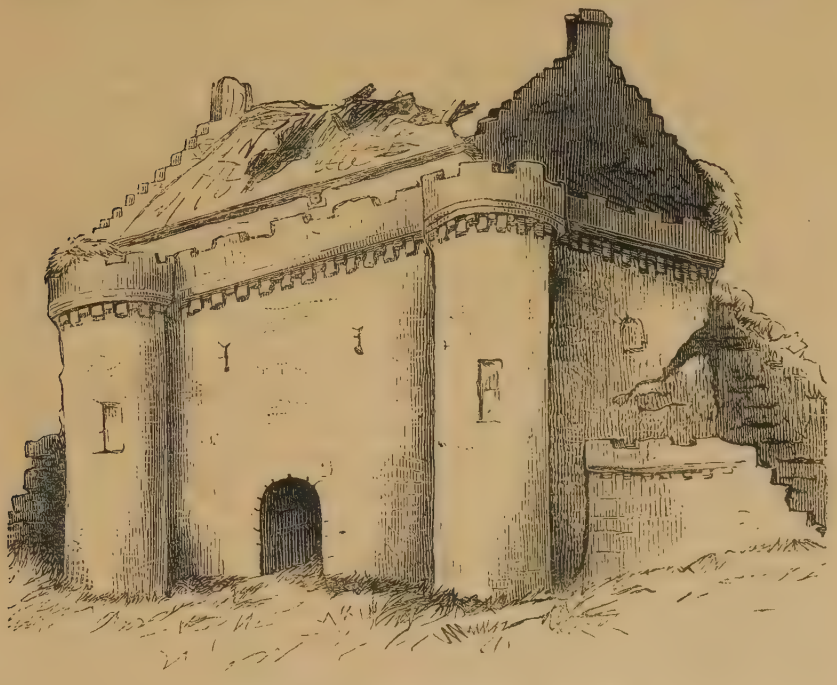
"Ane thousand CCCCXLVI, thar decessit in the Castall of Glasgow, Master Jhon Cameron, Bischope of Glasgow, upon Yule ewyne, that was Bischope xix yer." [*Short Chronicle of Reign of James II.*]

BISHOP CAMERON'S ARMS—GREAT TOWER OF EPISCOPAL PALACE.

[Reproduced from an original Pen-and-Ink Sketch by John Hopkirke in 1752.]

The Episcopal Palace, or Castle, stood on the vacant space in front of the present Infirmary, immediately South-West of the Cathedral; but when or by whom Founded does not appear. The great Tower, which formed the principal portion of the Building, was erected by Bishop Cameron about the year 1430 [Denham states positively 1426], and nearly a Century later appears to have been augmented by Archbishop Beaton. On this Tower, says M'Ure, the Historian of Glasgow, "his Arms are yet to be seen (1736) with an Escutcheon, ensigned with his Crozier [Pastoral Staff] behind the Shield, surmounted of a Salmon Fish, the Badge of the Episcopal See, and his name above in great Saxon capital letters." [See *Cut* on preceding page.] The term "surmounted" is probably a typographical error. Nisbet gives the Arms of this Prelate, supported "at the sides of the Shield" by "two Salmons with Rings in their mouths." Of the Palace, the entire structure was built of hewn stone, and inclosed with an embattled Wall 15 feet high [*Memoranda by Robert Reid, Esq.*], ornamented at certain points with the Arms of Archbishop Beaton [*Ancient and Modern Use of Armories, Nisbet, p.* 81], who built that addition about 1510 [*Chronicles of S. Mungo, p.* 53], previous to which the Castle was defended by a Fosse with a Drawbridge and Portcullis [*Notes by Thomas Johnston, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.*] The Wall, which was of an irregular form, extended on the West from within some 50 yards of the head of Kirk Street, along the centre of Castle Street, to a point on a line with the front of the Infirmary, where stood a circular Tower, the remains of which, with the steps of the sunk portion (ten in number), were removed in 1853. [*Ibid.*] The Northern inclosure was formed by two Walls extending from the extremities of the East and West Walls; that from the Eastern in a North-Westerly, and that from the Western in a North-Easterly direction, forming a right angle at their junction. A cross Wall, proceeding South-Eastward from the termination of the Western inclosure, united with the South-East Wall, nearly opposite the head of Kirk Street, where stood a high Tower, quadrangular and embattled, and surmounted at each Gable by a flight of steps, from the outer angles of which projected a species of

Turret. In front of the angle formed by the junction of the West and South-West Walls was constructed a *Bastion*. At the extremity of the South-East Wall (which formed a slight angle inwards at the centre), fronting the South-East, and uniting with the East Wall immediately Southward of the Consistorial House formerly attached to the Cathedral, was situated the main Entrance or Gatehouse. Denholm, in his "History of Glasgow,"



GATEHOUSE OF THE ARCHI-EPISCOPAL PALACE.

[Sketched by J. Hopkirke in 1752.]

appears to have confounded the ruins of this "Gatehouse" with the remains of the Castle Gate, one of the City Ports. The Gatehouse, the Gables of which terminated at the Roof in a flight of crow-steps, was of a square form, and displayed an embattled front, flanked by two Circular Towers, and each of these contained an upright oblong Compartment. The Parapets were supported by a double row of die-shaped Corbels, the under tier of which, according to the prevailing custom, was machi-

colated for the purposes of defence. This portion of the Edifice was erected during the Episcopate of Archbishop Dunbar, between 1524 and 1547; and its construction has hitherto been attributed exclusively to that Prelate. There is no contemporary Document to authenticate this statement. The circumstance could scarcely have escaped the research of the Author of "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," who has recorded the Architectural achievements of others of S. Mungo's Hierarchy. If for the statement there be no higher authority than the occurrence of the Archbishop's Coat Armorial, the presence of the Insignia of the Sub-Dean, with which it is conjoined, must be held as equally potent in supporting the claim of the latter to a share in its erection.

Extending in front of the Castle Wall, on the South-East, was the ancient Avenue leading to the Cathedral. This road, which presented appearances of great age, was constructed of small pieces of trap rock firmly embedded in some substance as a kind of mortar [*Private Memoranda by Reid*], which had acquired the consistency of solid rock. Up to the period of its removal it was not known to have undergone repair, whence probably arose the popular notion referring its formation to the period of Roman occupation. It is now generally supposed to have been the work of the first Archbishop Beaton, who inclosed the Palace at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

Notice of the "Bishop's Garden" is found about the year 1268, but no mention of the Castle till A.D. 1290, and then only incidental. [*Reg. Glas., p.* 177; *Orig. Paroch.*] In 1300 the Castle of Glasgow was placed under an English Garrison, for the purpose, among others, of maintaining the supremacy of Anthony Bec, an obnoxious Ecclesiastic, thrust into the See of Glasgow by Edward I. [*Stuart's Views and Notices of Glasgow in former Times.*] This event probably took place in 1301. In 1300 Bec appears to have been a Prelate of the See of Durham. Subsequently to this, for the period of two Centuries, no farther notice of this Structure is met with, till, in 1517, when judgment in an Action, raised at the instance of "ane maist reverend Fader in God, James, Archbishop of Glasgow," is recorded against John Mure of Caldwell [*Books of Council, vol. xxx., fol.* 219; *Descrip.*

of Lanark, Append.], "for the wrangwis and violent ejection and furthputting of his servands out of his Castell and Palice of Glasgow, and taking the samyn fra them, the xx day of Februar, the yer of God J^{m}V^{c} and XV zers," and for the "wrangwis destructioun of his said Castell and Place, breking down of the saymin with artalzary." "The quhilks Castell" "was spulzeit" "be the said Johnne Mure" "and his complices; Lyk as was clerly previt befor the" "Lordis of Counsale," who "ordannis lettres to be direct to compell and destrenzie the said Johnne Mure, his lands and guds tharfor." In 1517, the Castle of Glasgow was invested by John, Earl of Lennox, who had joined issue with Hume and the Earl of Arran, in defying the power of the Regent, John, Duke of Albany, on which occasion it was recovered by the latter with inconsiderable loss, retribution falling on a French gunner, a deserter, who had aided in its defence. [*Buchanan's History, Edit.* 1752, *p.* 137; *Drummond's History, p.* 251.] Between the years 1543 and 1545, it was fortified by Mathew, Earl of Lennox, to resist the forces of the Regent Arran, raised at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton. [*Buchanan's History, Edit.* 1752, *p.* 193.] For ten days it appears to have been "battered" with "brass guns," when the Garrison surrendered "upon quarter and indemnity," but were put to death. In 1553, "the inner Flower Garden beside the Palace" was the scene of an interview between the Archbishop and "Andrew Hamyltoun of Cochnoch, Provost, and the whole Council," where the former, "engaged in conversation with several Canons of the Chapter," was presented with "a Schedule of Paper," containing the names of certain of the most worthy and substantial men of the City, from whom the Archbishop selected the Bailies for the following year." [*Orig. Par. Scot., p.* 13.] Previous to the general Outburst in 1560, Archbishop Beaton summoned to the defence of the Castle the Nobility and Barons of Clydesdale, who adhered to the old Faith [*M'Ure's Hist. of Glasg., p.* 38], aided by whom, with a party of French soldiers, he succeeded in dislodging the emissaries of the Duke of Chatelherault, who had taken forcible possession. On the flight of Beaton at the Reformation, the Castle of Glasgow was again seized by the Duke [*Orig. Par. Scot.*,

p. 7], who was eventually compelled to deliver it up to the Earl of Lennox. The Lordship of the Archbishop's Castle, according to Brown, came to the Family of Lennox in virtue of a transaction with a Priest of the name of Montgomery (Preferred to the Archbishopric through the agency of the Duke de Aubignè), who, for the annual payment of £1000 (Scots), some Horse-Corn, and Poultry, transferred to his Patron, his Heirs and Successors, the whole Revenues belonging to the See. [*Hist. Glasg.*, *p.* 36.] It is recorded of this Prelate, the last of the Romish Hierarchy who held the See of Glasgow, that, having plundered the See of its Golden Ornaments and Vestments, he despoiled the Cathedral Archives of all its valuable Records, retiring with them into France. Some of these, through the well-directed efforts of the Abbé M'Pherson, a Member of the Scottish College at Paris, within which they had been deposited, were recovered at the French Revolution. The ancient Chartulary, in two Volumes, and other valuable MSS., are Printed for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. Beaton, who, after his Deprivation, had served in the capacity of Scotch Ambassador to the Court of France, was restored by Act of Parliament to the Temporalities of the See of Glasgow, which, without its Immunities, he enjoyed till his Death in 1603. In 1571, says Buchanan, "The Hamiltonians" went to Glasgow, resolving to demolish the Castle of the Archbishop there, that it might not be a receptacle to the Earl of Lennox, then returned out of England. The Castle at this time appears to have been garrisoned by "a few raw soldiers (24 in number), unprovided of necessaries," and the Governor absent. "Hearing, however," of "a design speedily to relieve the Castle," "the Hamiltonians" raised their siege, and "in great fear packed away." [*Buc. Hist. of Scot.*, *p.* 405.] The Bishop's Palace was restored in 1611, during the Episcopate of Archbishop Spottiswoode. [*Chalmers's Caledonia*, *p.* 629.] It is stated by James Barns, a Glasgow Bailie, and Chronicler of the middle of the Seventeenth Century, whose "Memoirs," in MS.—[a Transcript; since Edited and Printed by Mr. Maidment, Advocate]—are preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, that in August, 1654, for four days, were detained

prisoners in the Castle of Glasgow, preparatory to their being sent to Edinburgh, Colonel Robert Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton, and fourteen men apprehended with him at Kilmarnock. [*Memoranda by Robert Reid, Esq.*] "The Castle of Glasgow" is noticed by Hamilton of Wishaw, in his "Description of the Sheriffdom of Lanark," as "the ancient Seat of the Archbishop of this Sea, built of polisht stone, and yet in good condition;" by Slezer, the unfortunate Dutch Captain of Artillery, as "fenced with an exceeding high Wall of hewn stone," looking "down upon the City;" by Rae, in 1661—cited by the Author of the "Chronicles of S. Mungo"—as "a goodly Building near the Church," "still preserved;" and in Morer's Account of Scotland (1689), as "without doubt a very magnificent structure, *but now in ruins,* and" "no more left in repair than what was the ancient Prison, and is at this time a mean dwelling." (Probably the square Tower erected by Beaton, and contiguous Building.) Defoe, writing in 1727, calls it "a ruinous Castle," and repeats the remark of Slezer, alluding to its inclosure by an "exceeding high Wall." The Date 1689 obviously points to the tumults consequent on the abolition of "Episcopacy," during which the Castle appears to have been partially demolished. About this time it became the property of the Crown; and, in 1715, was used as a temporary Prison for upwards of 300 Highlanders, taken during the Rebellion. [*Stuart's Views, &c.*] At length, neglected and in ruins, the whole Structure, with the Castle-yard and Garden, were in 1791 granted by the King for the purpose of erecting the present Infirmary.

"In ancient times," says M'Ure, "all or most of the City was built near the Episcopal Palace, or Bishop's Castle." This consisted of the "Kirkgate," the "High Street," the "Drygate," and "Rotten Row," in which, "near the Castle," was held "the twenty day of Yuill, or S. Mungo's Fair." West of the quadrangular Wall-Tower constructed by Archbishop Beaton, "near the Bishop's Palace and Castle," stood the "Hospital of S. Nicholas, or Almshouse," said to have been founded by "Bishop Andrew Muirhead, 1455-73." [*Orig. Par. Scot.*]

During operations for removing the Mound in front of the

Infirmary, so recently as the year 1853, traces of the ancient Ditch which surrounded the Castle were visible in a dark-coloured incrustation, evidently formed by the feculent deposit usually found at the bottom of stagnant water. [*Notes by Thos. Johnston, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.*] At the same time were found the ancient Drawbridge, consisting of twelve beams of oak, pegged together, of the length of 15 feet; at the point formerly occupied by the Gatehouse, four oak piles, 4 feet in length, and 15 inches broad either way; several Cannon Balls, weighing each 36 lbs.; a few Silver Coins; remains of an Ash-Pit, containing several lambs' skulls, and some oyster shells; the Stone used in fixing the Gallows during the execution of Criminals within the Castle-yard; and a portion of a human cranium. [*Ibid.*] Some remains of the Bastion constructed by Archbishop Beaton, discovered near the head of Kirk Street, had become so consolidated as to require the process of blasting to effect its removal. [*Ibid.*] Fragments of the Palace, and some Steps taken from the circular Staircase of the great Tower, the latter having been converted into flat Tombstones, are still distinguishable within the Cathedral Yard. [*J. C. Roger's Paper. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*]

XXIV. James Bruce, A.D. 1446–7,

Son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, was the next Bishop of this See. His first Office in the Church was the Rectory of Kilmany, in Fife, about 1438. [*Mill.*] He was Consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld at Dunfermline, "Dominica in septuagesima," or 4th February, 1441. [*Ibid.*] In 1444, he became Lord-Chancellor of Scotland; and as he had been greatly insulted in his Bishopric of Dunkeld by one Robert Reoch Macdonachy (*i.e.*, the Family of the now Strowan Robertson), he is said to have been weary of that See; and so, upon the death of Bishop Cameron, he was Translated to the See of Glasgow; but before the necessary Forms were despatched, death took him off the stage of life. [*Fordun.*] The See of Glasgow was still vacant the 4th October, 1447, after the death of Bishop Cameron. [*Cart. Glasg.*] He Died before Confirmation or Investiture.

XXV. William Turnbull, A.D. 1448–54,

A son of the Family of Bedrule, in the County of Roxburgh. He was first a Prebendary of Glasgow, and afterwards Doctor of Laws, and Archdeacon of St. Andrews within the bounds of Lothian, a Privy Councillor, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He is styled "William de Turnbull, Domino praebendae privati sigilli custode," in 1441. [*Reg. Chart.*] He became Bishop of Glasgow in the beginning of the year 1448, and received Consecration in the month of April. "In that saym yer (1449) Master William Turnbill said his first Mess in Glasgue the 20th day of September." [*Auchinleck Chron.*] Accordingly, we find William was Bishop in 1449, 1452, and 1453 [*Reg. Chart.*], 1450 and 1451 [*C. Dunferm.*], 1451 [*C. Paslet.*], 1452 [*Fordun* and *Cart. Mor.*], 1453 [*Hay* from *Cart. of S. Giles*]; and William is Bishop in 1449, 1450, and 1453, under the Surname of William Turnbull [*Cart. Glasg.*], and [*Ibid*] the King says—"Nostro consiliario et consanguineo, pro cordiali affectione et singulari favore, quem erga ipsum gerimus, et pro suo fideli consilio, et gratuitis servitiis nobis multipliciter impensis," anno Dom. 1449, et reg. 14. The City and Barony of Glasgow were, in 1450, granted to the Bishop and his Successors, *blanch* for a *red rose.* [*Scotstarvit's Calendars. M.*] In 1452, or 1453, he procured a Bull from Pope Nicholas V. for erecting a College for Literature within the City of Glasgow; after the complete settlement of which noble Monument of his care for the cultivating of learning, it seems he took a journey to Rome, where he Died on the 3rd September, 1454—3rd December, 1456, according to the Chronicle of King James II., apparently a Contemporary Record.

"Item, in that samyn yer (1449), Master William Turnbill said his first Mess in Glasgow the xx day of September.

"That samyn yer (MCCCCLI), the Privilege of the Universite of Glasgow come to Glasgow throw the instance of King James the Secund, and throw instigacioun of Master William Turnbull, that tyme Bischop of Glasgow, and was proclamit at the Croce of Glasgow, on the Trinite Sonday, the xx day of June. And on the morne thar war cryit ane gret Indulgence gevin to Glas-

gow, at the request of thaim forsaid, be Pap Nycholas, as it war the yer of grace, and with all Indulgens that thai mycht haf in Rome, contenand iiii monethis, begynnand the IX day of Julii, and durand to the X day of November.

"The samyn yer, the third day of December, thar decesit in Glasgow, Master William Turnbull, Bischope of Glasgow, that brocht haim the perdoun of it." [*Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II.*]

XXVI. Andrew Muirhead, A.D. 1455–73,

A son of the Family of Lachop, in the Shire of Lanark, a man noted for learning and piety, was first Rector of Cadzow (now Hamilton), and then next was Preferred to this See. We find him Bishop here in 1456 [*Cart. Glasg.*], in 1469 [*Inv. Aberd.*], in 1459, "et consecrationis quarto;" item 1452, 1463, 1465, 1467, 1470, and 1473. [*Reg. Chart.*] He is mentioned in the Register of Charters of the Collegiate Churches of Mid-Lothian, Printed by the Bannatyne Club; in a Bull of Pope Pius II. to the Hospital of Soltre, 1461-2; and in the Confirmation of the Foundation of Trinity Church, Edinburgh, and of the Poor Hospital, near Edinburgh, 1462. Upon the Death of King James II. in 1460, this Bishop was named one of the Lords of the Regency during the young King's nonage. He was one of the Commissioners who went to England in 1462, in order to negotiate a Truce between the two Nations [*Rymer*], which was effected at the City of York, 19th December, same year—9th December [*Fœdera, vol. xi., p.* 311], but the names of the Ambassadors are not mentioned. Again, in 1468, this Bishop, with some others, were sent into Denmark to treat

A Gothic niche, with Canopy and open Tabernacle work at the sides. A figure of S. Kentigern, with the Nimbus, and vested, holding in his right hand a Fish with a Ring in its mouth; in the open space at each side a Fish with Ring in its mouth. In the lower part of the Seal is a Shield, bearon a Bend three Acorns, the Arms of Muirhead. A.D. 1465. [*Melros Charters.*]

about a Marriage between our King and a daughter of that Crown, which Commission had likewise a good effect [*Torffaeus*]; and again, in 1472, he went, with others, in a Commission to cultivate a farther Prorogation of Truce with the Kingdom of England, which they also settled. [*Rymer.*] This Bishop founded the Vicars of the Choir, a settlement which had not been in the Church before, "Fundator vicarior, choiri in ecclesia Glasguen." [*Cart. Glasg.*, and *Nisb. Herald.*, *vol. ii.*, *Appendix*, *p.* 261.] He also adorned and beautified the Cathedral, in which, on the North side of the Nave, on the Roof, is still to be seen his Coat of Arms, and adorned with a Mitre, exquisitely graved. [*Ibid.*] In 1471, he founded, near to the precinct of his Episcopal Palace at Glasgow, an Hospital, which he Dedicated to the honour of S. Nicholas, and upon the Front, over the Door, are the Bishop's Arms. The Hospital had Endowments for twelve old Men, and a Priest to perform Divine Service at the Hours of Canonical Devotion. [*Ibid.*] He Died 20th November, 1473. [*Obituary Glasg.*]

Three Gothic niches: within the centre one a figure of S. Kentigern, holding the Fish and Ring in his hand; in the dexter niche is a figure (perhaps S. Michael), with a long Spear, which he thrusts into the head of a man beneath his feet; in the sinister niche is a figure of S. Catherine, crowned with the Nimbus, holding in her right hand the Wheel. In the lower part of the Seal is a Shield, supported by two Angels. Quarterly—first and fourth, a Pale; second and third, three Piles, for Laing. A.D. 1477. [*Glasgow College Charters.*]

XXVII. John Laing, A.D. 1474–82,

Of the Family of Redhouse, in the Shire of Edinburgh, was first Rector of Tannadice, in the Shire of Angus, and Vicar of Linlithgow, and was next Preferred to the Office of High Treasurer in 1465 [*Officers of State*, *p.* 39], which last Office he held till 1468, at which time he was made Lord Register, and about this period he enjoyed the Rectories of Suthet and Newlands. Again, in 1471, he was replaced in the Treasury, which high Office he kept till 1474, when he was now, by the King's special recom-

mendation, Promoted to the Episcopal See of Glasgow. John Laing is Elect of Glasgow, and Treasurer in 1473-4. [*R. Chart.*] His accounts as King's Treasurer are taken off, December 2, 1474. [*Cart. Glasg.*] He was Bishop in 1476 and 1478 [*R. Chart.*], also 27th July, 1479. [*C. Arbr.*] In 1473, this Bishop showed himself so good an instrument in reconciling the King and his brother, the Duke of Albany; and the King, it seems, was so well pleased with, and mindful of that piece of service, that, when that Office came to be vacant in the end of the year 1482, he constituted him Lord High Chancellor; and so we find him Bishop and Chancellor, November 16, 1482. [*R. Chart.*] But before he had enjoyed that Office full six months, he Died on the 11th of January, 1482-3. [*Officers of State*, and *Chart. Publ.* and *Obituary of Glasgow.*]

XXVIII. George Carmichael, *Elect*, A.D. 1482-3,

A son of the Family of Carmichael, in the Shire of Lanark, was Elected Bishop of Glasgow, being then Treasurer of this See, as Rector of Carnwath. But he Died before his Consecration, in 1483. [*Charta Jacobi Bonar de Rossy*, 1483, *Georgio electo Glasguen.*] He is also Elect of Glasgow, 18th March, 1482-3, [*R. Chart.*], and "Electus Glasguensis" sits in the Parliament, the 24th February and 1st March, 1482-3; the 27th June, 1483; and the 24th February, 1483-4. So the Rolls are marked.

XXIX. Robert Blacader, A.D. 1484–1508,

The son of Sir Patrick Blacader of Tulliallan, by Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Edmondstone of that Ilk, was first a Prebendary of Glasgow, and Rector of Cardross. [*Cart. Glasg.*] He was Translated from the See of Aberdeen to Glasgow in 1484. He was Bishop here in 1484-5 [*Hay's MS.*], 1485 and 1491 [*Inv. Aberd.*], 1486, 1487, 1488, 1494, 1495, 1499 [*C. Paslet*], August 12, 1489, and August 31, 1490. [*Mar.*]

In January, 1484, Bishop Robert raised an action before the Lords of the Council against Archibald, Earl of Angus, for intromitting with and having taken up the mallis, profits, and dewties of the Barony of Castelearis, at Whitsunday and Martinmas

bypast. Evidence having been led, the Earl was ordained to pay £45 for the mallis of these two Terms, which it was proved he had uplifted. [*Act. Dom. Con.*, 95*, 111*.] This was not, however, the only invasion of the Episcopal Lands of Carstairs which occurred about that time. It would appear that among his other agricultural speculations, Sir John Ross of Montgrenane had taken from the Bishop a Tack of the Lands of Ryeflat. The Lords Somerville seem to have had some claim to the possession of these, which they proceeded to enforce by the strong hand. In consequence, Sir John obtained, on the 3rd of February, a Decree of the Council against John, Lord Somerville, and Johne, his son, "for the wrongous spoliation of 6 oxin, price of the pece, 40*s*; 5 kye, price of the pece, 30*s*; 60 of bollis of aits, price of the boll, 5*s*; 10 bollis of ber, price of the boll, 10*s*; 7 score thrafes of fodder, price £3 10*s*; 4 score of fudderis of hay, price of the fudder, 6*s* 8*d*; and for the wrangwis laboring and occupacioun of the Lands of Ryeflat and Schaddeshill, and spoliacioun of the proffittis of the cornes, girss, and hay of the samyn, extending to 4 chalders of aits, 20 boll of bere, 200 turses of hay, 60 of stanis of chese; for the somez of girss, £3—extending to the some of £40, and mair, of a zere. And for a hors that was slane, £10; and for the distruccion and tinsale of uther twa hors, uther £10; and for 5 young nolt that was destroyit by thaim, 50*s*." [*Ibid*, 107*.] The Somervilles, however, still maintained their right in spite of this Decree; and the Dispute was not settled till February, 1488, when Lord Somerville and his son on the one part, and Bishop Robert on the other, agreed to refer to arbitration "the question betwixt them for the taking of the goods of Riflate." [*Ibid*, 106.]

A figure of S. Kentigern, vested, with Fish and Ring in its mouth; in the lower part is a Shield, bearing on a Chevron three Roses, the Arms of Blacader; above the Shield a Mitre. A.D. 1491. [*Glasgow College Charters.*]

John Knox, whose Chronology is far from accurate, says

that, in 1494, the sixth year of the Reign of James IV., many persons, called Lolards of Kyle, were summoned before the King in Council, by Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow. Among them were the Campbells of Cessnock and Newmilns; Read of Barskomming; Shaw of Polkemac; Ladies Stair and Pokellie; Helen and Isobel Chalmers. He narrates the charges at length, and the articles are generally directed against the Papal Abuses. The magnanimity of James treated the affair with due contempt, and it expired in a torrent of ridicule against the Archbishop—Read, one of the accused, being a man of firm mind and facetious repartee. [*Pinkerton.*]

A figure of S. Kentigern, with the Nimbus, and habited as a Monk, his hands holding a Book on his breast; at his left side is a Fish, with a Gemmed Ring in his mouth, within a Gothic niche. In the lower part is a Shield, bearing the Arms of Blacader, as in the last, and above it a Cross Fleury. A.D. 1500. [*Glasgow College Charters.*]

Robert is Bishop in 1496. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] He has the Title of Archbishop of Glasgow in 1500 [*Cart. Pasl.*], as he has also January 22, 1506. [*Clackmannan.*] In 1506, the Archbishop of Glasgow annexed the Vicarage of Lintoun, and the Vicarage of Stobo, and the Vicarage of Kilbirnie, and the Vicarage of Cadder, to the College of Glasgow. [*Mun. Alm. Univer. Glasg., p.* 42.] In 1508, he founded a Chaplainry in the Church called S. Mary's of Welbent, in the Parish of Carstairs, which had been built and repaired at his own charge. From a remote Date there was at Carstairs a Residence of the Bishops of Glasgow. [*Orig. Paroch, vol. i., p.* 124.] Archbishop Robert of Glasgow founded, in 1507, a Chaplainry in the Church called that of the "Blessed Mary de Weebent, in the Parish of Casteltarris, which had been constructed and repaired at his charge and expense," and endowed it with an annuity of 40 Shillings, which

he had acquired from George Gilmour, and any excess that there might be of the lesser Customs of Glasgow over the sum of 38 Merks; while to prevent this and two other Foundations of his being injured by his Successors, he, at his own expense, constructed and repaired a Fulling Mill on the Kelvine, for which a Feu-Duty of 6 Merks annually would be paid to him and his Successors. [*Reg. Glasg.*, *p.* 519, 486.] Robert was still Bishop here in 1507, in the fourth year of Pope Julius II. [*Cart. Cambusk.*] This Bishop had so much favour at Rome, that he obtained from the Pope the See of Glasgow to be erected into an Archbishopric, whose Suffragans were appointed the Diocesans of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle [*Cart. Glasg.*], yet in the original erection by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1391, Pontificatus 8vo, expressly calls the present Bishop of Glasgow, William. [*Ibid.*]

Riddle, in his MS. Notes, under Date 8th October, 1501, says—There are two Commissions under the Great Seal, to Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow; Patrick, Earl of Bothwell; Andrew, Postulate of the Cathedral Church of Murray; for negotiating a Marriage betwixt the King and the eldest daughter of the King of England; and of the same Date is a Commission to them to conclude a Peace between the Kingdoms. Book 13, Nos. 464, 465, and 466.—Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, purchased the Lands of Cragrossy, in Strathearn, from John, Lord Tempill, 24th May, 1503; and the 27th of that month, he mortifies these Lands for maintenance of Chaplains in the . . . . . of Glasgow. The Mortification is Confirmed the last of May, 1503. G.S.B. 13, Nos. 597 and 598.

Robert was frequently employed in the public transactions with the English, and particularly in 1505. He, together with Patrick, the Earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Foreman, Prior of Pittenweem—[At that time Elect of Moray. See Young's Account of the Marriage of James IV. and Margaret, in the Second Edition of *Leland's Collectanea*, *p.* 258]—did negotiate the Marriage betwixt King James IV. and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., which has proved the foundation of the Union of these two Kingdoms. This Bishop Died in a journey to the

Holy Land in 1508 [*Lesly*], or, as the *Obituary of Glasgow* has it, July 28 that year.

On May 16th, 1508, a Scotch Bishop, dressed in a Purple Doublet, came into the College (at Venice), accompanied by Sir Lorenzo Orio. He is lodged in Canareggio, and is come on his way to Jerusalem. He has 2000 Ducats Revenue; and, having entered ye College, sat beside ye Doge, and presented Letters of credence to ye Signory from his King (James IV.), and from the King of France. He delivered a Latin Oration in favour of this State and of ye Doge, and of his King's goodwill to ye Signory. He then said he should make up his mind as to going by ye Jaffa Galley. . . . On the Day of Ascension, ye Doge went as usual in the Bucentaur to espouse and bless ye Sea, with ye Ambassadors of France, Spain, Milan, and Ferrara, and ye Scotch Bishop. [*Sanuto's Diaries.*]

In the List of the Dead at Jaffa, we find "that rich Scotch Bishop, the King's relation, who received so much honour from the Signory of Venice."

Laing, also, in his Edition of "The Works of John Knox," vol. vi., p. 663, says—In reference to the death of Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, I may refer to a short communication which I read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1856. Having obtained some Extracts from the contemporary Diary of the Venetian Maria Sanuto, by Rawdon Brown, Esq., the allusion to Blackader as the "rich Scottish Bishop" who arrived at Venice in May, 1508, on his way to Jerusalem, is too obvious to be mistaken. But the same Diary, which describes his honourable reception by the Doge, and the Latin Oration he made in praise of the Seignory, also records that the Vessel from Jaffa, in Palestine, having returned to Venice in November, 1508, out of the 36 Pilgrims from the Holy Land, on board of the said Vessel, this "rich Bishop" was one of 27 who Died during the voyage.

Knox mentions Blackader as having "departed this lyfe, going in his superstitious devotioun to Hierusalem;" and Bishop Lesly, who styles him "ane noble, wyse, and godlie man,"

states that this occurred before he came "to the end of his journey;" while the Obituary in the Glasgow Chartulary assigns the precise Date as the 28th of July, 1508. But no statement is found to point out the place, or under what circumstances, the Bishop Died.

XXX. James Beaton, A.D. 1508–22,

The youngest son of John Beaton, Laird of Balfour in Fife [*Missive Letter* of Henry Bethune, Laird of Balfour, to Mr. Keith], was Provost of Bothwell in 1503 [*Rymer*], Prior of Whithorn and Abbot of Dunfermline in 1504, and Treasurer of the Kingdom in 1505. In 1508, he became Elect of Galloway, but before he had sat one year in that See, he was Translated to Glasgow, at which time he Resigned the Office of Lord Treasurer. He was Consecrated at Stirling, 15th April, 1509. In 1515, this Bishop was made Lord Chancellor; and as he was in great favour with John, Duke of Albany, Regent of the Kingdom, he got likewise the Abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning *in commendam*. He is Elect of Glasgow in 1508, and next year Bishop. [*Reg. Chart.*] He was Archbishop here and Chancellor in 1515 and 1516. [*Reg. Chart. et Errol.*] When the Governor went over to France in 1517, the Archbishop of Glasgow was made one of the Lords of the Regency; but discords arising among them, they all thought it convenient to devolve the whole power upon the Earl of Arran, who summoned a Convention of the Nobility to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th of April, which accordingly was done in the house of Archbishop Beaton, at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, on the East side, over the Entry of which the Arms of the Family of Bethune are to be seen to this day. It had been resolved beforehand to apprehend the Earl of Angus, who, smelling the design, sent his uncle, the famous Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to the Chancellor, Archbishop Beaton, to see to get differences composed. Though the Chancellor was deeply engaged against the Earl of Angus, yet he would fain have excused himself, and laid all the blame upon the Earl of Arran; and so in the end he concluded with saying, "There is no

remedy, upon my conscience I cannot help it;" and, at the same instant beating on his breast with his hand, and not reflecting what would be the consequence, a Coat of Mail, which he had under his Ecclesiastical Habit, returned by the blow a rattling sound, which Bishop Douglas perceiving, gave his brother Bishop this severe reprimand—"How now, my Lord," says he, "I think your conscience clatters. We are Priests; and to put on armour, or to bear arms, is not altogether consistent with our character." After this ensued a very hot skirmish betwixt the two parties, in which the Earl of Angus chanced to get the better; and Archbishop Beaton seeing the day lost, fled for sanctuary to the Church of the Blackfriars, Edinburgh, and was there taken out from behind the Altar, and would certainly have been slain, had not Bishop Douglas interceded for him, and saved his life. [*Buchanan*, and *Officers of State*.] He possessed the See of Glasgow till the year 1522, which he says was "consecrationis nostrae 14to" [*Cart. Cambusk.*], and was then Translated to the Primacy of St. Andrews. During his residence at Glasgow, he inclosed the Episcopal Palace in that City with a magnificent Stone Wall of Ashlar-work, toward the East, South, and West, with a Bastion over the one corner, and a Tower over the other, fronting to the High Street, upon which were fixed in different places his Coat of Arms. He augmented the Altarages in the Choir of the Cathedral, over which also his Arms were affixed, blazoned in proper colours; and he likewise built or repaired several Bridges within the Regality, and about the City of Glasgow, and his Arms were upon them, evidencing his public beneficence.—For more concerning this Prelate, see *Scotichronicon*, vol. i., p. 245.

XXXI. Gavin Dunbar, A.D. 1524–47,

Of the Family of Cumnock [*Reg. Chart*, B. 25, No. 99], and nephew to Gavin Dunbar, Bishop at the same time of the See of Aberdeen [*Cart. Cambusk.*], was, about 1504, Preferred to the Priory of Whitehern, in Galloway. Being a person of polite letters, he was pitched upon to have the education of the young

King, James V., entrusted to him; and he managed that province so well, that after the vacancy of the See of Glasgow, which followed the Translation of Archbishop Bethune from this See to that of St. Andrews, the Regents of the Kingdom did, by Letters Patent, 27th September, 1524, present him to this See of Glasgow; and on the 22nd December the same year, 1524, the following Gift is to be seen in the Registers, viz.—"With full power and faculty to Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whitehern, and Postulate of Glasgow, to present whatsoever qualified person or persons to all Benefices that shall happen to vaik within the Kirk and Diocese of Glasgow, induring the time of the vacancy of the See, which was pertaining to the King's Presentation." [*Officers of State, p.* 76.] He was Bishop of Glasgow, anno 2^do^ regis, *i.e.*, anno Dom. 1524. [*Reg. Chart.*] He was Consecrated at Edinburgh on 5th February, 1525. In the year 1526, two Witnesses are, "Gavino episcopo Glasguen.," and "Gavino episcopo Aberdonen." [*Ibid.*] In 1526, this Archbishop was one of the Privy Council, and, on the 21st August, 1528, was made Lord Chancellor. Gawand was Bishop

On the Seal, beneath a Canopy supported by Spiral Columns, is a figure of S. Kentigern, with the Nimbus, holding in his right hand the Fish with Ring in its mouth, and in his left the Crozier. In the lower part is a Shield, bearing three Cushions, within a double Tressure flowered and counter-flowered. Above the Shield a Cross Fleury.

On the Counter Seal are three Cushions, within a double Tressure flowered and counter-flowered; above the Shield a Cross Bottonné, and below it the Fish. A.D. 1536. [*Morton Charters.*]

of Glasgow in February, 1527-8. [*Mr. Keith's Appendix, p.* 4.] He was Bishop and Chancellor, 16th March, anno 1528-9. [*Reg. Chart.*] He was Archbishop and Chancellor the 16th day of February, 1531-2, [*Cart. Aberd.*], as he also was May 25, A.R. 25, *i.e.*, 1538. [*Mar.*] He is still "Cancellarius et commendatarius insulae missarum" (*i.e.*, Inchaffray), anno 1540; and we find him Bishop anno 1546. [*Reg. Chart.*]

Gavin Dunbar was son of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum [*Caledonia, p.* 63], brother of Archibald Dunbar, designed of Baldoon, and nephew of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen. [*Dr. George Mackenzie's Lives.*] His grandfather, Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, was eldest son of the Earl of Moray; but, through the superior influence of the House of Douglas, was declared illegitimate, on account, it is alleged, of his mother having been within the degree of consanguinity proscribed by the Canon Law. [*Survey of the Province of Moray, p.* 33.]

When the King went to France in 1536, to solemnize his Marriage with Magdalen, the daughter of that Crown, his Majesty left the Archbishop one of the Lords of the Regency during his absence; and about this time gave to him the Commendam of the Abbey of Inchaffray. In the Parliament which sat in the month of March after the unfortunate death of the King, a Bill having been offered by the Lord Maxwell for a liberty of reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and the Lords of the Articles having found the proposal to be reasonable, and allowed it to be read in full Parliament, the Chancellor, in his own name, and in the name of all the Prelates of the Realm that were present, "Dissented thereto *simpliciter*, and opponit thame thereto, unto the time that a Provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of this Realm, to advise and conclude thereupon, gif the samyne be necessary to be had in vulgar tongue, to be used among the Queen's lieges, or not; and thereafter to show the utter determination what shall be done in that behalf, and thereupon askit instrumentis" [*Reg. Parl.*]; yet, notwithstanding this opposition, the Bill was passed into a Law. In the end of this year (1543), our Prelate was turned out of the Chancellor's Office; and now he got leisure to build the stately Gatehouse at

his Episcopal Palace in the City of Glasgow, on which his Arms are engraven. He Died the last day of April, 1547 [*Gift to the Lord Somervill in the Registers*], and yet, by the Register of Privy Council, "Postulatus Glasguen." sits in Council the 11th October, 1546. He was Interred in the Chancel of his Cathedral, within a Tomb he had caused to be built for himself, but which is now so quite demolished that there is not the least vestige of it remaining, nor can so much as the place be shown where it stood.

This Bishop is shamefully misrepresented by Mr. Knox; but see how Mr. George Buchanan thought fit to describe him:—

Praesulis accubui postquam conviva Gavini,
Dîs non invideo nectar et ambrosiam.
Splendida coena, epulae lautae, ambitione remotâ,
Tetrica Cecropio seria tincta sale.
Coetus erat Musis numero par, nec sibi dispar
Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide.
Ipse alios supra facundo prominet ore,
Qualis Castalii praeses Apollo chori.
Sermo erat aetherei de majestate tonantis,
Ut tulerit nostrae conditionis onus;
Ut neque concretam divina potentia labem
Hauserit in fragili corpore tecta hominis:
Nec licet in servi dominus descenderit artus,
Naturam exuerint membra caduca suam.
Quisquis adest, dubitat, scholane immigrarit in aulam,
An magis in mediam venerit aula scholam.
Jupiter, Æthiopum convivia solus habeto,
Dum mihi concedas praesulis ore frui!

Translation.—After I have sitten down the guest of Bishop Gavin, I envy not the gods their nectar and ambrosia. Where the supper is elegant, the fare sumptuous without parade, where dry and grave subjects are treated with Attic wit, our number equalled that of the Muses, nor was it unlike them in learning, talent, candour, and fidelity. The host himself outstrips the others in eloquence, like Apollo, the patron of the Castalian Band. His conversation was on the majesty of the Divine Person—how He bore the burden of our condition, and how the Divine Power drew no adhering stain though covered with the frail body of man; nor though the Lord condescended to take upon Him the body of a servant, did His mortal frame change its usual nature. Every one present doubts whether he is removed from a School to a Court, or rather whether the Court has not come to the midst of a School. Let Jupiter keep to himself the Feasts of the Ethiopians, provided you allow me to enjoy the conversation of the Bishop.

Two Sculptured Stones, represented in the following *Cut*, con-

REMAINS OF GATEHOUSE OF EPISCOPAL PALACE.
[Inserted in Back Wall of Premises occupied by John Millar & Son, Drapers, 22 High Street, Glasgow.]

stitute the only remains of the Gatehouse to the Episcopal Palace of Glasgow, and measure together 7 feet in length, and about 3½ feet in breadth across the lower Stone, the upper portion of which contains the Insignia of Archbishop Dunbar. These are on a heater-shaped Shield—three Cushions within the double Tressure of Scotland, being the Arms of Randolph, Earl of Moray, assumed by the Family of Dunbar subsequent to the Marriage of the son of the Earl of March to the daughter of the former. Stuart, the Author of "Views and Notices of Glasgow in former Times," in noticing this Coat, speaks of a *Mullet* as occupying the centre

space between the three Cushions, a fact which there is no reason to doubt, the place where this figure has scaled off being readily distinguishable. Behind the Arms is a Crozier, or *Archi-Episcopal Cross;* underneath the Shield, curved in the line of its base, occurs the Salmon with the Ring.

The nether Shield, which in shape resembles the former, bears a Chevron Chequé between two Martlets-in-chief *respecting*, and one in Base; a Rose or Cinquefoil occupying the middle chief point, being the Arms of James Houston, Sub-Dean of the Chapter, who is described by M'Ure as a "learned man." Like Dunbar, he acquired, his education at the University of Glasgow. In 1523, he was Vicar of Eastwood, and Witness to an Instrument by Gavin, the Archbishop, confirming certain Privileges to the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow. [*Note by Mr. H. Laing.*] As Incumbent of the Rectory of Monkland, he appears to have been Sub-Dean of Glasgow prior to the year 1527, and as such was present when doom was pronounced against Patrick Hamilton. [*Spottiswoode's Hist. Ch. Scot., p.* 63.] In 1530 he founded the Collegiate Church at S. Thenaw's Gate (Trongate), which was Dedicated to the Virgin Mary and S. Anne. [*Orig. Par. Scot.*] He was Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1534, in which Office he continued by Re-election till 1541. [*M'Ure's Hist. of Glasg., p.* 236.] He Died in 1550. [*New Hist. of Glasg., by J. B., Senex, &c.*]

James Houston's Seal is described by Mr. H. Laing at p. 77 of his "Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals." On it a *Cinquefoil* is plainly represented: the Sculpture presents more of the appearance of a *Rose*. In ancient Armoury, however, the Rose and Cinquefoil were *not* distinct figures.

Under each Shield is placed a Scroll: neither are Inscribed. At each side of the Shields is a rudely-formed Pillar, that on the left being broken about the centre of the upper division. On the upper Stone are represented in high relief the Royal Arms of Scotland, encircled with a Collar of Thistles, supported by two Unicorns *mounting*, denuded of their heads, the tails of which are disposed in a manner not expressive of courage. The lower limbs of these Figures rest on a kind of plane, projecting over the

Columns and Figures of the inferior Sculpture, probably expressible by the architectural term "plinth."

It may be remarked, that the earliest authentic occurrence of the Unicorn in Scotland, connected with the Monarchy, is on the Coins of James III., where it is represented supporting the Regal Coat from behind. Under the Royal Arms in this Sculpture appears a diminutive Escutcheon, which seems to contain the letter I and figure 5, obviously referring to the style of the reigning Monarch. The upper portion of the Stone, which contains the Mantling, and underneath the remains of the National Crest, displays the Imperial Helmet surmounted with the Diadem, and bears evidence of the dilapidation produced by time. The Lion composing the principal Figure of the Charge, it will be observed, is represented with full face—*rampant gardant*, as expressed in Heraldry. [Nisbet terms the Royal Beast in this position a Lion-Leopardee. *Ancient and Modern Use of Armouries*, Edin. 1718, p. 163.] This Coat has been idly supposed to be the Insignia of James V., as a Dignitary of the Cathedral. There is evidence to show that this Monarch's immediate Predecessor, James IV., held Office as a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow [*Orig. Par. Scot., vol. i., p.* 11], and the former, we read, was Bailiff or Steward of Melrose under the Abbot [*Charter in Pub. Arch. Edin.*], but had not any connexion with the See of Glasgow, unless in so far as his Benefactions to the Blackfriars or Dominican Convent may be held as qualifying the negation.

In 1755 the Magistrates of Glasgow, in the exercise of a doubtful right, granted permission to remove certain portions of the Castle structure, to aid in the erection of the Saracen's Head Inn [*Private Memoranda by Reid*]; and about this time the Sculptures exhibited in the foregoing *Cut* passed into the hands of a Citizen named Charles Salkirk, and were subsequently built into the Wall of the Tenement in which they are now contained. To this circumstance the Date and initial letters [C. S. 1760.] placed on a small Tablet, over the upper stone, plainly refer.

Of the Remains of Archbishop Dunbar, discovered in 1855, during the repairs executed within the Choir of the Cathedral,

some account may here be not without interest. The Sarcophagus of this Prelate was found about 2 feet from the surface of the Pavement, in one of the hollows formed by the Arches of the Crypt which supports the Basement of the Choir, and between two Pillars immediately South of the present Pulpit, which stands on the spot formerly occupied by the High Altar. It was disposed in the usual manner, from West to East, and consisted of sundry pieces of dressed Freestone, some of which, laid flat, formed the bottom of the Coffin; others, set up on edge, composed the ends and sides. Over these, in the form of a Cover, was placed a sheet of Lead about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, and, above this Covering, another of dressed Flags, corresponding to those already described, the whole being cemented together with Mortar. The Sarcophagus contained an entire Skeleton in a state of perfect preservation. These Remains having been omitted to be replaced in the Cist before it was finally covered up, were subsequently deposited in a hole dug for their reception at the foot of the Steps leading from the great Western Entrance into the Cathedral. Within the Sarcophagus were found a Border and Fringe of rich Gold Tinsel, on which appeared a Figure resembling a Quatrefoil, which, on being exposed to the atmosphere, fell to powder; and, covering a portion of the Skeleton, the remains of a fringed Silk Vestment, presenting a brownish appearance, portions of which, with a Cast from the Skull found within the Cist, were presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, by J. C. Roger, Esq. Adhering to other parts of the Skeleton were pieces of Waxed Cerecloth, anciently used in the process of embalming. The length of the Coffin inside was 6 feet 2 inches.

With reference to the question of identity, it is stated, on the authority of Keith, that Dunbar's Remains were deposited in a Tomb erected by himself, "within the Chancel of his Cathedral." If we keep in view this fact in relation to another, viz., the Inhumation of the Protestant Archbishop Boyd in 1578, of whom Spottiswoode records that he "was solemnly Buried in the Quire of the Cathedral" "in the Sepulchre of Mr. Gawan Dunbar," the matter will presently become very distinct. [*Hist. Church*

Scot., *p.* 303.] This Tomb was ransacked at the commencement of the present Century (about 1804), by an adventurous young man, afterwards the well-known Bailie Archibald M'Lellan, who, with some of his companions, under night, effected an entrance into the Interior of the Cathedral, the object of attraction being the Sarcophagus of Archbishop Boyd, disclosed on the previous day during the alterations then in progress. The following information is given on the authority of a Gentleman who was conversant with the leading facts, Mr. James Bogle, Writer :— "The Foundations of the Tomb then discovered and removed, measured some 10 to 13 feet square inside, within the Southern Wall of which, not far from the surface, was placed the Coffin of Archbishop Boyd, bearing his Arms and Initials; and over against the opposite Foundation, nearly on a line with the centre of the two Pillars, on the left hand side of the Pulpit (rather nearer the Cathedral Wall), another Coffin of Pavement Stones, which was left undisturbed. In the empty space between the two Coffins some loose Bones were dug up; but no other Coffin, or anything in the shape of a separate Interment." It will thus be seen that the principal facts of both discoveries are reciprocally verified. The position of Archbishop Boyd's Coffin, from which, on the previous occasion, the Skull had been abstracted, having, in relation to the latter, been sufficiently ascertained. It is affirmed that Bailie M'Lellan also visited the Tomb of Bishop Wischard, in the Crypt of the Cathedral, performing similar sacrilegious acts. [*J. C. Roger's Paper. Soc. Ant. Scot.*]

On the Death of Archbishop Dunbar, Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly, was chosen in his room, but Resigned the Office in 1551, and was immediately succeeded by Beaton. [*Preface, p. lii., Reg. Epis. Glasg.*] Beaton was at that time in his 27th year, and was not yet Ordained. He was raised to the Four Minor Orders, and Ordained Sub-Deacon at Rome on the 16th July, 1552; on the 17th and 20th, he was Ordained Deacon and Priest; and on Sunday, the 28th August, he was Consecrated Bishop. [*Grub's Eccl. Hist., vol. ii., p.* 31.]

XXXII. James Beaton. A.D. 1551.

James Beaton, or Bethune, was the son of James Beaton of Balfarg, who was the second son of seven of John Bethune of Balfour [*Missive Letter*, Henry Bethune, now of Balfour, to Bishop Keith, already mentioned.] He was first Chanter of the Church of Glasgow, and afterwards, in the year 1543, got the Abbey of Aberbrothock, which he held until the year 1551, when he was Preferred to the See of Glasgow, after a Dispute between him and Alexander Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly, whom the Chapter had Elected. But the matter being compromised at Rome, the Pope made Mr. Gordon Titular Archbishop of Athens; and the Earl of Arran, Regent of the Kingdom, Conferred on him the Bishopric of the Isles, as being the first which fell vacant, together with the Abbacy of Inchaffray. Mr. Bethune was Consecrated at Rome in 1552, and held the See of Glasgow to the year 1560. At which time this wise Prelate, perceiving the wild fury of the Reformers, by pulling down of Churches and Monasteries, deemed it the most prudent course,

On the Seal, beneath a domed Canopy, is a figure of S. Kentigern, with the Nimbus, and vested, holding in his right hand the Fish and Ring, and in his left the Crozier. In the lower niche is a Shield quarterly, Beaton and Balfour; above the Shield a Cross Bottonné.

On the Counter Seal is a Shield quarterly, as in the last; at the side the Initials "I. B." Above the Shield is a Cross Bottonné, and beneath it the Fish and Ring. On a Scroll surrounding the Shield is the Inscription—"FERENDUM VI . . . AS." (?) A.D. 1566. [*Morton Charters.*]

for the preservation of the Acts and Records of his Church, to transport them out of this Kingdom. And accordingly he took the opportunity, and went away into France, with the forces of that Nation, that same year, and carried along with him all the Writs pertaining to the See of Glasgow, all which he carefully deposited, partly in the Scots College, partly in the Charter-House, or Monastery of Carthusians, in Paris. This Prelate was appointed by Queen Mary as her Ambassador at the Court of France; and her son, King James VI., continued him in the same character, notwithstanding their difference in Religious sentiments. He behaved himself always with much fidelity and discretion, and King James did much regret his Death, which fell not out till the 24th of April, 1603, in the 86th year of his age, at which time his Majesty was on his way to London to take possession of the English Throne. By the Bishop's last Will, he bequeathed the large sum of 80,000 Livres to the Scots College at Paris, and so is justly looked upon as its second Founder. [*Keith.*]

The first Foundation of this College (which must not be confounded with the Scots College at Rome) was in 1326, by David, Bishop of Moray.

When the French Revolution threatened destruction to all Records, and especially those of Monarchy and Priesthood, the poor Brethren of the Scots College were not found well fitted to resist the storm. Before the Inmates fled, Alexander Gordon (then Principal) packed up in barrels whatever seemed most valuable, including many MSS. A quantity, however, were left in the College, and from these, Abbé Paul M'Pherson, at Alex. Innes' desire, selected some which he carried to Scotland, among which were the two Volumes of the Original Chartulary of Glasgow. These, with a quantity of other Papers, eventually fell into the excellent keeping of Bishop Kyle, at Preshome, Enzie, Banffshire.

The Tomb of James Beaton is in the Church of S. Jean de Lateran at Rome, with the Inscription, "Sacratus Romæ 1552; Obiit 24 April 1603, ætatis suæ 86." Above the Tomb is *Tuli et Vici*, and beneath it these Verses:—

Præsul et orator fuerat qui maximus orbis
Ætate hoc parvo marmore contegitur.
Quinquaginta unum præsul transegerat annos;
Quadraginta duos regia jussa obiit.
Sex vidit reges Gallorum, quique secutus
Orator patriæ præfuit usque suæ.
Est voto fruitus Scotos Anglosque sub uno
Unius Scoti viderat imperio.
Illud restabat voluit quod utrosque sub unum
Divinæ legis mittier imperium:
Quodque suum voluit regem venerarier, et mors
Fertur in hoc uno præcipitasse senem.
Ille oratorum quos Scotia sola superbos
Misit ad Heroas ultimus exstiterat.
Ultimus illorum quos Magna Britannia favit
Secta exturbavit devia præsul erat.

Translation.—A Bishop, and the greatest Diplomatist of his age, lies under this small marble [Monument]. 51 years of his life he spent as a Bishop; for 42 he executed the King's behests. He saw six Kings of France, and the Diplomatist that succeeded him rose to the government of his Country. He had his wishes realized—he saw the English and Scots under the undivided government of a single Scotchman: it only remained that he wished both Nations to be put under the one authority of Divine appointment, and that he wished his King to reverence it; and death is said to have hastily carried off the old man while intent on this object alone. He was the last of the Deputies whom Scotland alone sent to the haughty Chiefs—the last of those Bishops whom, thô Great Britain favoured, a heretical Sect exterminated.

THE REFORMATION.

XXXIII. John Porterfield. A.D. 1571-2. *Tulchan.*

After the new form of the Reformation was established in this Kingdom, and the Regular Clergy turned out of their Possessions, the Reforming Party made one John Porterfield a kind of Titular Bishop of Glasgow, for to enable him to convey away the Benefice of that Church with some appearance of Law. He is designed "Johannes archiepiscopus Glasg." in 1571, when he consents to the alienation of the Manse of the Rectory of Glasgow, by the Rector, Mr. Archibald Douglas, to Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, and Janet Ker, his spouse, 20th October, 1571; which he (Crawford) again sold, in 1587, to Robert, Lord Boyd, and Dame Margaret Colquhoun, his spouse. He continued only till 1572.

XXXIV. James Boyd. A.D. 1572-81. *Tulchan.*

In the year 1572, during the Earl of Mar's Regency, a new kind of

Episcopacy having been set up, Mr. James Boyd of Trochrig, a very worthy person, received the Title of the See of Glasgow; and he exercised the Office of particular Pastor at the Cathedral Church, the Barony of Glasgow being then the Parish that pertained to that Church. This Bishop Boyd was the second son of Abbot Boyd of Pinkhill, brother to Robert, Master of Boyd, who was father of Robert, sixth Lord Boyd. When the legality of the Episcopal function came to be first called in question by the Assembly in 1578, he learnedly and solidly, both from Scripture and Antiquity, defended the lawfulness of his Office; yet the animosities, which he then perceived to be in the hearts of a great many, so far impaired his health that he Died in June, 1581. [*Gift of his Son's Ward, Register of the Privy Seal*, in 1582.] His son was the learned Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig,

On the small Seal is a Shield with a Fess Chequé of four Tracts. Above the Shield is an open Book. A.D. 1577. [*Morton Charters.*]

On the large Seal is a figure of S. Kentigern, holding the Fish and Ring in his right hand, and the Crozier in his left. The Shield in the lower part is charged with a Fess Chequé, and a Cross Crosslet Fitcheé in base. A.D. 1581. [*Glasgow College Charters.*]

Professor of Divinity, first at Saumur, in France, and afterwards at home, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and he wrote a Commentary upon the Ephesians. He was Principal of Glasgow College. He was Buried in the Choir of the Cathedral, and laid in the same Sepulchre with Bishop Gavin Dunbar. His Tomb was ransacked in 1804 (page 526.) [See the full account given of this Tulchan Archbishop in *Wodrow's Biographical Collections, vol. i. Maitland Club.*]

XXXV. Robert Montgomery. A.D. 1581-5. *Tulchan.*

After Bishop Boyd's Death, King James VI. gave Mr. Robert Montgomery, Minister at Stirling, the Bishopric in 1581, upon the recommendation of the Duke of Lennox, on purpose that the Duke might get disponed

to him the Benefice by this Titular Archbishop. But Mr. Montgomery being frightened with the threatenings of the Censures of the Church, if he did not purge himself of the unlawful Office of a Bishop in his own person (as was the language at that time), he surrendered the Archbishopric, and afterwards became Minister at Symington, in Kyle, in 1587, where he was reduced to great misery. Mr. Montgomery gave bond to Lennox that he should dispone to this Duke and his Heirs all the Income of his See, how soon he should be admitted Bishop, for the yearly payment of £1000 (Scots), with some Horse-Corn and Poultry. [*Hay's MS.*] And this Author adds that the Duke of Lennox's Agents having possessed themselves of the Bishopric, Montgomery resigned his Title in favour of Mr. William Erskine, Parson of Campsie, a follower of the Earl of Mar.

XXXVI. William Erskine.
A.D. 1585-7. *Tulchan.*

After Archbishop Montgomery's surrender, the King gave the Revenue and the Title to Mr. William Erskine, Parson of Campsie, and Commendator of Paisley, which he had gotten after the forfeiture of Lord Claud Hamilton, in 1585. The Provision is Dated December 21, 1585. [*Riddle's MS. Notes.*] Mr. Erskine was never in Orders, and a Titular Bishop only. In less than two years, viz., in the year 1587, the King took away the Archbishopric from Mr. Erskine, and gave it to Walter, Commendator of Blantyre, with power to Feu out the Lands; who did accordingly, in the year 1588, Feu out the whole Barony of Glasgow, mostly to the old Rentallers, turning the real Rent into a Feu-Duty. The Charter is Dated 3rd November, 1587; Ratified 1st February, 1591. He was made Treasurer of Scotland, 6th March, 1595; Lord Privy Seal, and one of the Octavians for managing the King's Revenue and Exchequer, 9th January, 1595. [*Riddle's MS. Notes.*]

On the Seal is S. Kentigern, vested, holding the Fish and Ring in his right hand, and the Crozier in his left. The Shield in the lower part bears on a Pale a Buckle, the Arms of Erskine; above the Shield a Cross Bottonné.

On the Counter Seal is a Shield with the Arms of Erskine, as in the last; beneath the Shield the Fish with Ring; at the sides the initials "V. E." [*Marr Charters.*]

XXXVII. James Beaton. A.D. 1588–1603.

After all these various changes, the King did, by Act of Parliament, restore the old exauctorate and forfeited Bishop Beaton to the Temporality of the See of Glasgow, which he did enjoy till his Death in April, 1603. The Lands were erected into a Temporal Lordship in favour of Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, 7th April, 1603—G.S.B. 44, No. 365. [*Riddle's MS. Notes.*]

END OF VOLUME II.

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